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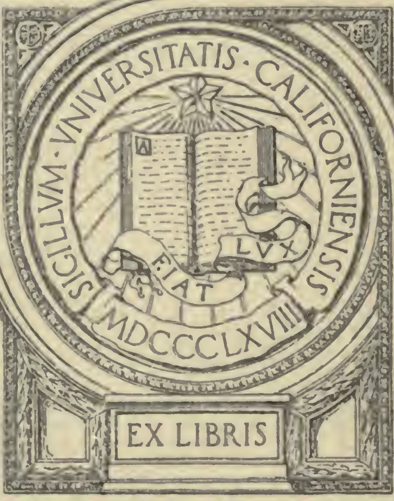

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ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

THE MODERN WORLD

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ANCIENT PROGRESS

Black

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

BASED UPON THE AUTHOR'S "MODERN HISTORY"

ALLYN AND BACON
Boston New York Chicago

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FOREWORD

This book was planned as a revision of my *Modern History;* but it has grown into a distinct work, and it has seemed best to give it a name of its own. The *Modern History* was the first high school textbook to place emphasis on the nineteenth century, and especially on the work of the most recent generation. In the present volume, even more space is devoted to recent history; more attention is given to social and industrial development and to the biographical element; some topics and much detail are omitted, in the interest of simplicity; a more connected, and, I think, a more vivid narrative is secured; the developments of the last decade are woven into the story in appropriate places; and, as a review, or as a preliminary survey, the Introduction (pages 1–80) summarizes human progress down to Charlemagne's day. This last feature, with the many additional maps and illustrations, accounts for the greater size of the *Modern World.* The Introduction may be omitted at the teacher's discretion.

The high school course in history, long or short, fails of its purpose if it leaves a chasm between past and present. It must put the student into touch with the movements of today, — must interest him in the spread of democracy, in the "war on poverty," in the progress of socialism and the labor movements, in the "woman question."

It must give also a certain amount of technical detail, especially for recent years. The boy or girl may or may not find it important to know the workings of the Roman Senate or of the Athenian Assembly; but he cannot read the morning paper intelligently, even for the surface of things, unless he understands something of the workings of the English Cabinet and Parliament, of the French Chambers, of the German Reichstag. These considerations account for distinctive features of the book.

336289

Throughout, too, an unusual amount of space is given to English history. For American students, a knowledge of English history is essential. That history gains, however, by being presented in its setting in the history of the continent of Europe; and time considerations make this arrangement more and more imperative. Various desperate attempts are being made to condense the high school course in history into three years. The most feasible condensation is to devote one year to ancient history, a second to modern, and a third to American history and government. But of course no such plan will meet the desired end unless, in the second year, particular stress is placed on English development.

In any course, American history is now sure of a place by itself. That is reason enough for omitting it in this volume, except where the connection of events calls for its introduction. When touched at all here, it is treated from the viewpoint of world-development, rather than from a restricted American position. The colonization of the seventeenth century is presented as an expansion of Europe into New Worlds; the "Intercolonial Wars" of the eighteenth century are seen as part of the hundred-year struggle between France and England for world-empire and exclusive markets; American industrial invention appears as part of the general Industrial Revolution; the recent advance of America into world politics is presented as part of the new international relations and new trade relations that followed the partition of Africa and the opening of the Orient in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

While these pages were in preparation, the huge calamity of the present European war broke out. The volume closes on the brink of important changes. If it helps students to understand those changes, as they appear in coming months, it will achieve much of its purpose.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

May 1, 1915.

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THE MODERN WORLD

THE MODERN WORLD

The chief interest in history lies in the fact that it is not yet finished.
— ASHLEY.

INTRODUCTION

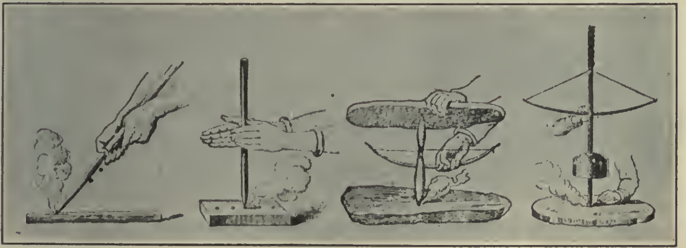
A SUMMARY OF EARLIER PROGRESS[1]

◆

FIRST PERIOD

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

1. Men have lived on this earth some 100,000 years, but we know their story for only the last 7000 years. We do know, however, a few disconnected facts about the vast dim stretch of time preceding real history.



SOME STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING. — From Tylor.

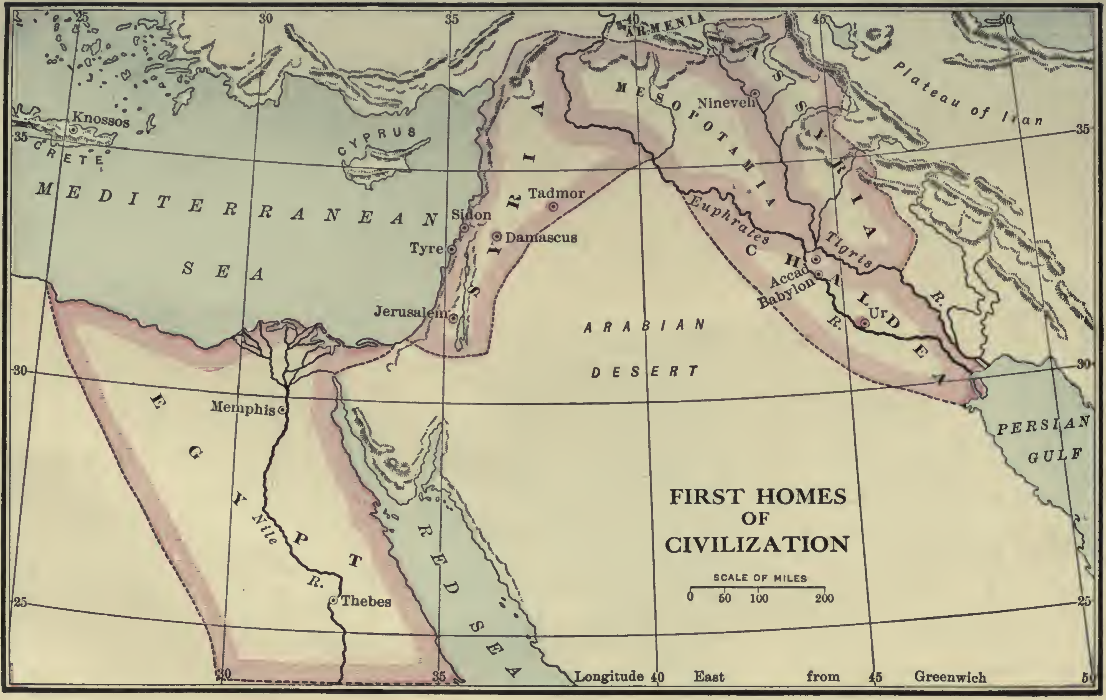
---

[1] This summary of ancient progress is condensed from the author's summaries of successive periods in his *Ancient World*, the preceding volume of this historical series. Concrete illustrations of general statements made here, and definitions of terms, may be found in that volume. Classes that have used the *Ancient World* may prefer to omit this Introduction.

The first men were brute-like, — lower and more helpless than the lowest savages in the world to-day. They had not even fire or knife or bow and arrows. Thousands on thousands of years passed uncounted while our forefathers were learning to take the first stumbling steps up from this savagery toward civilized life.

By slow degrees they learned to live together in families and tribes. They invented simple weapons of wood and of stone, and, long afterward, of bronze and iron. They found out how to spin thread and weave cloth, and how to bake clay pots in which to cook food. Five gains, in particular, during those slow ages were beyond price: *the use of fire; the beginning of languages; the taming of the dog, cow, sheep, and other of our familiar barn-yard assistants; the discovery and cultivation of wheat, barley, rice, and most of our other Old-World food-plants; and the invention of picture writing and the rebus stage of writing.*

SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS. Egyptian sculpture and structures of 5000 years ago. — From a recent photograph.



FIRST HOMES
OF
CIVILIZATION

ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Nineveh
Euphrates
Tigris
R.
CHALDEA
Accad
Babylon
Ur
R.
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN DESERT
SYRIA
Tadmor
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Jerusalem
CYPRUS
Knossos
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude 40 East from 45 Greenwich
25
30
35
40
45
50

After this last invention, *history*, which is the *record* of man's life, could begin.

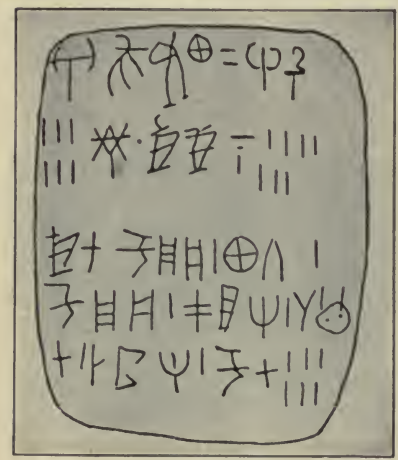
2. The earliest men of whom we have records lived in the valleys of the *Nile* and *Euphrates* about *seven thousand years ago.* These **Egyptians** and **Babylonians** practised many arts and crafts with a skill of hand that has never been surpassed. They built great cities, with pleasant homes for the wealthy and with splendid palaces for their princes. They built, too, roads and canals. With ships and caravans, they sought out the treasures of distant regions; and the wealth they heaped up was spent by their rulers in gorgeous pomp and splendor. They learned the need of law, to regulate their relations with one another. Their thinkers found in their own consciences some of the highest moral truths, and taught the duty of truthfulness, justice, and mercy.

COOKING UTENSILS found in one Cretan tomb 4400 years old.

They also wrote books on agriculture, and made beginnings in some sciences, especially in astronomy and mathematics. Our "year," of 365 days and a quarter, with the divisions into months, comes to us from the Egyptians through the Romans. Through the Hebrews, the Babylonians gave us the week, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul," and the subdivisions of the day into hours and minutes.

The Babylonians, indeed, invented our sundial and water-clock, and an excellent system of weights, and measures based on the length of the hand and foot. They used a duodecimal system of counting. The face of a watch to-day, with its divisions by twelve and by sixties, recalls their work, — as do also the curious figures on our star maps; the signs of the zodiac in our almanacs; the symbols of our "apothecaries' table," still used by physicians; some of our fairy stories, like that of Cinderella; many of our carpenters' tools; and much of our common kitchen ware.

War and trade spread this culture slowly around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; and, before 1500 B.C., **Cretan and Phoenician merchants scattered its seeds widely in more distant regions.** The commerce of these peoples, too, made it needful for them to keep complicated accounts, and to communicate with agents in distant places. And so, out of the crude earlier systems of writing, both *Cretans and Phoenicians developed real alphabets.*



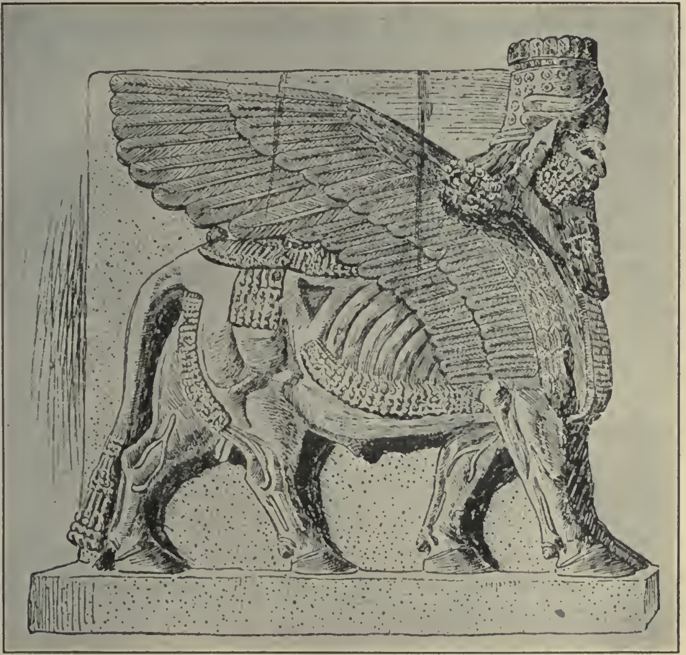
CRETAN WRITING OF 2400 B.C. Some of these characters are numerals. Others have a strong likeness to certain Greek letters. This tablet was found in a royal treasury, and probably it was an account of payments. Our scholars have not yet learned to read Cretan script.

About 630 B.C. all these precious beginnings of civilization were imperiled by hordes of savages that poured forth from the frozen plains of Scythia in the North. **Persia** repulsed the ravagers, and *saved the slow gains of the ages.* And at the same time, she *conquered all the civilized East,* and *united it* under an effective system of government.

When Persia was at the height of her power (about 525 B.C.), the Oriental peoples had possessed a complex civilization for more than 4000 years. This was a much longer period than has passed since. To appreciate the work of these pioneers of civilization, we must remember that for another thousand years our own ancestors were wandering savages, clad in skins, among the swamps and forests of northern Europe.

3. Oriental culture, however, was marred by serious faults. *Its benefits were for a few only.*

Government was despotic, and the people worshiped the monarch with slavish submission.



Colossal Man-beast in Alabaster.—From an Assyrian palace; now in the Louvre.

Art was unnatural. Sculpture delighted in placing a man's head on the body of a beast, mingling the monstrous and grotesque with the human. Architecture sought to rouse admiration by colossal size rather than by beauty and proportion.

Men followed slavishly the customs and traditions of their fathers. The mysterious forces of nature filled them with fear. There was little learning, except among the priests; and theirs was mingled with gross superstitions.

Toward the close of the period, it is true, there had grown up among the **Hebrews** a pure worship, whose truth and grandeur were to influence profoundly the later world. But, for centuries more, this religion was the possession of one small people.

There was little variety in the civilizations of the Orient. *They lacked rivalry to stimulate them to continued progress.* Each civilization reached its best stage early, and then threatened to become stagnant.

4. Now, happily, appeared the Greeks, — new actors on a new stage. About 600 B.C., the center of interest shifted westward from Asia to southeastern Europe. For two thousand years a European culture had been rising slowly along the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. It had drawn from the East in many ways, especially in matters of handicraft; but it had moral and intellectual traits of its own. The difference in character was due, in large part, to differences between European and Oriental geography.[1]

Oriental states had begun in supremely fertile districts where food was almost the free bounty of nature, and where the tropical climate disinclined most men to unnecessary exertion. The few with spirit and energy easily made slaves of the multitude. But *the sterile soil of Greece* demanded more work from all the people; and its *temperate climate* encouraged more general enterprise. *Men lived more on a level with one another than in the East.*

When an Oriental state had grown by conquest into an empire, it spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. *Greece was a land of intermingled sea and mountain, with everything on a moderate scale.* There were no deserts. No mountains were so astounding as to awe man. There were no destructive earthquakes, no tremendous storms, no overwhelming floods. Oriental man had bowed in dread and superstition before the mysteries of nature; but in Greece, nature was not terrible. There men began early to search into her secrets. *In thought, the Greeks replaced Oriental submission to tradition by fearless originality. In government, they replaced Oriental despotism by democracy.*

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[1] A discussion of these differences is given in the *Ancient World,* §§ 82–86.

Greece was broken up into many small districts. Each division was protected from conquest by its sea moats and mountain walls; and each, therefore, became the home of a distinct political state. Some of these were busied in agriculture; others, mainly, in trade. Some were monarchic in government; others, democratic. This variety of societies, side by side, reacted wholesomely upon one another. *Oriental uniformity gave way to European diversity.*

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES. Praxiteles was the pupil of Phidias, the architect of the Parthenon, and he ranks, with his master, among the greatest of sculptors. The arms and legs of this Hermes are sadly mutilated.

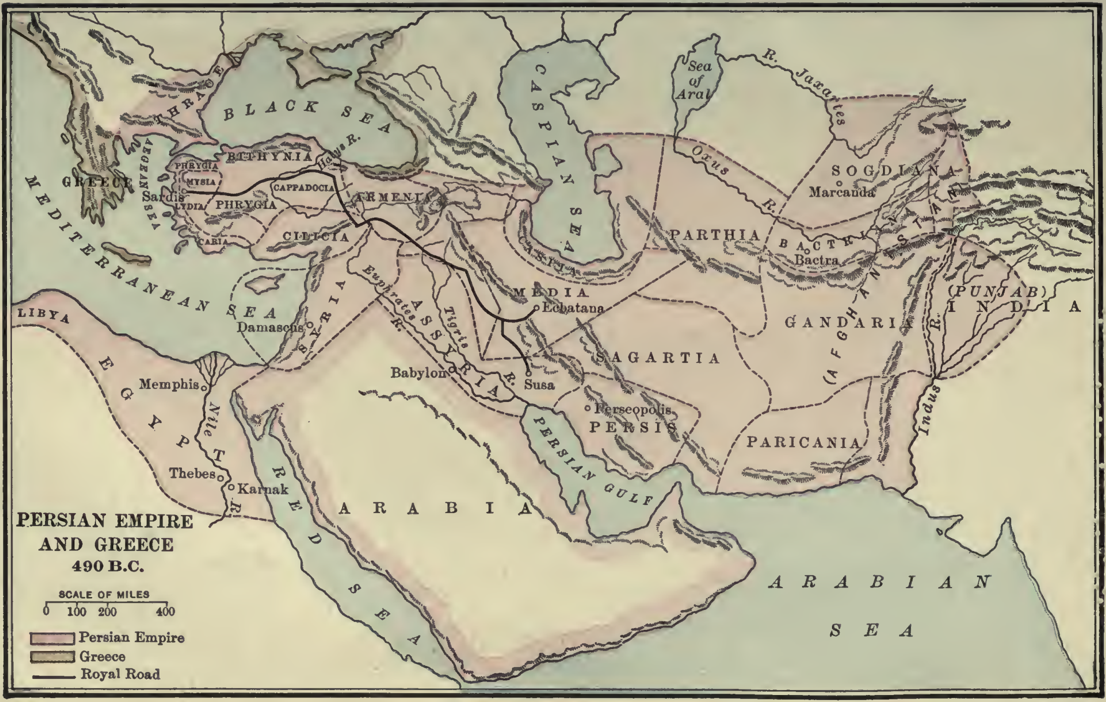
No doubt, too, the moderation and variety and wondrous beauty of hill and dale and sun-lit sea had something to do with the many-sided genius of the Greek people, and with their lively but well-controlled imagination. Above all peoples, before or since, *the Greeks developed a love for harmony and proportion.*

5. **These qualities found expression in sculpture, architecture, drama, oratory, poetry, and philosophy,** in all of which the Greeks rank still among the world's masters. The *Oriental contributions* to the future *had been mainly material: the Greek contributions were intellectual and spiritual.* This makes it harder to count and name them in a brief summary.

Says a great English thinker (Henry Sumner Maine), — "Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin." One supreme thing must be named: *the Greeks gave us the ideal of freedom regulated by self-control,* — freedom in politics, in religion, and in thought.

6. **Moreover, this Greek civilization is essentially one with our own.** The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our interest as curiosities; but they are foreign to us. With a Greek temple or a Greek poem we feel at home. It might have been built or written by an American. Many of our most beautiful buildings use the Greek columns and capitals. Some, in spite of our different climate, are copied almost wholly from Greek models. Our children still delight in the stories that the blind Greek Homer chanted; and older students find his poems a necessary part of our literary culture. The historian still goes to the Greek Thucydides or Herodotus ("the father of history") for his model.

RUINS OF THE PARTHENON (*Temple of Athené*) AT ATHENS; THE WEST FRONT.



PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE 490 B.C.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road
THRACE
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
Oxus R.
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
Bactra
(AFGHANISTAN)
GANDARIA
(PUNJAB)
INDIA
R. Indus
PARICANIA
SAGARTIA
PERSIS
Persepolis
PERSIAN GULF
MEDIA
Ecbatana
CASPIA
ARMENIA
Halys R.
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
CILICIA
CARIA
Sardis
AEGEAN SEA
GREECE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
Damascus
ASSYRIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Babylon
Susa
ARABIA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
Karnak

7. Four weak points remained in this dazzling Greek civilization. (1) *It rested on slavery,* — a slavery less extensive and less hateful than that of the Oriental world, but still involving large classes of people. (2) *It was for males only.* At best, the wife was only a higher domestic servant. (3) *The moral side fell far below the intellectual side.* Religion had little to do with conduct toward men. Some Greek philosophers taught lofty morality, and a few individual lives towered to sublime heights; but, on the whole, while no other society ever produced so large a proportion of great men, many societies have produced more good men. (4) Brilliant as was the Greek mind, *it did not discover the modern method of finding out the secrets of nature* ***by experiment.*** Consequently it did little to increase man's power over natural forces.

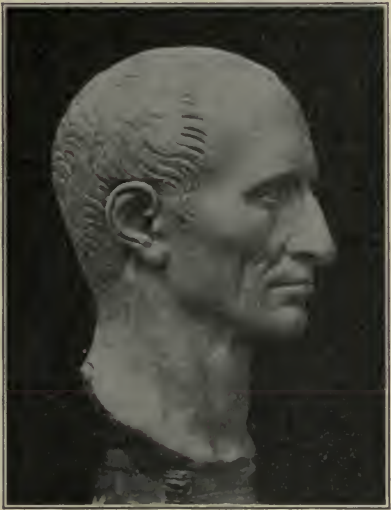
8. About 500 B.C., the rising Greek culture was threatened with conquest by Persia. **The little Greek states heroically repelled the huge Asiatic empire**, and saved Western civilization. Then, two centuries later, through the genius of *Alexander the Great,* they **welded East and West into a Graeco-Oriental world.**

But in the end the vast, sluggish East would have absorbed the small Greek creative element, had not the latter found reinforcement from another European land. *Now the historical "center of gravity" shifts westward once more.*

9. Rome was the central city of Italy, the central Mediterranean land. It began as a village of shepherds and farmers. Partly through geographical advantages, more through genius in war, most of all through a marvelous power of organization, it had grown step by step into the headship of Italy, and was ready now to march on to the lordship of the world. First, it gave a Latin civilization to the *western* Mediterranean coasts; and then, a century before the birth of Christ, it **unified New West and Old East into a Graeco-Roman world.**

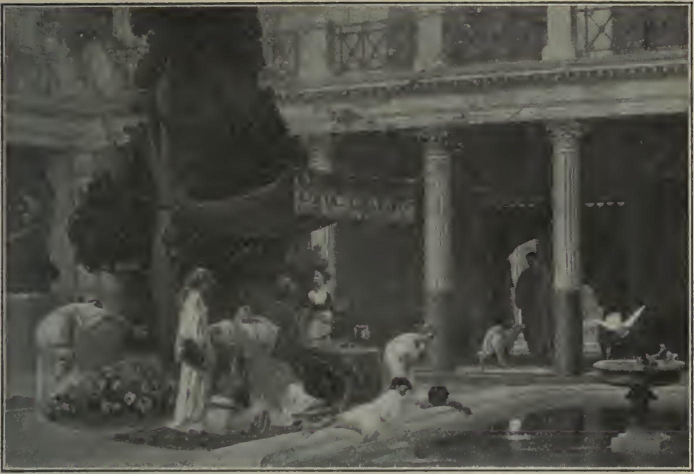
As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so *Rome stands for law and government.* The Greeks, aside from their own contributions to civilization, had *collected* the arts and sciences of the older peoples of the Orient. Rome *preserved* this common treasure of mankind, and (as we shall see in the next chapter) she herself *added* legal and political institutions that have influenced all later time.

10. Still, with all her genius for government, Rome did not hit upon our modern plan of *representative* government. Until this plan was discovered, government had to be exercised, at best, by those who could meet at one spot. A large state, then, could not remain a free state. While Rome was uniting Italy, she was a free city-republic. She succeeded in expanding this form of government so that it met fairly well the needs of united Italy; but it broke down before the needs of a subject world. For a century the government of the ruling city became merely the agent of a selfish moneyed aristocracy which looted the dependent provinces. Then **Julius Caesar,** and his successors, **swept away the outgrown "Republic," and introduced the "Empire,"** with the emperor as the despotic but beneficent father of the whole Graeco-Roman world.



Julius Caesar, the British Museum bust.

The Roman Empire is so immediately the basis of the modern world that it demands a somewhat more extended survey.



The Court (§ 27) of a Roman House, an imaginative painting by Boulanger, based upon a study of ancient remains.

SECOND PERIOD

THE ROMAN WORLD

I. TWO CENTURIES OF PROSPERITY

11. "**The Roman Empire,**" says the famous English historian, Freeman, "*is the central lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and which all the streams of modern history flow out of.*" Its territory, about as large as the United States, embraced the Mediterranean fringe of the three Old-World continents, — a broad belt stretching from the Euphrates to Britain, between southern deserts and the northern waters of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea.

In language, and somewhat in culture, *the West remained Latin, and the East,*[1] *Greek;* but trade, travel, and the mild and just Roman law **made the world one in feeling.** Briton, African, Asiatic, knew one another only as Romans. An

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[1] The Adriatic may be taken as a convenient line of division.

Egyptian Greek of the period expressed this world-wide patriotism in a noble ode, closing, —

> ' Though we tread Rhone's or Orontes' [1] shore,
> Yet are we all one nation evermore."

12. A population of perhaps 75,000,000 people was gathered in myriads of cities, great and small, each throbbing with vari

Aqueduct near Nîmes, France, built about 150 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from distant mountain springs; *present condition* of the long gray structure, where it crosses a deep valley. The water pipes were carried across streams and valleys on arches like these, and through hills by tunnels. Some of these Roman aqueducts remained in use till very recent days.

industry and with intellectual life. Everywhere rude stockaded villages had changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the garden of the world — where, from drifting sands, desolate ruins mock the traveler of to-day. The regular symbol of Africa in art was a stately virgin

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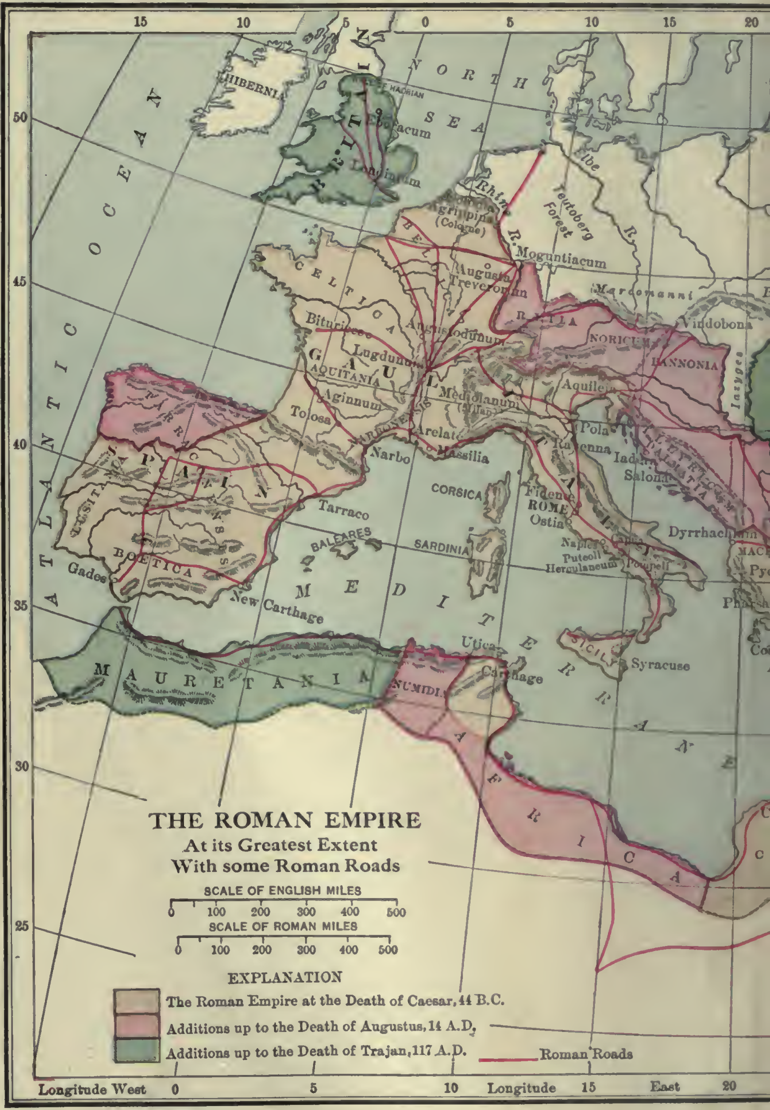
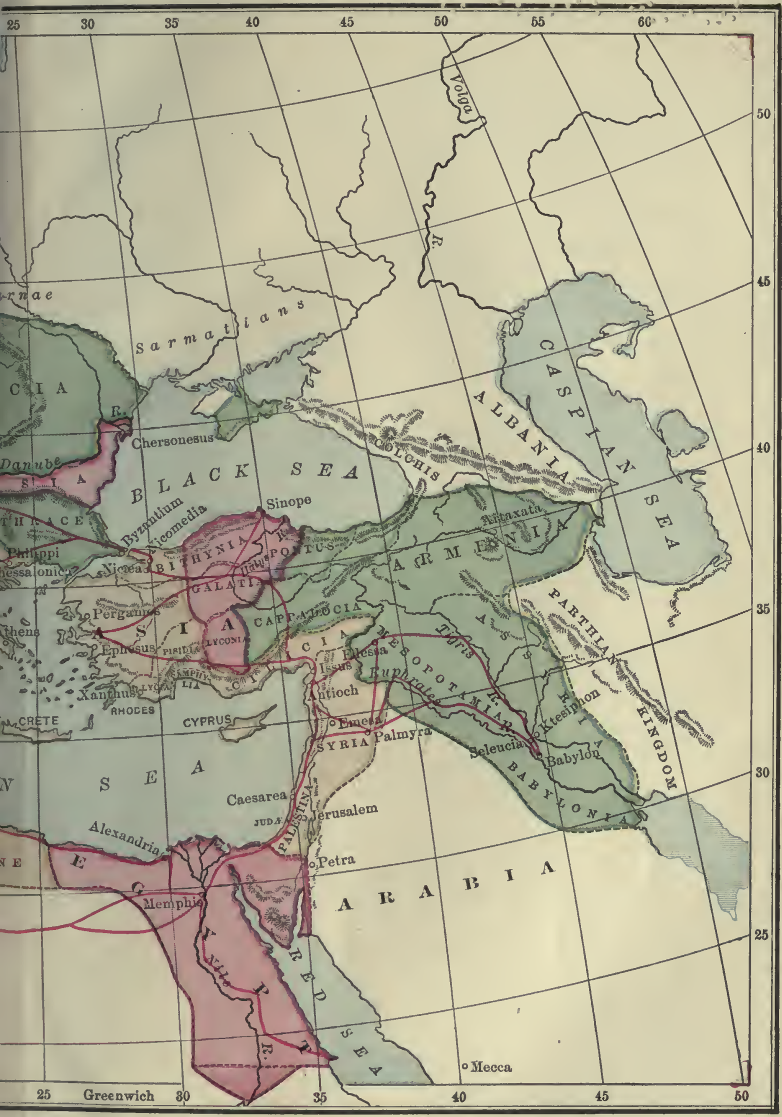
[1] A river of Syria, in Asia.



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads

SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West
Longitude
East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
HIBERNIA
BRITANNIA
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eburacum
Londinium
Rhine R.
Elbe
Teutoberg Forest
Agrippina (Cologne)
Moguntiacum
Augusta Treverorum
BELGICA
CELTICA
GAUL
Bituriges
AQUITANIA
Lugdunum
Augustodunum
Aginnum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Arelate
Narbo
Massilia
Marcomanni
RAETIA
NORICUM
Vindobona
PANNONIA
Iazyges
Mediolanum (Milan)
Aquileia
Pola
Ravenna
Iader
Salona
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
ITALIA
Fidenae
ROME
Ostia
Naples
Capua
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Pompeii
Dyrrhachium
MACEDONIA
Pharsalus
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Syracuse
Utica
Carthage
HISPANIA
TARRACONENSIS
LUSITANIA
BOETICA
Gades
Tarraco
New Carthage
BALEARES
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
15
10
5
0
5
10
15
20
50
45
40
35
30
25


25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
50
45
40
35
30
25
Volga
R.
rnae
Sarmatians
CIA
R.
Chersonesus
Danube
SIA
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Byzantium
Nicomedia
THRACE
Philippi
Thessalonica
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
R.
Halys
GALATIA
Pergamus
Athens
ASIA
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
Xanthus
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Issus
Antioch
Edessa
Emesa
Palmyra
SYRIA
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
CASPIAN SEA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
ASSYRIA
Tigris
R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
R.
Ktesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
SEA
Caesarea
JUDÆA
PALESTINA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
NE
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile
R.
RED SEA
Mecca
25
Greenwich
30
35
40
45
50

[illegible]

with arms filled with sheaves of golden grain. Gaul (France) was Romanized late; but in the third century A.D. that province had 116 flourishing cities, with baths, temples, amphitheaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts, and schools of eloquence and rhetoric.

13. These towns were called *municipia*. They had once managed most of their own affairs; and, under the Empire, **"municipal institutions," for local self-government, survived in hundreds of them.** True, the local government of Rome itself, along with that of Alexandria and other large cities with dangerous street mobs, was placed in the hands of officers appointed by the emperors. But long after such places had ceased to have popular assemblies and elected officers, the cities of Gaul and of Dacia[1] continued to elect each year their consuls (a sort of twin mayors), aediles to oversee the police and public works, and quaestors, to care for the city finances. Election placards, painted on the walls of the houses in Pompeii, show that the contests for office were very real and quite modern in method.

Pompeii, on the bay of Naples, was buried by an eruption of ashes from Mt. Vesuvius in 80 A.D. When it was excavated, in recent times, some 1500 political posters were found painted on the walls along its streets. Probably these posters all concerned some election just about to take place when the city was overtaken by destruction; for when their purpose was served, the space would be whitewashed over, and used for new notices.

These notices are painted in red letters from two to ten inches high, on a white background. Each man, apparently, could use his own wall to recommend his favorite candidates; but hired and zealous "bill-posters" blazoned their placards upon private buildings and even upon funeral monuments. A baker is nominated for quaestor (city treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread"; and, near by, a leading aristocrat is supported as one of whom it is known that "he will guard the treasury." Trade unions make some of these nominations, and even women take part in them, — though of course not in the voting. One "wide-open" candidate for "police commissioner" is attacked by an ironical wag in several posters — as in one that reads, "All the late-drinkers ask your support for Valia for the aedileship."

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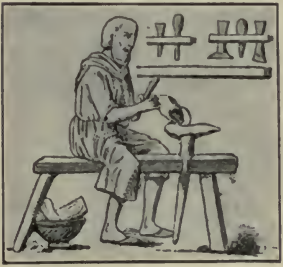
[1] If the student has not studied Ancient history, he should note all these geographical names carefully on the maps after pp. 12 and 24.

In each town of this sort, the ex-magistrates made up a town council (senate), which voted local taxes, expended them for town purposes, and looked after town matters in general. The council's ordinances were submitted, in some towns, to an Assembly of citizens for ratification.

14. Most towns were places of 20,000 people or less; but there were also a few great centers of trade, — Rome, with perhaps two million people; Alexandria (in Egypt) and Antioch (in Asia) with half a million each; and Corinth, Carthage, Ephesus, and Lyons, with some 250,000 apiece.

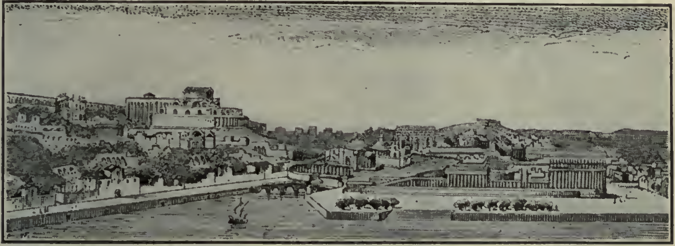
These commercial cities were **likewise centers of manufactures.** The Emperor Hadrian visited Alexandria (about 125 A.D.) and wrote in a letter: "No one is idle; some work glass; some make paper (papyrus); some weave linen. Money is the only god." The looms of Sidon and the other old Phoenician cities turned forth ceaselessly their precious purple cloths. Miletus, Rhodes, and other Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were famous for their woolen manufactures. Syrian factories poured silks, costly tapestries, and fine leather into western Europe. The silversmiths of Ephesus were numerous enough, as we learn from the *Acts of the Apostles* (xix, 23–41), to stir up a formidable riot.



SHOEMAKER in his shop in Roman times. — From Parmentier.

15. The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again until the days of Columbus. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman writer exclaims that there are as many men upon the waves as upon land.

From end to end of the empire, *travel was safe and rapid.* The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the empire, with a dense network of branches in every province. Guidebooks described routes and distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day. Private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until the days of railroads in the nineteenth century.



Lyons in Roman Times.

The products of one region of the empire were known in every other part. Jewelry made in Asia Minor was worn by women in the Swiss mountains; and Italian wines were drunk in Britain and Cilicia. The gravestones of ancient Syrian traders are found to-day scattered from Roumania to France, and in Asia the monuments of Gallic merchants witness to this ancient intercourse. One merchant of Phrygia (a district in Asia Minor) asserts on his gravestone that he had sailed "around Greece to Italy *seventy-two times!*"

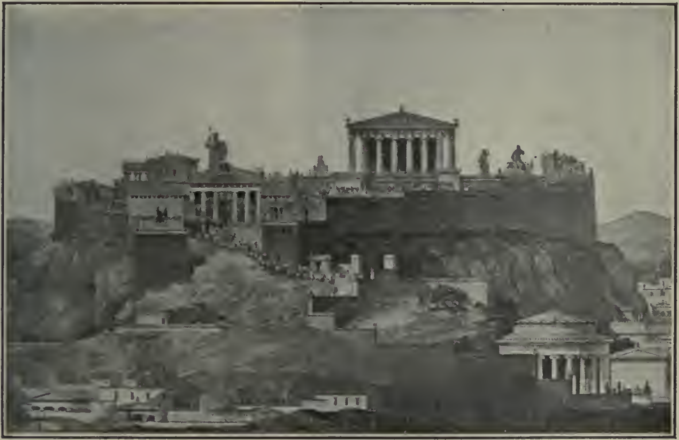
16. There was also a vast commerce with regions *beyond* the boundaries of the empire. As English and Dutch traders, three hundred years ago, journeyed far into the savage interior of America for better bargains in furs, so the indomitable Roman traders pressed on into regions where the Roman legions never camped. They visited Ireland; and from the

Baltic shores they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to adorn their heads. Such goods the trader paid for in toys and trinkets and wine, and sometimes in Roman arms, such as have been found on the Jutland coast. In the East, the trader ventured even more distant voyages. A Latin poet of the time speaks of "many merchants" who reaped "immense riches" by daring voyages over the Indian Ocean "to the mouth of the Ganges." India, Ceylon, and Malasia sent to Europe indigo, spices, pearls, sapphires, drawing away, in return, vast sums of Roman gold and silver coin. And from shadowy realms beyond India came the silk yarn that kept the Syrian looms busy. Chinese annals tell of Roman traders bringing to Canton glass and metal wares, amber, and drugs.

The Appian Way, the first "Roman road." — From a photograph. (The cut shows the original pavement. For the method of making these roads, see *Ancient World*, § 395.)

17. And men traveled for pleasure as well as for business.

There was a keen desire in each great quarter of the empire to see the other regions which Rome had molded into one world. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentleman of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as for the modern American to spend a summer in England or France. One language answered all needs from London to Babylon. Families took these pleasure trips in a body; and, quite in modern fashion, they sometimes defaced priceless monuments of the past with their scrawls. One of the most famous statues in Egypt still bears a scratched inscription that it has been visited by a certain Roman gentleman, "Gemullus," with "his dear wife, Rufilla," and their children.



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS. As "restored" by Lambert.

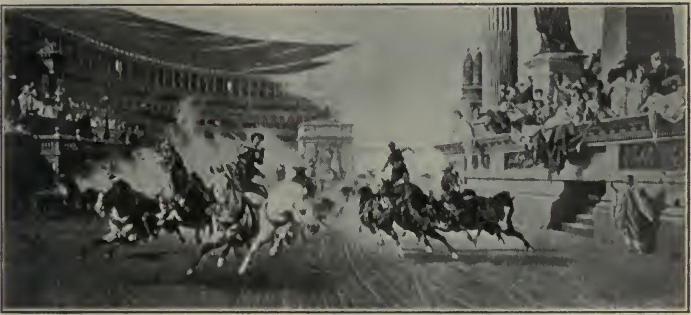
18. Literature and learning flourished. It is impossible here even to mention the great numbers of poets, historians, essayists, philosophers, and other writers, who made the age glorious. **The three great centers of learning** were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities there were **universities**, as we would call them now, with vast libraries (of *manuscripts*, of course, since printing was not yet invented) and numerous professorships. These institutions were endowed by the government. The professors had the rank of Roman nobles, with good salaries, and assured pensions after twenty years of service. Language, rhetoric, philosophy, made up a group of *literary* studies called the *trivium*. Besides these, all schools taught also four *sciences* (the *quadrivium*), — music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. In some universities, other special studies flourished. Law was a specialty at Rome, and medicine at Alexandria.

AUGUSTUS, a statue now in the Vatican. Augustus was a nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. His rule (31 B.C.–14 A.D.) is usually taken to mark the beginning of the Empire.

Below the universities, in all large provincial towns, there were "*grammar schools*." These were endowed by the emperors, and corresponded in some measure to our small colleges.

Those in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; in particular, the ones at Massilia, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The reputation of the instructors in the best schools drew students from all the empire. The walls of the classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay. Like the professors in the universities, they were exempt from taxation and had many privileges.

In the small towns were many *schools of a lower grade.* But all this education was for the upper and middle classes, and for occasional bright boys from the lower classes who found some wealthy patron. Little was done toward dispelling the dense ignorance of the masses. Rich men and women, however, sometimes bequeathed money to schools in their home cities for the education of poor children. And the poet Horace tells us a charming story of how his father, a poor peasant farmer, managed to give him an education which enabled him to become the companion and friend of emperors.



A ROMAN CHARIOT RACE, a modern imaginative painting.

19. The morals of the empire are sometimes supposed to make a black picture. Records give prominence to the court and the capital; and there the truth is dark enough. During some reigns, the atmosphere of the court was rank with hideous debauchery. At all times, many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse orgies; and the rabble of Rome, made up of the offscourings of all nations, was ignorant, cruel, and wicked.

Particular evil customs shock the modern reader. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, the lower classes, with horrible frequency and indifference, exposed their infants to die. Satirists, as in our own day, railed at the growth of divorce among the rich. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater, without shrinking at the agonies of the dying.

But there is danger of exaggeration in such a picture. The good made less noise, as always, than the evil; but the great middle class all over the empire remained wholesome in morals. The *Letters* of the author Pliny reveal even in the court circle a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny himself is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, and genial courtesy. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius shows like qualities on the throne. The slave-philosopher Epictetus shows them in the lowest class of society. And all these people were surrounded by friends whom they thought good and happy. Thousands of tombstones testify to the tenderest family affection. Thus on the memorial tablet of a little girl there is inscribed: —

Marcus Aurelius.

> "She rests here in the soft cradle of the Earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in her talk and play. If there be aught of compassion in the gods, bear her aloft to the stars and the light."

20. Against each evil, we can set a moral gain. *Woman secured more freedom and more intellectual culture* than she was to find again until the nineteenth century. The profession of medicine was open to her. She became the equal of man before the law, and his companion, not his servant, in the home. Beautiful pictures of domestic happiness abound.

There was a vast amount of private and public charity, with homes for orphans and hospitals for the poor.

Kindness to animals became a mark of the times. Apparently they were treated better than they are in southern Europe to-day. The historian Plutarch could not bring himself to sell an ox in its old age. Severe punishments restricted cruelty.

Slavery grew milder than under the "Republic."

Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the thought that all men are brothers. Writers were fond of dwelling on that idea. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." Even the rabble in the Roman theater was wont to applaud the line of the poet Terence: "I am a man: no event that can affect men is without meaning to me."

BATHS AT BATH, ENGLAND, on the site of ancient Roman baths. The buildings in the background are modern.

The age prided itself, justly, upon its progress and its humanity, much as our own does. The Emperor Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

21. This broad humanity was reflected in imperial law. The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal" became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian. Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law, enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed.[1]

22. This wide-spread, happy society rested in "the good Roman peace" for more than two hundred years, — from the reign of Augustus Caesar through that of Marcus Aurelius, or from 31 B.C. to 192 A.D. No other part of the world so large has ever known such unbroken prosperity and such freedom from the waste and horror of war for so long a time. *Few troops were seen within the empire,* and "the distant clash of arms [with barbarians] on the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." Toward the close of the period, one of the Christian fathers (Tertullian) wrote: —

> "Each day the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. . . . Recent deserts bloom. . . . Forests give way to tilled acres. . . . Everywhere are houses, people, cities. Everywhere there is life."

A few of the emperors at Rome, like Nero and Caligula, even in this "golden age of the empire," were weak or wicked; but their follies and vices concerned only the nobles of the capital city. The government of the empire as a whole went on with little change during their short reigns. To the vast body of the people of the Roman world, the crimes of an occasional tyrant were unknown. To them he seemed (like the good emperors) merely the symbol of the peace and prosperity which enfolded them.

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[1] It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave laws from 1793 to the Civil War.

II. TWO CENTURIES OF DECLINE

23. The third century began a period of swift decline. For a time despotism had served as a medicine for anarchy (§ 10), but now its poison began to show. Weak or vicious rulers followed one another in ruinous succession. The throne became the sport of the soldiery. *Ninety-two years* (193–284 A.D.) *saw twenty-seven "barrack" emperors* set up by the army. All but four of these were slain in some revolt; and two of the four fell in battle against the barbarians, who, in those dismal years, began to break through the frontiers.

Population ceased to advance, and even fell away. A series of terrible Asiatic plagues swept off vast numbers; but *the causes of permanent decay were* ***within*** *Roman society.* The main cause, probably, was the widespread slave system. The wealthy classes of society do not have large families. Our population to-day grows mainly from the families of the working class. But in the Roman empire the place of free workingmen was taken mainly by slaves. Slaves rarely had families. If they had children at all, the master commonly "exposed" them to die, since it was easier and cheaper to buy a new slave, from captive barbarians, than to rear one. Besides, the competition of slave labor ground into the dust what free labor there was; so that working people could not afford to raise large families, but were driven also to the cruel practice of exposing their infants, — a custom which ancient morality permitted. Year after year, "the human harvest was bad."

24. *The only measure that helped fill up the gaps in population* **was the introduction of barbarians from without.** This took place *peacefully* on a large scale; but, to the Empire politically, it was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

The Roman army had long been mostly made up of Germans; and whole provinces were settled by them, *before* their kinsmen from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered barbarians had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces; and friendly tribes had been admitted, to make their homes in depopulated districts. As slaves, soldiers, colonists, subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, until a large part of the empire was Germanized. *The barrier between the empire and its assailants was melting away.*

25. Toward the close of the third century, however, there arose a great ruler to save the empire for two hundred years more. The stern soldier, *Diocletian* (284–305), the grandson of an Illyrian slave, was the greatest and last of the "barrack" emperors. He made such emperors impossible thereafter. Seizing the scepter with a firm hand, he first restored peace on all frontiers, and then gave his energies to reshaping the government. *The Roman imperial system, as it affected the after-world, was mainly his creation.*

THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN TO-DAY. Parts of the extensive ruins form the walls of modern buildings.

Diocletian[1] divided the empire into its two great parts, *East* and *West*, with the Adriatic for the dividing line (§ 11). Each part contained two *prefectures*. The four prefectures comprised in all some thirteen *dioceses*, made up of numerous *provinces*.

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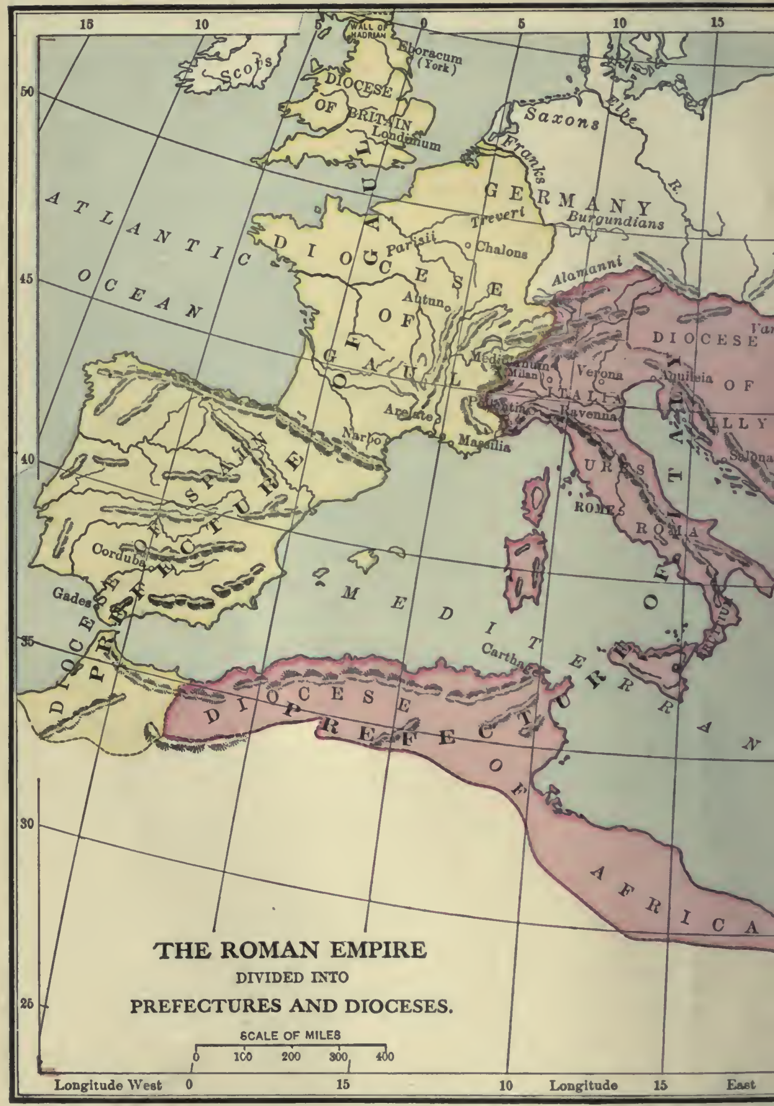
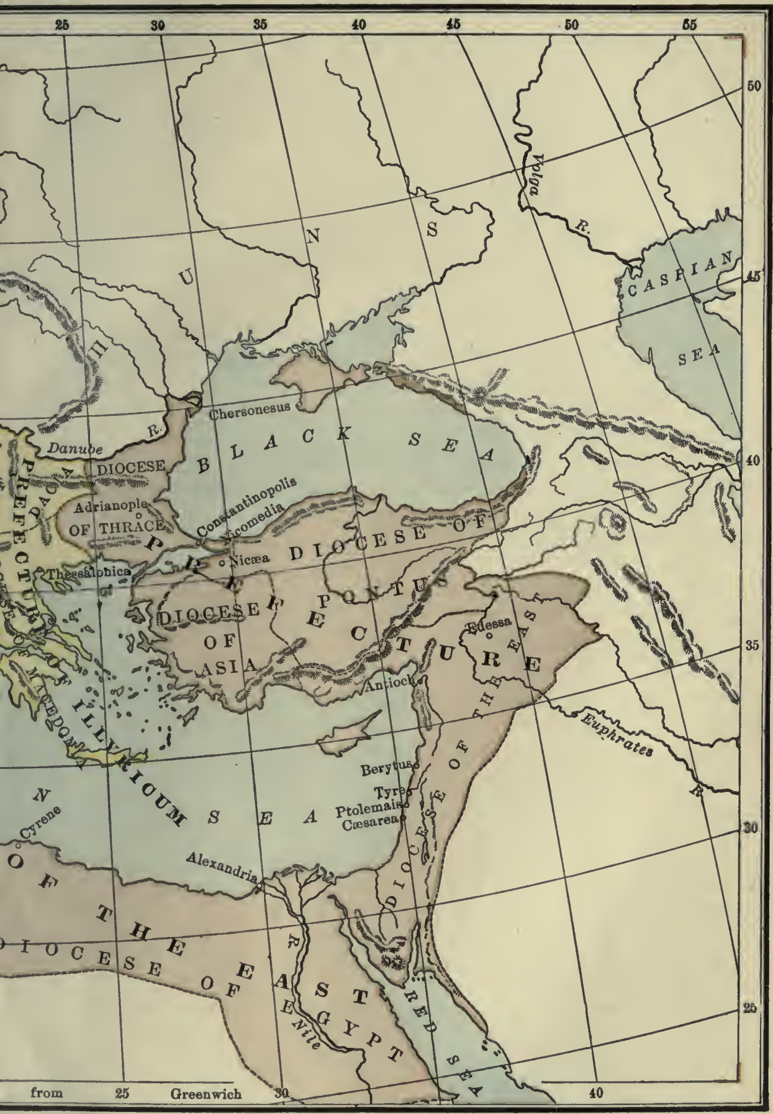
[1] The following table and map show these divisions.

	Prefectures	*Dioceses*	*Provinces*	
THE EAST	East	East (13); Egypt (6)	21	Countless *municipalities*
		Asia (11); Pontus (11)	22	
		Thrace	6	
	Illyricum	Macedonia and Greece	6	
		Dacia	5	
THE WEST	Italy	Italy (17); Africa (6)	23	
		Illyria	7	
	Gaul	Spain (7); The Gauls (17)	24	
		Britain	5	



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
DIVIDED INTO
PREFECTURES AND DIOCESES.

Scots
Wall of Hadrian
Eboracum (York)
DIOCESE OF BRITAIN
Londinium
Saxons
Elbe
Franks
R.
GERMANY
Burgundians
Treveri
ATLANTIC OCEAN
DIOCESE OF GAUL
PREFECTURE OF GAUL
Parisii
Chalons
Alamanni
Autun
DIOCESE OF ITALY
DIOCESE OF ILLY
Mediolanum (Milan)
Verona
Aquileia
ITALIA
Pollentia
Ravenna
Arelate
Narbo
Massilia
Salona
DIOCESE OF SPAIN
URBS ROMA
ROME
Corduba
Gades
MEDITERRANEAN
Carthage
DIOCESE OF AFRICA
PREFECTURE OF ITALY
BRUTIUM
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
400
Longitude West
Longitude East
0
5
10
15
25
30
35
40
45
50


25
30
35
40
45
50
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
H U N S
Volga R.
CASPIAN SEA
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
DIOCESE OF THRACE
Adrianople
Constantinopolis
Nicomedia
Nicæa
Thessalonica
DIOCESE OF PONTUS
DIOCESE OF ASIA
PREFECTURE OF THE EAST
Edessa
Antioch
DIOCESE OF THE EAST
PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM
DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA
Euphrates R.
Berytus
Tyre
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
SEA
Cyrene
Alexandria
DIOCESE OF THE EAST
DIOCESE OF EGYPT
Nile R.
RED SEA
from 25 Greenwich 30
40

Every division, large or small, was placed under a special officer. Thus Diocletian created a series of officials *in regular grades*, as in an army. Each was placed under the immediate direction of the one just above him, and the lines all converged from below to the emperor. Each official sifted all business that came to him from his subordinates, and sent on to his superior the more important matters. This arrangement fixed responsibility precisely, and distributed duties in a workable way.

The earlier, loosely organized despotism had become a vast centralized despotism,[1] ***a highly complex machine.*** **For a time, its new strength warded off invasion; but its own weight pressed crushingly upon society. The century that followed the changes by Diocletian was marked by a fair degree of *outward* prosperity. But early in the next century (the fifth) the empire began to crumble before the barbarians. Those barbarian attacks were no more formidable than many which had been rebuffed in earlier centuries. To understand why the empire now fell before them, we must note more fully its inner weakness, and the secret forces that were sapping its strength (§§ 26 ff.).**

26. The classes of society *were becoming fixed.* At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were peasantry and artisans to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility, and a local aristocracy in each city.

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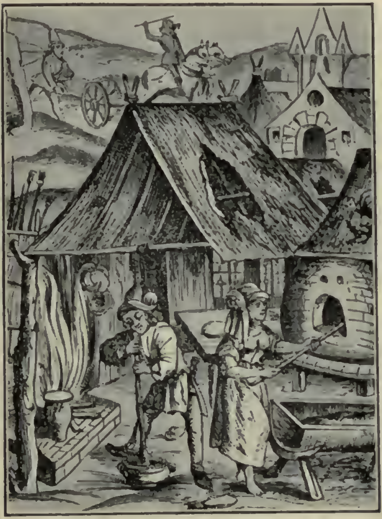
[1] It is desirable for students to discuss in class more fully some of these forms of government of which the text treats. Absolutism refers to the *source of supreme power:* in a system of absolutism, supreme power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration.* A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above. Absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together.* A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey, or in Russia in past centuries. But absolutism is likely to develop centralized agencies, as Russia has been doing rapidly of late.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system always decays. *It does nothing to educate the people politically.* Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run.*

27. The imperial nobility were great landed proprietors. They had many special privileges. Through their influence upon the government, they escaped most of the burden of taxation — which they were better able to meet than any other class.

The homes of the nobles, and of the wealthy men of the middle class, were places of comfort and luxury. The rooms were usually built around one or more "courts" open to the sky. The court admitted light and air. In its center, ornamental fountains played, surrounded by flowering shrubs, with marble statues gleaming through the foliage. Fashionable houses had bathrooms and libraries. The pavement of the courts and the floors of the principal rooms were ornamented with artistic mosaïc. Walls were hung with costly, brilliantly colored tapestries; and ceilings were richly gilded. Sideboards held beautiful vases, with gold and silver plate; and in various recesses stood glorious statues.



BREADMAKING BY SERFS.

Besides his town house, each wealthy citizen had one or more country houses, with all the comforts of the city, — baths, museums, libraries, — and also with extensive, park-like grounds containing fishponds, vineyards, and orchards. Such establishments were called *villas*. *Commonly, indeed, a villa was the center of a large farm.* The troops of slaves that tilled the soil had their huts leaning against the wall of the villa grounds; and the more skilled artisans — carpenters, smiths, bakers, and so on — lived near them in somewhat better quarters, while troops of household slaves slept on the floors of the large halls or in the open courts of the central mansion. For most purposes a villa was self-sufficient. It raised its own food and prepared it for the table, and carried on most of the other industries necessary for the ordinary life of its inhabitants.

28. The local nobility (*curials*) were the families of the senate class in their respective cities. They, too, had some special privileges. They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to bodily punishment. They were compelled, however, to undergo great expenses in connection with the offices they had to fill. And, in particular, they were made responsible, personally, for the collection of the imperial taxes in their districts.

This burden finally became so crushing that many curials tried desperately to evade it, — even by sinking into a lower class, or by flight to the barbarians. Then, to secure the revenue, law made them a hereditary class. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to move from one city to another, or even to travel without permission.

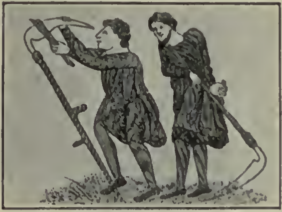
Between these local nobles and the artisan class, there had been, in the day of the early empire, a much larger middle class of small landowners, merchants, bankers, and professional men. **This class had now almost disappeared.** Some were compelled by law to take up the duties of the vanishing curials. More, in the financial ruin of the period, sank into the working class.

29. The artisans had long been grouped in gilds. A gild was an association of all the skilled workmen of one sort in a given place. All the bakers in a city belonged to the bakers' gild; all the masons to the masons' gild; and so on. A gild regulated methods of work and had great control over its members.

Each artisan was now bound to his gild, **by law,** *as the curial was bound to his office.* The condition of artisans had become desperate. An edict of Diocletian's regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one-tenth the wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one-third as much as now. His family rarely knew the taste of eggs or fresh meat.

30. The peasantry had become *serfs.* That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

When the Empire began, free small-farmers were growing fewer, over much of the realm, while great estates, managed by stewards and tilled by slaves, were growing more numerous. Grain culture decreased, and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To help remedy this state of affairs, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure *a hereditary class of farm laborers*, and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.*



SERFS IN ROMAN GAUL. — From Lacroix, after an old manuscript.

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

This growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. That class, more and more, sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom, until the great majority of laborers on the soil were of this order.

31. Lack of money was one of the great evils. The empire did not have sufficient supplies of precious metals for the demands of business; and what money there was was steadily drained away to India and the distant Orient (§ 16). By the fourth century this movement had carried away hundreds of millions of dollars of coined money. Even the imperial officers were forced to take part of their salaries in produce, — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to go back to the primitive form of barter; and it became harder and harder to collect taxes.

But the empire demanded more and more taxes. It was "a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine." It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. *But the time came when the provincials began to dread the tax-collector more than they feared the barbarians.* This was partly because of the decrease in ability to pay, and partly because the complex organization of government cost more and more. Says one historian: "The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them."

32. Summary. — There were no more great poets or men of letters in the third and fourth centuries. Learning and patriotism both declined. Society began to fall into rigid castes, — the serf bound to his spot of land, the artisan to his gild, the curial to his office. Freedom of movement was lost. Above all, *there was dearth of money and dearth of men. The empire had become a shell.*

For five hundred years, outside barbarians had been tossing wildly about the great natural walls of the civilized world. Commonly they had shrunk in dread from any conflict with the mighty Roman legions, always on sleepless ward at the weaker gaps — along the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates. Sometimes, it is true, the barbarians had broken through for a moment, but always to be destroyed promptly by some Roman Marius, or Caesar, or Julian. Now they broke in to stay — at first, seemingly, to overwhelm civilization, but eventually to revive it and to add to it priceless elements of their own.

III. CHRISTIANITY AND THE EMPIRE

33. Meanwhile, Christianity had come into the world, and had already become the greatest force for good within it. Before we turn to the barbarian conquerors of the empire, we must notice one supreme service of that empire in its last century. It had helped to foster this chief force in human progress.

Christianity appeared almost at the beginning of the empire. For three centuries its followers were despised and sometimes persecuted, but still the unity of the Roman world made it far easier for the new moral and spiritual teachings to spread than if the world had been broken up into a multitude of petty, disconnected, hostile states, with little communication and with unintelligible dialects. Finally the new religion grew so strong that candidates for the throne began to bid for its support. *Early in the fourth century* (313 A.D.), under the Emperor Constantine, *Christianity became a tolerated and even*

The Arch of Constantine, commemorating victories that made him master of the Roman world.

a favored religion; and shortly before the close of that century *it became the state religion* of the empire.

Its victory just at this time enabled it to conquer also the barbarians who were soon to conquer the empire. If they had not been converted before they became conquerors, it would have been almost impossible to convert them at all. They would have despised the religion of a people whom they had conquered. Therefore the historian Freeman calls the conversion of the Roman empire at that moment "the leading fact in all history," because then "*where Rome led, all must follow.*"

34. The church modeled its marvelously efficient government, in some respects, upon the territorial divisions and the political organization of the empire.

A PHOTOGRAPH OF JERUSALEM TO-DAY.

As the first missionaries spread out beyond Judea and came to a new province, they naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of the province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes.

At the head of each *parish* was a *priest*, assisted usually by deacons and subdeacons to care for the poor. The head of a *city church* was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the rural churches of the neighborhood. The bishop of the *mother church in the capital city* exercised great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan;* and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

Commonly, one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese (§ 25 and note) came to have leadership over the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese, who became known as a *patriarch.*

The process toward a centralized government was soon carried farther. The patriarchs of a few great centers were exalted above the others. Finally *all the East became divided among the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while all the West came under the authority of the bishop of Rome.*

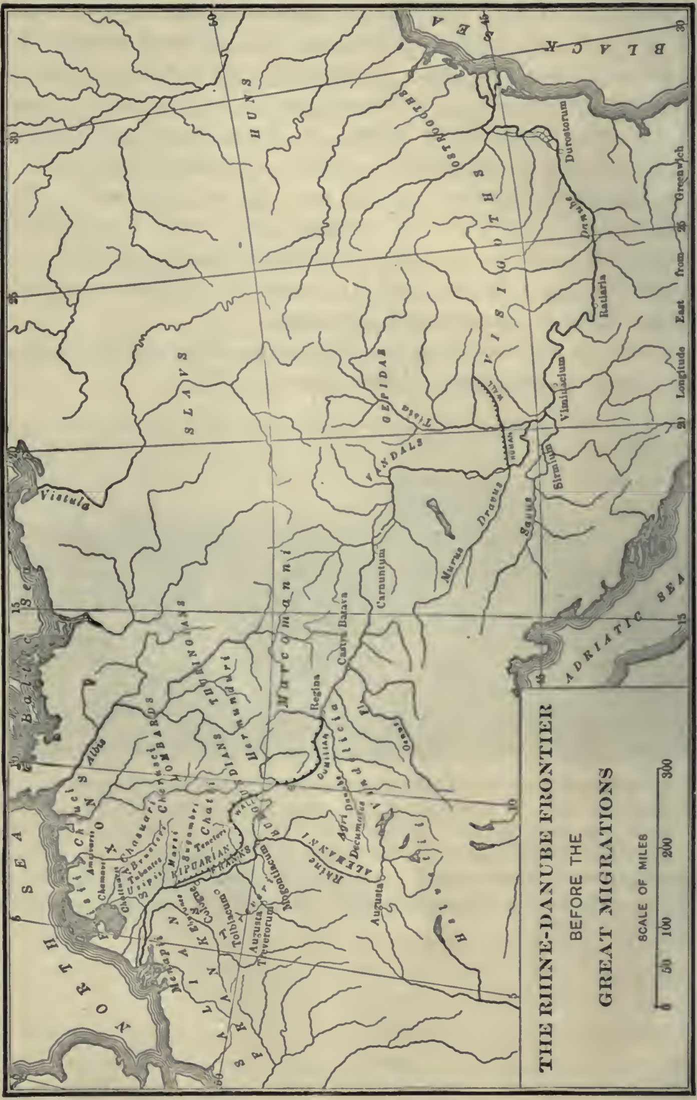
35. The Nicene Creed. — By degrees the church came to contain the educated classes, trained in the schools of Greek philosophy. These scholars brought with them into the church their philosophical thought; and they expanded the simple teachings of Christ into an elaborate system of theology. When they tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the *orthodox doctrine,* and the views of the minority became *heresy.*

Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ. Thus Arius, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. Athanasius, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, — "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps.

But the Emperor Constantine desired union in the church. If it split into hostile fragments, his political reasons for favoring it would be gone. Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the empire to the first great council of the whole church, at Nicaea, in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement. Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius. His doctrine, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom. Arianism was condemned as a heresy, and Arius and his followers were excluded from the church and persecuted.

It was the fugitives from this persecution who converted most of the Teutonic barbarians to Christianity (§ 37).

THE COLISEUM TO-DAY. This vast stone *amphi*theater (*two* theaters, face to face) was used for gladiatorial games and shows at Rome. It covers six acres, and the walls are 150 feet high. It is said to have seated 45,000 spectators. For centuries, in the Middle Ages, its ruins were a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size prevented complete destruction. The traveler always feels that the Coliseum symbolizes the undying power of Rome.



THE RHINE-DANUBE FRONTIER
BEFORE THE
GREAT MIGRATIONS

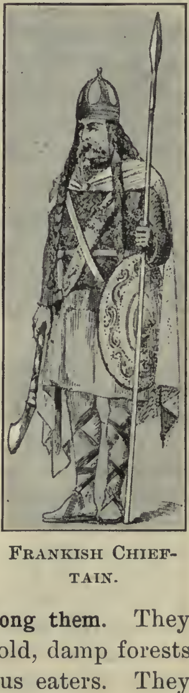
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
300
Longitude East from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
Baltic Sea
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
HUNS
SLAVS
OSTROGOTHS
VISIGOTHS
GEPIDAE
VANDALS
THURINGIANS
LOMBARDS
SAXONS
BURGUNDIANS
Hermunduri
Marcomanni
ALEMANNI
RIPUARIAN FRANKS
SALIAN FRANKS
Chauci
Frisii
Chamavi
Angrivarii
Chasuarii
Cherusci
Chatti
Bructeri
Tubantes
Usipii
Tencteri
Sugambri
Marsi
Menapii
Vindelicia
Noricum
Pannonia
Helvetii
Agri Decumates
ROMAN WALL
WALL
Vistula
Albis
Danube
Rhine
Tisia
Dravus
Savus
Murus
Oenus
Regina
Castra Batava
Carnuntum
Sirmium
Viminacium
Ratiaria
Durostorum
Cologne
Tolbiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Mogontiacum
Augusta
5
10
15
20
25
30
45
50

THIRD PERIOD

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST

(Fifth and Sixth Centuries)

36. East of the Rhine there had long roamed many "forest peoples," whom the Romans called Germans, or *Teutons*. The important groups in the fifth century were the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Alemanni, Lombards, Franks, and Saxons. All these barbarians were tall, huge of limb, white-skinned, flaxen-haired, with fierce, blue eyes. To the short, dark-skinned races of Roman Europe, their tawny forms seemed those of terrible giants. Skins or rude cloths formed their clothing; but the nobler warriors wore chain mail, and helmets crested with plumes or dragons.



Frankish Chieftain.

The tribes nearest the Empire had taken on a little civilization, and had begun to form large combinations under the rule of kings. The more distant tribes were still savage and unorganized. In general, *they were not far above the level of the better North American Indians* in our colonial period. Their only trade was barter; and what little agriculture they practised was carried on by women and slaves.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests helped to make them drunkards and gluttonous eaters. They were desperate gamblers, too, and when other wealth was lost, they would stake even their liberty on the throw of the dice.

At the same time they possessed some noble traits not common in savage races. *They revered women.* The Roman historian Tacitus dwells upon the affection and purity of their family life. *They reverenced truth and fidelity to the pledged word.* Their *grim joy in battle* rose sometimes to fierce delight or even to a "Baersark" rage that made a warrior throw off armor and fight "bare," in his shirt, insensible to wounds. Above all, they possessed a proud spirit of individual liberty, "a high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man."

37. The old German religion was a rude polytheism. *Woden*, the war god, held the first place in their worship. From him the noble families all claimed descent. *Thor*, or *Donner*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.

The Franks and Saxons when they broke into the Empire were still heathen. All the other tribes that settled in the Empire in the fifth century had just become converts to *Arian* Christianity (§ 35).

38. Government. — A tribe lived in villages scattered in the forest. *The village and the tribe each had its Assembly* and its hereditary chief. *The tribal chief*, or king, *was surrounded by his council of village chiefs.* To quote Tacitus: —

> "*In the election of kings* they have regard to birth; in that of generals to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example.
>
> "On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community. . . . They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade than their authority to command.* If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur. If it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms."

39. Every great chief was surrounded by a band of "*companions*," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder. For the safety of their "lord" they were ready to give their lives. To survive his death, leaving his body to a victorious foe, was life-long disgrace. This "*personal loyalty*" among the Teutons corresponded to the Roman loyalty to the state.

40. Story of the West Goths. — The first step in the Teutonic Conquest seemed at the moment only a continuation of an old and successful policy of the Empire. For five hundred years, the Roman legions, invincible in their magnificent discipline, had proven themselves over and over again superior to the terrible Teutonic warriors. And during this period, especially toward the close, many Teutonic tribes had been admitted within the boundaries peaceably (§ 24), as "allies" of Rome. Hitherto, such tribes had always proven faithful defenders of the frontiers against their kinsmen without. But in 376 A.D., such a measure was repeated on a larger scale than ever before, — and with different results.

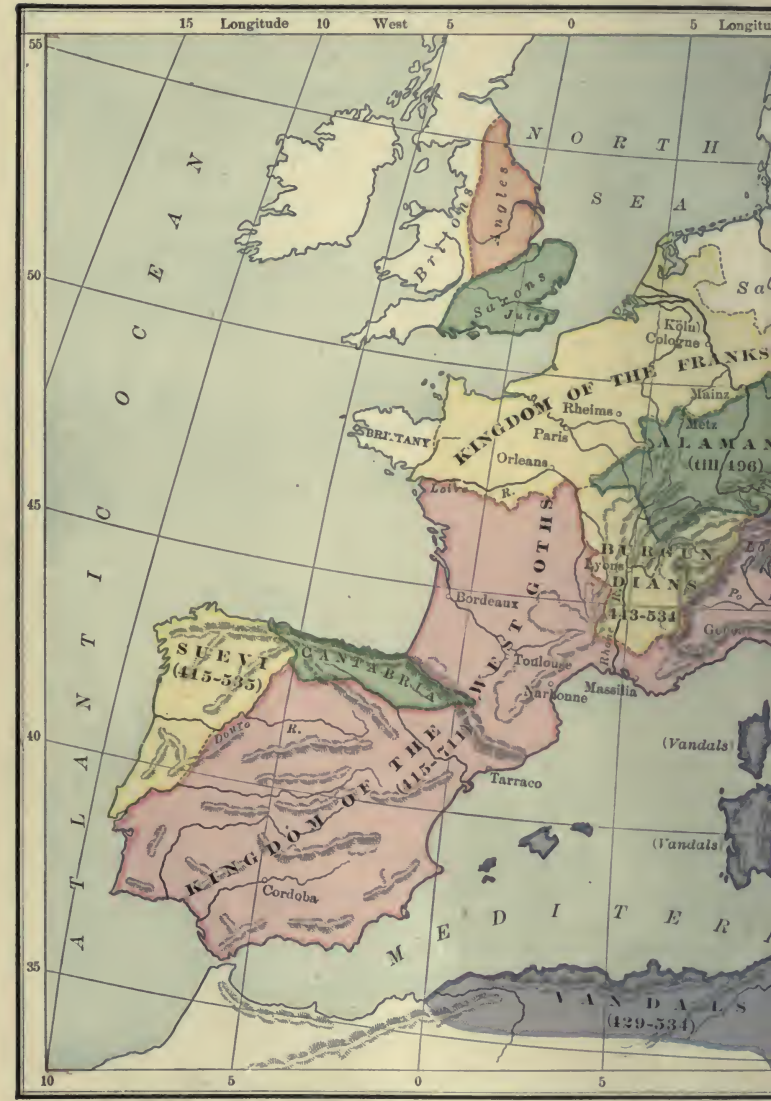
The whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*) appeared on the Danube, with their flocks and herds, and with their goods and women and children in long lines of wooden carts. They were fleeing from the more terrible Huns, — wild, nomadic horsemen from Tartary, — and they begged to be allowed to cross the Danube into the protection of the Empire. The Emperor Valens granted the prayers of the fugitive nation, and gave them lands south of the river.

They were to surrender their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. These agents embezzled the funds and furnished only vile and insufficient food, while, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms, — in much the same way that corrupt American "Indian agents" have provoked many Indian wars. The Goths rose and marched on Constantinople, which was now the capital of the Empire. Valens met them, with hastily gathered forces, at *Adrianople*, but was defeated and slain (378 A.D.). *This battle marks the beginning of the Teutonic conquest.*

The Goths established themselves in fertile provinces, rising now and then to ravage neighboring districts. In 410, under their young king *Alaric*, they sacked Rome itself, which for centuries had stood unassailable in men's minds as "the Eternal City." Soon afterward, a new king led them into *Spain*. There they found the Vandals, who had entered by a shorter route across the Rhine. Driving the Vandals into Africa, the West Goths set up in Spain a firm Teutonic kingdom, which lasted three centuries, until overwhelmed by the resistless flood of Mohammedan conquest (§ 60). Indeed the fragments of the Gothic state afterward grew together again into the Spain of to-day.

41. Meanwhile, other Teutons began to swarm across the Rhine. Finally, after unspeakable disorder and frightful destruction, the East Goths established themselves in Italy; the Burgundians, in the valley of the Rhone; the Angles and Saxons, in Britain; the Franks, in northern Gaul. This "wandering of the peoples" filled the fifth century and part of the sixth. In all cases (except in Britain, which will be treated later) the invaders settled down as rulers among a much larger native Roman population.

42. A New Force in History. — *These two terrible centuries brought on the stage* not only the Teutons, but also another new race, — *the Slavs;* and the opening of the following century brought another new force, *Mohammedanism.* But of these three forces, *we are concerned almost alone with the Teutons.* Mohammedanism, as we shall see, seized swiftly upon all the old historic ground in Asia and Africa; *but these countries have had little touch since with our Western civilization.* South of the Danube, Slavic tribes — Bulgars and Serbs — settled up almost to the walls of Constantinople, where the Roman Empire still maintained itself. *Southeastern Europe became Slavic-Greek*, just as Western Europe had become Teutonic-Roman. But, until very recently, Southeastern Europe, in its


15 Longitude 10 West 5 0 5 Longitu
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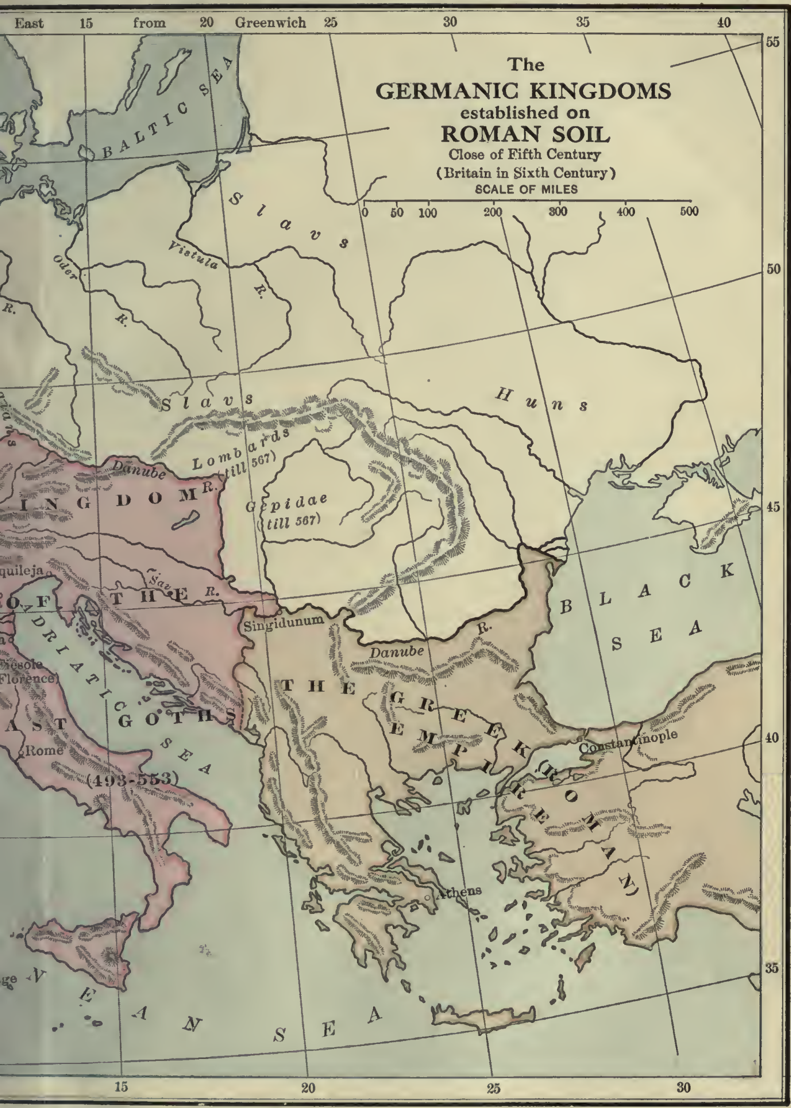
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Angles
Britons
Saxons
Jutes
Sa
Kölu)
Cologne
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
Mainz
Rheims
Paris
Metz
ALAMAN
(till 496)
BRITTANY
Orleans
Loire R.
WEST GOTHS
BURGUNDIANS
413-534
Lyons
Rhone R.
Po
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Narbonne
Massilia
SUEVI
(415-585)
CANTABRIA
Douro R.
KINGDOM OF THE WEST GOTHS
(415-711)
Tarraco
Cordoba
(Vandals)
(Vandals)
MEDITERRA
VANDALS
(429-534)

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths i


The
GERMANIC KINGDOMS
established on
ROMAN SOIL
Close of Fifth Century
(Britain in Sixth Century)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
East 15 from 20 Greenwich 25 30 35 40
55
50
45
40
35
15 20 25 30
BALTIC SEA
Slavs
Vistula
R.
Oder
R.
R.
Slavs
Huns
Lombards
(till 567)
Danube
R.
INGDOM
Gepidae
(till 567)
quileja
Save
R.
OF THE
ADRIATIC SEA
Singidunum
Danube
R.
BLACK SEA
Fiesole
(Florence)
THE GREEK EMPIRE (ROMAN)
GOTHS
AST
Rome
(493-553)
Constantinople
Athens
ge
EAN SEA

s limited to a small southern strip (Septimania)

later history, has had little bearing upon the Western World. *The two halves of Europe fell apart,* with the Adriatic for the dividing line, — along the old cleavage between Latin and Greek civilizations (§ 11).

The Teutons, however, rank, alongside the Greeks and Romans, as one of the three great historic peoples. Since their invasions, no other element in any degree so important has been added to the world's development. In all the centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from this Western Teutonic-Romano Europe — and from its recent offshoots in other continents. Says an American historian (George Burton Adams): —

> "The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work."

43. Conditions after the Year 600. — The invasions brought overwhelming destruction upon the Roman world, — the most complete catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Civilization, it is true, had been declining before they began (§§ 23–32); but *they tremendously accelerated the movement, and prevented a revival of the Roman world in the West.*

When the invaders had entered into possession, and so ceased to destroy, two new causes of decline appeared: —

The new ruling classes were densely ignorant. They cared nothing for the survivals of the old literature and science. Few of them could read, or write even their names. Much of the old civilization was allowed to decay because they could not understand its use.

The language of everyday speech was growing away from the literary language in which all the remains of the old knowledge were preserved. Until the coming of the Teutons, a man who spoke the common language in Gaul or Spain could also understand the Latin when he heard it. But the barbarian conquerors widened the gap between the spoken and the written languages. They disregarded inflections, when they spoke the speech of their subjects. They also corrupted words, by mispronunciation, and added a mass of new Teutonic words. The language of learning became "dead." It was known only to the clergy, and to most of them at this period very imperfectly.

Thus for two hundred years after the invasions themselves ceased, Europe remained a dreary scene of violence, lawlessness, and ignorance. The old Roman schools disappeared, and classical literature seemed to be extinct. There was no tranquil leisure, and therefore no study. There was little security, and therefore little work. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons gained.

44. But after all, the invasions did not uproot civilization. *The conquests were made by small numbers*, and, outside Britain, they did not greatly change the character of the population. The conquerors settled among ten or fifty times their own numbers. At first they were the rulers, and almost the only large landowners. In the *country* districts they remained long the only class that seemed to count. But *the towns*, so far as they survived, *remained Roman.* Almost unnoticed by the ruling classes, they preserved some parts of the old culture and the old handicrafts. They kept, too, in the south of Europe, *the municipal institutions* of the old Empire. *The old population, too, for a long time furnished all the clergy.* From this class — the sole possessors of the art of writing and keeping records — the Teutonic lords had to draw secretaries and confidential officers; and by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization.

Most important of all, *the church itself lived on much in the old way.* Necessarily it suffered somewhat in the general degradation of the age; but, on the whole, it protected the weak, and stood for peace, industry, and right living. In the darkest of those dark centuries there were great numbers of priests, monks, and bishops, inspired with zeal for righteousness and with love for men. The church, too, had its separate system of government, with which the new rulers of the land did not much interfere. Therefore *it kept up the old forms and principles of the Roman law more than any other part of society.* It was the chief force that made life *tolerable* for myriads of men and women in that dark age; it was also the one means of saving civilization for the future.

Through these different agencies, much of the old civilization which at the time seemed ruined, was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons, — so that "nearly every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts, is now a part of our civilization."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Tacitus in his *Germania* treats the Teutons at length. Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 121, gives a four-page extract. A like extract is found in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 2. The most valuable modern accounts likely to be found in a high-school library are the opening pages of Green's *English People*, of Taine's *English Literature*, and of Henderson's *Short History of Germany.*

FOURTH PERIOD

FUSION OF TEUTON AND ROMAN

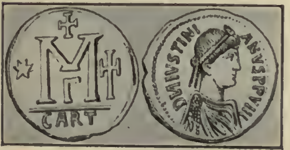
(SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES WITH PART OF THE SIXTH)

Roughly speaking, the two centuries from 400 to 600 brought the Teuton into the Roman world, and the next two centuries, from 600 to 800, fused the Teutonic and Roman elements, so as to prepare for new advance. In strict accuracy, the two periods overlapped somewhat.

The story of the fusion of the two groups of forces is the subject of this and the next two chapters. The present chapter treats a few important but *disconnected* events, as an introduction to the more connected story of the two following.

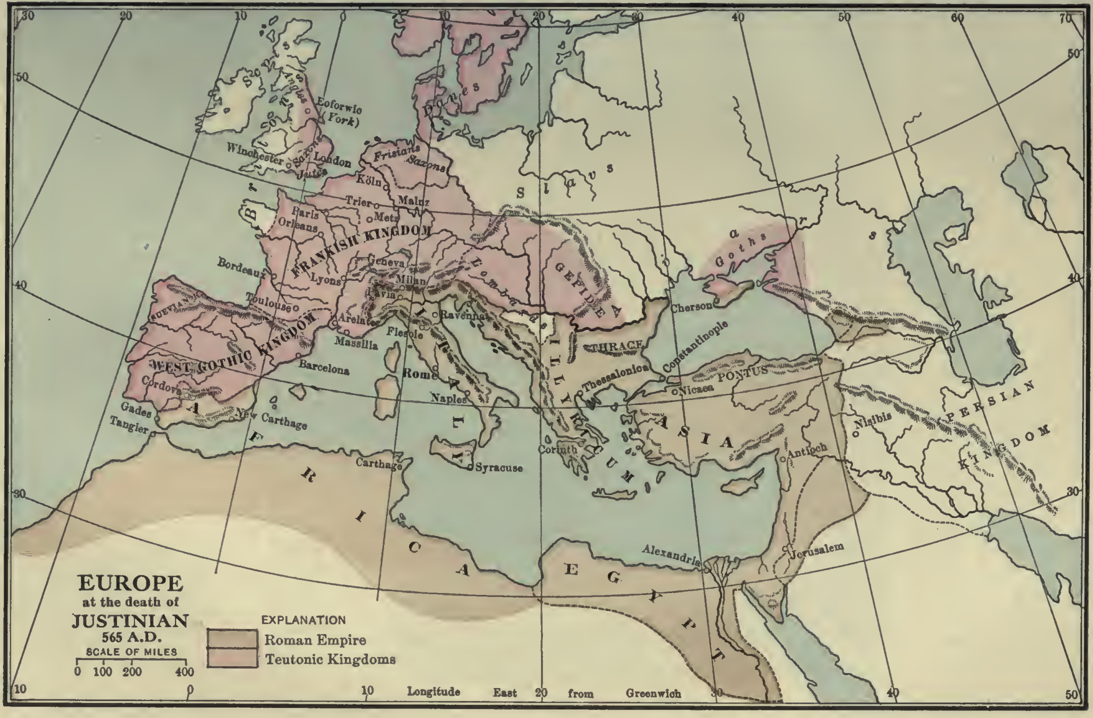
45. Codification of the Roman Law. — We have said that the Roman empire continued in part of eastern Europe and in Asia, with its capital at Constantinople (the "city of Constantine"). Separated now from the Latin part of Europe, the Empire became more and more Greek and Oriental. It still called itself Roman; but we usually speak of it, after the fifth century, as "the Greek empire."

In the sixth century, after long decline, this Empire fell for a time to a capable ruler, *Justinian the Great* (527–565). We remember him chiefly because he brought about *a codification of the Roman law.* In the course of centuries, that law had become an intolerable maze. Now a commission of able lawyers put the whole mass into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.



SILVER COIN OF JUSTINIAN.

Justinian also *reconquered Italy* for the Empire *and established the code in that land.* Thence, later on, *it spread over the West*

EUROPE
at the death of
JUSTINIAN
565 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
Roman Empire
Teutonic Kingdoms
Longitude East from Greenwich
Scots
Angles
Eoforwic (York)
Winchester
Saxons
London
Jutes
Frisians
Saxons
Danes
Köln
Mainz
Trier
Metz
Paris
Orleans
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Pavia
Toulouse
Arelate
Massilia
SUEVIANS
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Barcelona
Cordova
Gades
Tangier
New Carthage
Carthage
AFRICA
Ravenna
Fiesole
Rome
Naples
ITALY
Syracuse
Lombards
GEPIDAE
Slavs
Goths
Cherson
THRACE
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Nicaea
PONTUS
ILLYRICUM
Corinth
ASIA
Antioch
Nisibis
PERSIAN KINGDOM
Jerusalem
Alexandria
EGYPT

to become the basis of nearly all modern European legal codes, and (through France) the basis even of the legal system of the American state, Louisiana. Roman law, says Woodrow Wilson (*The State*, 158), "has furnished Europe with many, if not most, of her principles of private right." It was the chief means by which Rome has influenced the modern world.

Church of St. Sophia, Constantinople, built by Justinian upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. The whole interior is lined with costly, many-colored marbles. This view shows only a part of the vast dome, with eighteen of the forty windows which run about its circumference of some 340 feet. In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (§ 320).

46. The Break-up of Italy.— Justinian's generals had destroyed a promising kingdom of the East Goths in Italy. Then (568), immediately after the great emperor's death, a new German people, *the Lombards*, swarmed into the peninsula, and soon conquered much of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but various Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts. The Empire kept (1) the "Exarchate of Ravenna" on the Adriatic;

(2) Rome, with a little neighboring territory; and (3) the extreme south.

Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled for centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process. No other country suffered so terribly in the centuries of invasion as this lovely peninsula which had so long been mistress of the world. *Italy was not again united until 1870.*

47. Men continued to think of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate *universal* government in the world, supreme over all local governments. The survival of the imperial power in parts of Italy, for several centuries more, helped to maintain this idea in the rest of the West. We can see now that, except for these slight survivals, the Empire had ceased in the West before the year 500. *But men of that day did not see it.* They could not believe that the dominion of the "Eternal City" was dead,—and therefore it did not altogether die. For three hundred years it lived on, *in the minds of men,* until Charlemagne made it again external fact (§ 83).

"Teutonic kings ruled in the West, but nowhere (except in England) had they become national sovereigns in the eyes of the people of the land. They were simply the chiefs of their own peoples (Goths or Franks), reigning in the midst of a Roman population *who looked to the Caesar of New Rome* [Constantinople] as their lawful sovereign."—Condensed from FREEMAN.

48. When the barbarians came into the Empire, *their law was only unwritten custom.* Much of it remained so, especially in Britain. **But, under Roman influence, the conquerors soon put *parts* of their law into written codes.**[1] Two common features of these codes throw interesting sidelights on the times.

a. Offenses were atoned for by money-payments, varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger, to the **wergeld** (man-money), or payment for taking a man's life. The wergeld varied, too, with the rank of the injured.

b. In a trial, when a man wished to prove himself innocent, or another man guilty, he did not try to bring evidence, as we do. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right.* Three kinds of appeal were in use: —

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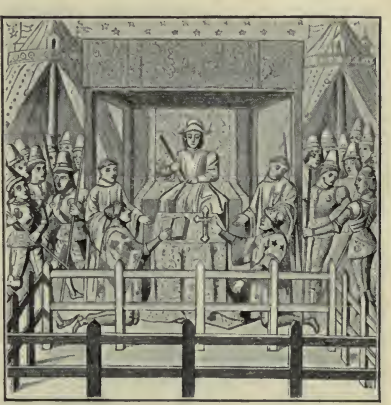
[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, 337 ff., gives extracts from one of them.

The accuser and accused swore solemnly to their statements. Each was backed by *compurgators,* — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed their man was telling the truth. To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance;[1] and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. This form of trial was **compurgation.** The value of a compurgator *depended upon his rank.* A noble was worth several common freemen.



Religious Preliminary to a Judicial Combat: Each party is making oath, on Bible and cross, to the justice of his cause. — From a fifteenth century manuscript.

A second kind of trial was by **ordeal.** The accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water. If he sank, he was innocent: the pure element, it was believed, would not receive a criminal. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance, or walked over burning plowshares; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent. All these ordeals were under the charge of the clergy, and were preceded by sacred exercises.[2]

Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float.

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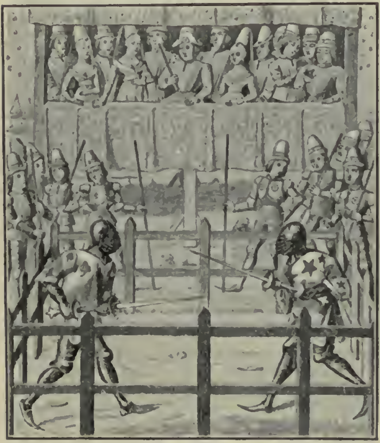
[1] The idea, and probably the practice, survives in the boy's incantation to support his word, "Cross my heart and hope to die."

[2] Davis' *Readings,* II, 355 ff., gives these forms of the ordeal in detail.

Among the nobles, the favorite trial came to be the **trial by combat**, — a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies, and in which God was expected to "show the right."

It must be remembered that the Teutons introduced once more a system of *growing* law. Codification preserved the Roman law, but crystallized it. Teutonic law, despite its codes, remained for a long time crude and unsystematic; but it contained possibilities of further growth. The importance of this fact has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," which is the basis of our American legal system.



THE TRIAL BY COMBAT. A companion piece to the foregoing illustration.

49. **The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors** in many ways. *Three changes* call for attention.

a. The Teutonic kings became more absolute. At first they were little more than especially honored military chiefs, at the head of rude democracies. In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their supporters and build up a strong personal following. Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision. The Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence.[1] Thus the former war chiefs became real sovereigns.

At his accession, each king was still lifted upon a shield, just as in the old Teutonic ceremony; and a spear in his hand remained the symbol of royal power. But he also adopted many Roman forms. Coins represent the kings in the Roman toga and with the imperial diadem.

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[1] With all its excellencies, the Roman law was imbued with the principle of despotism. A favorite maxim was, — "*What the prince wills has the force of law.*"

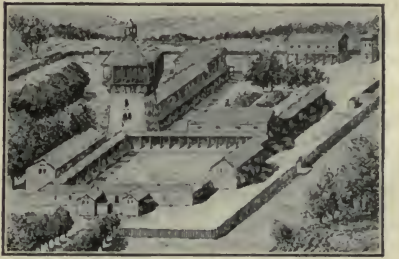
b. A new nobility of service appeared. The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and gave them important powers of government, as rulers (counts and dukes).

c. The Assemblies of freemen decreased in importance, after the conquest, as the powers of the kings and nobles grew. In the German forests the most important element in the government of a tribe had been these assemblies. They survived in form, in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields"; but they shrank into gatherings of nobles and officials assembled to hear the king's will.

At the same time, while these assemblies *of the whole nation* died out or lost their democratic elements, they kept much of their old character for various *local* units, as in the counties of the Teutonic kingdoms of England. Thus the Teutons did carry into the Roman world a new chance for democracy. It is not correct to say that they gave us representative government; but *they did give the world another chance to develop it.* The earlier peoples had lost their chances; but in England, as we shall see (§ 185), representative institutions grew out of these local assemblies.

50. Everyday Life in the Seventh Century. — The Teutonic conquerors disliked the close streets of a Roman town; but the villa, the residence of a Roman country gentleman, was the Roman institution which they could most nearly appreciate. *The new Teutonic kings lived* not in town palaces, but *on extensive farmsteads in the midst of forests.* The new nobility, too, and other important men, were great landlords and lived in the open country, much as their kings did. Their "villas" were built of wood, not of brick and marble like the old Roman villas; but, like those, each Teutonic villa (or farmstead) contained, besides the central establishment of the master and his family, many other buildings, — storehouses, stables, cowsheds, and rough lodgings for slaves and serfs.

These quarters, and sometimes a garden, were inclosed within a moat, if possible, and were protected by a wall of stakes driven into the ground (palisades). At suitable points, the wall was strengthened, perhaps, by towers. Each "villa" raised its own food, and manufactured nearly all its clothing, furniture, and tools. (Cf. § 27.)



SEVENTH CENTURY VILLA IN NORTHERN GAUL. — A "restoration," from Parmentier.

All the noble class were busied in looking after their farms. Their other leading occupations were war and hunting and practice in the use of arms. They were desperately fond of gaming with dice, and spent much time in such sports as tennis, and still more in hard drinking after meals.

Population had shrunken terribly, since the times of the early Roman Empire. In the north, during the invasions and the following disorder, most towns had been destroyed. If they were rebuilt at all, it was upon a smaller scale, and from wood or from the ruins of the old dwellings. The occupations of town-dwellers had mostly vanished. The town, surrounded by a rude palisade, was valued chiefly for a refuge, and for its convenient nearness to the church or cathedral which made its center.

In the south, it is true, the old cities lived on, with a considerable degree of the old Roman city life. They kept up, too, some commerce with the East; and sometimes colonies of Greek merchants dwelt in them. In the south, also, the old Romano-Gallic landlords remained in power, with only slight sprinklings of Teutonic nobles. They made more use of towns than did the Teutonic lords of the North; but they too lived mainly on their villas in the country. Their estates were much finer and better cultivated than those of the north; and the life of the owners was marked by more refinement, with some survivals of literature.

Everywhere, the great majority of the people were the poor folk who tilled the land for neighboring masters. Most of these toilers lived in mud hovels, or in cabins of rough boards, without floors and with roofs covered with reeds or straw. At the best, little more of their produce remained to them than barely sufficient to support life; and they were constantly subject to the arbitrary will of masters who were practically beyond the check of law and who were often brutal and greedy. At frequent intervals, too, they suffered terribly from pestilence and famine.

This picture of ordinary seventh-century life prepares us to understand another sort of life which became exceedingly popular in that day (§ 51).

51. Monasticism. — In the old East, holiness was believed to be related to withdrawal from the world, to contempt for human pleasures, and to disregard for natural instincts, even love for mother, wife, and child. This unnatural, ascetic tendency invaded Eastern Christianity. Thus there arose a class of *hermits*, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body.[1] The persecutions of the third century augmented the numbers of these fugitives from society, and the oases of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts swarmed with tens of thousands of them. In some cases they united into small bodies with common rules of life.

In the latter part of the fourth century this idea of *religious communities* was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy following the invasions made such a life peculiarly inviting. Thus arose *monasticism*, one of the most powerful medieval[2] institutions. The fundamental causes were: (1) the longing for a life of quiet religious devotion, and (2) the conditions which made quiet living impossible except through some such withdrawal from society.

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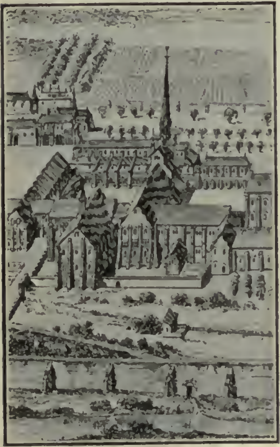
[1] Davis' *Readings in Ancient History*, II, 136, has an account of an extreme and famous instance.

[2] The in-pouring of the Teutons between 378 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient history. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book follows a different classification. We call all history *Ancient* down to the fusion of Roman and Teuton (about

European monasticism, however, differed widely from its model in the East. The monks of the West, within their quiet walls, wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness but in active and incessant work. Their motto was, "To work is to pray."



ABBEY OF CITEAUX. — From a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript.

The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble and heroic beginnings and of noble service to men. A body of devoted enthusiasts, uniting themselves for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential swamp or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew. By their toil, the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden. The first simple structures gave way to massive and stately towers. Lords gave lands; fugitive serfs tilled them; villages, and perhaps wealthy towns, sprang up upon them under the rule of the abbot.[1] Similar institutions for women offered a much-needed refuge for that sex in that rough age. During the seventh century, the majority of cultivated and refined men and women in Western Europe lived within monastic walls. More than one king

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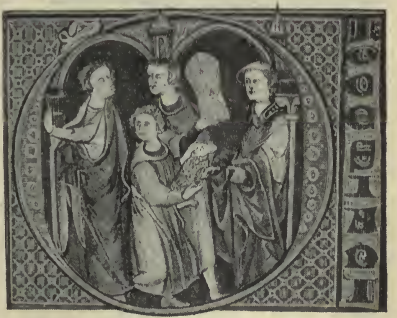
800 A.D.), and we use the term *Modern* for all history since 800 A.D. But we sometimes use the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Age*, as descriptive terms, for the period to which they are commonly applied.

[1] A *large* monastery was an *abbey*, and its elected head was an *abbot* (from a Syrian word, *abba*, meaning *father*). An ordinary monastery called its head a *prior*, — "the *first* in place."

voluntarily laid aside his crown to seek peace there from the horrible confusion of the world.

At first each monastery was a rule to itself. But in the sixth century, St. Benedict, an Italian monk of noble family, published and preached rules for a monastic life which were widely adopted — and which still control large numbers of Catholic institutions. Two hundred years later, nearly all monks in Western Europe were *Benedictines*, and the brotherhood is said to have counted 40,000 monasteries.

Benedict cautioned his disciples against over-asceticism. They were not to starve themselves by unreasonable fasts, nor to torment the body overmuch with cruel floggings and tortures. Each Benedictine, however, was to spend a considerable part of every day in private prayer and in the public services of the community; and in particular he was to take the three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*. (1) He renounced all wealth for himself (though the monastery might become wealthy). (2) He renounced marriage. (3) He renounced his own will in all things in favor of that of his superior, the abbot or prior. To all this was added the *obligation of work*.[1]


Monks busy in Field Labor. — From Lacroix, after a thirteenth century manuscript.

During all the Middle Ages, the monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil. They copied and illustrated manuscripts with loving care; and they themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for many centuries. They taught gladly all that they themselves knew to any youth of the countryside who would come to their instruction, so equipping many a poor peasant boy to become a powerful churchman, the master of lords and kings. In particular they cared for the poor and suffering. Their lives of quiet industry and devotion, their abstinence and self-sacrifice, seemed more than human to other men during those evil ages of violence and brutality. For centuries the thousands of monasteries that dotted Western Europe were its only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools, and *the sole refuge of learning.*[1]

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[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, 137, gives extracts from the "Rule of St. Benedict." Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization* gives an excellent treatment (ch. ix) on the "Economic Services of the Monasteries."

At first, a monastery was a religious association of *laymen ;* but gradually the monks became the most zealous of missionaries and the most devoted of preachers. As they took up the duties of the clergy, there arose a long struggle between them and the bishops. The bishops desired to exercise authority over them as over other clergy. The monks insisted upon independence under their own abbots, and finally won it by grants from the popes. Because subject to *rule*, the monks became known as *regular* clergy, while the ordinary clergy were styled *secular* ("belonging to the world").

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[1] **Special report : the monasteries and learning. See especially Putnam's *Books and their Makers*, ch. i, if available.**

FIFTH PERIOD

RISE OF THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY

I. THE FRANKS, TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASION

52. Clovis. — For a long human lifetime after East Goths, West Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians had built up new kingdoms within the old Empire, the Franks had remained rude pagans, in their native homes along the lower Rhine. Nor were they as yet a nation. They were split into petty tribes without a common king. *This people, however, were to become the leading race among the Teutonic conquerors, and, along with the church, the chief organizing force in Western Europe for many centuries.* We must now survey their story from the days of the invasions.

The founder of Frankish greatness was *Clovis,* a brutal savage with a shrewd intellect. In 481, at the age of fifteen, he became king of a little tribe. Five years later, having collected a few thousand warriors, he attacked the Roman possessions in north Gaul, and through a great victory at *Soissons* added them to his possessions. Ten years later he conquered the Alemanni, a new German people who had invaded Gaul, and made tributary their territory beyond the Rhine (map after page 54).

The decisive victory over the Alemanni was won at the battle of Strassburg. This battle was the occasion for the conversion of Clovis. His wife, *Clothilda,* was a devout Christian. In a crisis in the battle, thinking that his old gods had abandoned him, Clovis vowed to serve the God of Clothilda, if He would grant victory. In consequence, the king and his three thousand warriors were baptized immediately afterward.

Burgundians and Goths had long been Christians; but they had adopted the Arian doctrine (§ 35), which was detested as a heresy by the orthodox Roman world. Clovis adopted the orthodox (Catholic) Christianity. In this he was influenced, no doubt, by keen political insight. In the coming struggles with the Arian Goths and Burgundians, it was to be of immense advantage to have the subject Roman populations on his side, as an orthodox sovereign, against their own hated heretic rulers. This conversion was a chief agency, therefore, in building up the great Frankish state.

The Gothic kingdom in Spain included rich districts in south Gaul, and the Burgundians held southeastern Gaul. Clovis now declared it intolerable that those "Arian dogs" should possess the fairest parts of Gaul, and he at once attacked them both. The Goths he drove across the Pyrenees, and his sons completed his conquest of the Rhone district. During the last of his reign, by a horrible series of bloody treacheries, he got rid of the kings of the other Frankish tribes,[1] and consolidated all that people into one nation under his sole rule. "Thus," says the pious chronicler, Gregory of Tours, "did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand because he walked before His face with an upright heart and did what was pleasing in His sight."

The sons of Clovis added Bavaria and Thuringia, as tributaries, to the Frankish state. These districts lay on the German side of the Rhine, *well beyond the borders of the old Roman world.*

53. Empire in the Seventh Century. — In fifty years, mainly through the cool intellect and ferocious energy of one ruthless savage, a little Teutonic tribe had grown into the great Frankish state. That state included nearly the whole of modern France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany almost to the Elbe.

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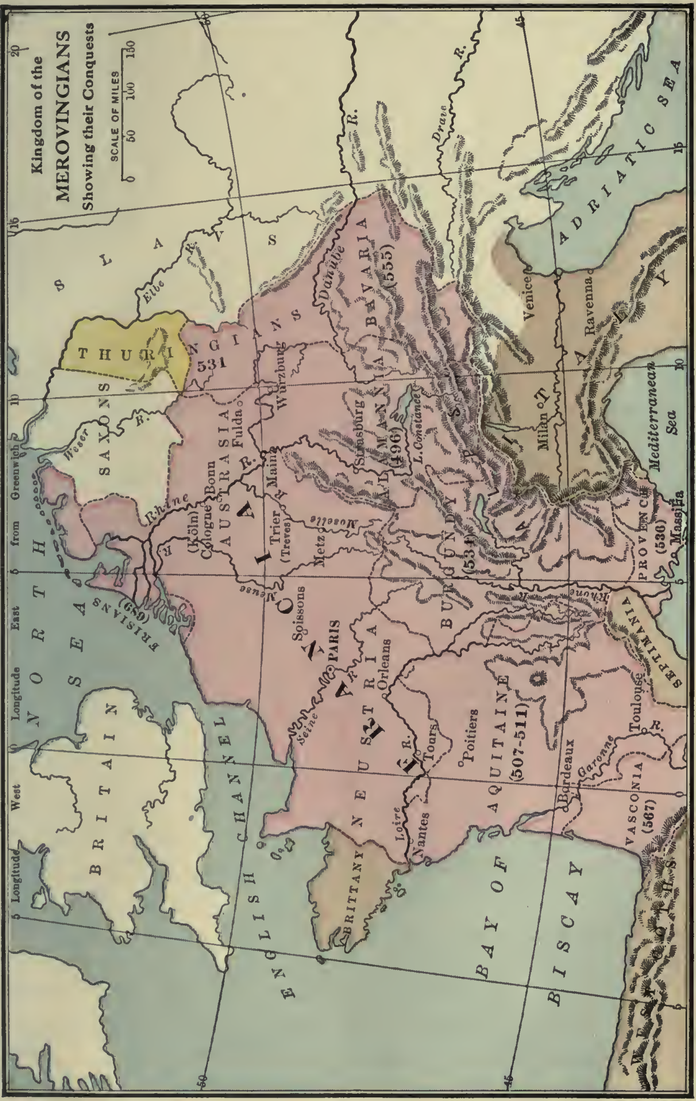
[1] See one instance in Davis' *Readings*, II, 335–337. Others are given in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 6 (extract from the "Deeds of Clovis" by Gregory of Tours).



Kingdom of the MEROVINGIANS Showing their Conquests

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
West Longitude from Greenwich East Longitude
N O R T H S E A
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
ADRIATIC SEA
Mediterranean Sea
BRITAIN
BRITTANY
FRISIANS (689)
SAXONS
THURINGIA 531
SLAVS
FRANKISH KINGDOM
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
BURGUNDY (534)
AQUITAINE (507-511)
VASCONIA (567)
PROVENCE (536)
SEPTIMANIA
ALAMANNIA (496)
BAVARIA (555)
ALPS
ITALY
WEST GOTHS
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Rhine R.
Main R.
Moselle
Meuse
Danube R.
Drave R.
Seine
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone
L. Constance
(Köln) Cologne
Bonn
Fulda
Würzburg
Trier (Treves)
Metz
Strasburg
Soissons
PARIS
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Poitiers
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Massilia
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
50
45
5
0
10
15
20

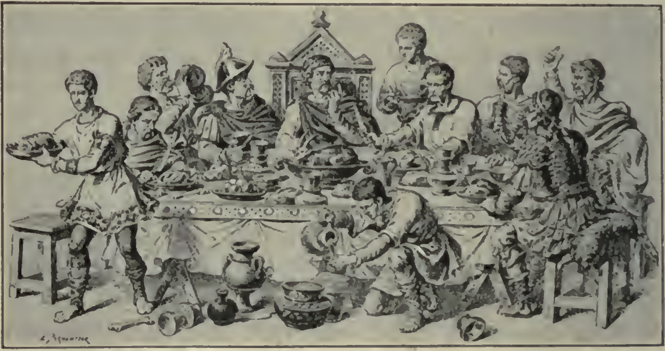
Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries its preëminence was even more marked. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was in chaos (§ 105); non-Frankish Germany was filled with savage, unorganized tribes. *The only real rivals of the Frankish state were the Greek Empire and the new Mohammedan power* which was soon to contest Europe with both Greek and Frank.

54. The family of Clovis is known, from his grandfather *Merovig*, as *Merovingian.* It kept the throne for two centuries after Clovis' death, but its story is a dismal record of greed, family hate, treachery, and murder. The empire was divided among the four sons of Clovis, as though it had been a private estate, according to Frankish custom. The fragments were reunited by one of these sons, through methods as horrible as those of Clovis himself. Then it was again divided, and so on for long periods. The Franks themselves spread very little south of the Loire. North and south Gaul remained distinct in blood and character; but Frankish *rule* preserved a sort of *political* unity.

55. The Do-nothing Kings and their Mayors. — The later Merovingian kings earned the name of "*Do-nothings.*" They were mere phantom rulers. Real power was exercised by a *mayor of the palace.* Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household; but, one by one, he had withdrawn all the powers of government from the indolent kings. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived, on some obscure estate, in indolence and swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.

At first the office of mayor was filled by the king's appointment. As it grew more important, the nobles sometimes claimed the right to elect the holder. Finally, the mayors grew strong enough to pass their office on to their sons.

56. Pippin of Heristal. — In the middle of the seventh century, the empire of the Franks seemed ready to dissolve in anarchy and civil war. The northern and more purely Frankish portion was divided into two kingdoms. Austrasia, the kingdom of the East Franks, contained the original home of the race, and had always remained essentially German in character. Neustria, the kingdom of the West Franks, was a state of greater dignity, because it contained the Roman conquests of Clovis and the imperial capital. While the two divisions struggled for supremacy, the other parts of the empire almost fell away. Bavaria and Thuringia (purely German) and Aquitaine (an almost purely Roman province in the southwest) did become practically independent under native *dukes*.



A Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Noble. — After a tenth century manuscript.

Finally, at the battle of *Testry* (687), the Austrasians, under their mayor, Pippin of Heristal, established their supremacy over the West Franks. Testry stands for a second Teutonic conquest of the more Romanized part of the Frankish state and for a new infusion of ruling Teutonic blood. Pippin is the second founder of the empire of the Franks.

57. Pippin's son, Charles, completed his father's work. He brought back to subjection the great dukedoms of Bavaria and

Thuringia, and established firm order among all the unruly chiefs of the German frontier. The crushing blows he dealt his rivals in these contests won him the name, *Charles Martel* ("the Hammer"), — a title he was soon to justify in a more critical conflict.

For the Mohammedans now attacked Europe. Except for Testry and the long pounding by "the Hammer of the Franks," there would have been no Christian power able to withstand their onset — and Englishmen and Americans to-day might be readers of the Mohammedan Koran instead of the Christian Bible. To understand how Martel saved us, we must turn to the story of Mohammedanism.

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL

58. Arabia before Mohammed. — A century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising material, built a mighty power in Arabia. Until that time, Arabia had had little to do with human progress. It was mainly desert, with occasional small oases, and with strips of tillable land near the Red Sea. In this last district, the tribes had gained some mechanical skill and possessed a few small cities. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's-hair tents and living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors.

Man by man, they were brave and active in mind and body; but their *tribes* were weak and without union among themselves. They were among the lowest of idolaters, too, — worshiping even certain sticks and stones which they thought possessed magic power; but, possibly from association with Christians and Jews, they had learned also to think dimly of a shadowy higher God (*Allah*) in the heavens. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed*.

59. Mohammed was born at Mecca, the largest city of Arabia, about 570. He never learned to read; but his speech was ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and stately. As a youth, he was modest, serious, and truthful, — so that as a hired camel-driver, he earned the surname "the Faithful." At twenty-five, he became wealthy, by marriage with his employer, the good widow Kadijah; and until forty he lived as a respected merchant.

He had always been given to occasional periods of religious enthusiasm and ecstasy, watching and praying alone in the desert for days at a time, as indeed many Arabs did. In such a lonely vigil, in 611, Allah appeared to him (he said) in a wondrous vision, revealing to him a higher religion and ordering him to preach it to his countrymen. At first, Mohammed seems to have doubted whether this vision were not a subtle temptation by the devil; but Kadijah convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his mighty task. He really drew the best features of his new religion from Jewish and Christian teachings, with which he had become somewhat acquainted in his travels as a merchant. Indeed, he recognized Abraham, Moses, and Jesus as true prophets, but claimed that he was to supersede them with a higher revelation.

60. Scribes collected the teachings of Mohammed into the Koran, the sacred book of Mohammedanism. The two central requirements of the new religion were *faith* and *obedience*. A "true believer" must accept only the one God, *Allah*, and must offer complete submission (*Islam*) to his will as taught in the Koran.

The Koran[1] *taught a higher morality than the Arabs had known*, — not so very unlike that of the Ten Commandments; but it accepted also certain evil customs of the time, such as slavery and polygamy, and it attracted converts by its sensuous appeals to future pleasures or pains. At the "Last Day," all souls would be gathered to judgment. Then all sinful Mohammedans, together with all "Unbelievers" (all Christians and the rest of the outside world) would be cast into an everlasting hell of scalding water covered with thick clouds of smoke. True believers, on the other hand, were to enter the joys of an eternal Paradise, to recline, in the midst of lovely gardens, on couches of gold and jewels, where they would be served constantly by beautiful maidens (*houris*) with delicious foods and wines.

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[1] See extracts in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 13.

61. For twelve years the new faith grew slowly. A few friends accepted Mohammed at once as a prophet; but the bulk of his fellow townsfolk jeered at the claim, and when he continued to order them to put away their stone idols, they drove him from Mecca.

Mohammed barely escaped from his home with his life. This flight is *the Hegira*, the point from which the Mohammedan world still reckons time, as Christendom does from the birth of Christ. The first year of the Mohammedan era corresponds to our year *622 A.D.*

62. Now Mohammed took up the sword. He turned to the tribes of the desert, made converts rapidly, and soon captured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors proved themselves almost irresistible, conquering many a time against overwhelming odds. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death, which he could neither delay nor hasten; and this high fatalism conquered fear. Indeed they rejoiced in death in battle, as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.

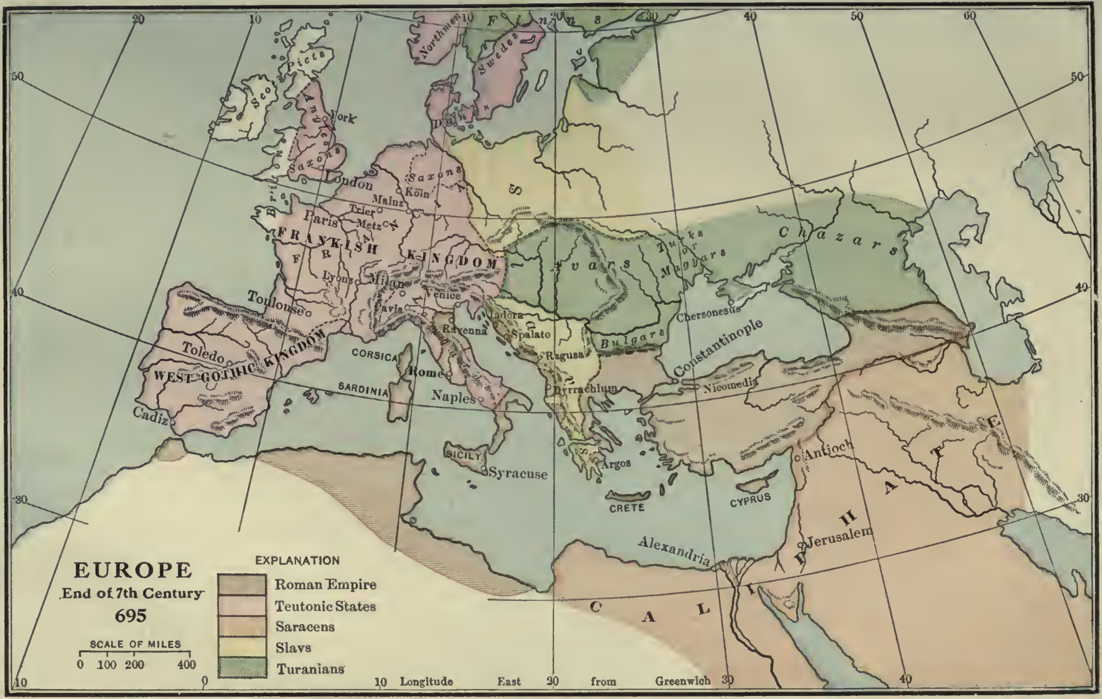
ARABIAN BATTLE-AX, SWORD, AND HELMET.

"The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key of heaven. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

At the same time, the Mohammedans were comparatively mild in victory. Pagans, it is true, had to choose between the new teaching and death; but Jews and Christians were allowed to keep their faith on payment of tribute.

63. Ninety Years of Conquest. — Mohammed lived only ten years after the Hegira. He became master of Arabia, and, at his death, in 632, he was planning expeditions against the Greek Empire. Eighty years later, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic, — rulers of a realm more extensive than that of Rome at its height. (Most of that wide realm, with much later conquest, belongs still to the Mohammedan religion, which counts at least a seventh of the present population of the globe as its adherents.) Within the span of one human life, the Mohammedans had won all the old Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great, and all North Africa besides; and drawing together the sweeping horns

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, a famous Mohammedan temple at Jerusalem on the site of Solomon's Temple. — From a photograph.



EUROPE
End of 7th Century
695

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
Roman Empire
Teutonic States
Saracens
Slavs
Turanians
Longitude East from Greenwich
Finns
Northmen
Swedes
Danes
Picts
Scots
Angles
Saxons
Britons
York
London
Saxons
Köln
Mainz
Trier
Metz
Paris
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Lyons
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Toulouse
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Toledo
Cadiz
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Ravenna
Naples
SICILY
Syracuse
Jadera
Spalato
Ragusa
Dyrrachium
Argos
CRETE
Avars
Bulgars
Turks or Magyars
Chazars
Chersonesus
Constantinople
Nicomedia
CYPRUS
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria
CALIPHATE
S

of their mighty crescent, they were already trying to enter Europe from both east and west, by the narrow straits of Gibraltar and the Hellespont.

64. The preservation of Europe from the first attack lay with the Greek empire. After Justinian (§ 45), that state had fallen again to decay, threatened with annihilation by the Slavs in Europe and the Persians in Asia. The Arabs now conquered Persia, *taking its ancient place as the champion of the Orient* (§ 8). They overran Syria and Asia Minor, also; and, in 672, they besieged Constantinople itself. Their victory at this time (before the battle of Testry) would have left all Europe open to their triumphal march; but the hero *Constantine IV* repulsed them, and saved the Western world.

The Walls of Constantinople To-day. — From a photograph.

Happily, in the twenty years of anarchy that followed this emperor's death, the Saracens made no determined effort. *In 717* they returned to the attack; but a new and vigorous ruler had just seized the throne at Constantinople. This was *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months in which to restore order and to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back — after a twelve months' siege. *The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the City of Constantine.*

Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. The Greek authorities made the Saracen numbers some three hundred thousand, and "by the time the story reached Western Europe these numbers had grown beyond all recognition."

A chief weapon of the defense was the newly invented Greek fire, — a combustible made, probably, by mixing naphtha, sulphur, and pitch. It could not be extinguished by water, and it was the most terrible weapon of warfare until the invention of gunpowder. It was to be used, later, with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. As late as 1250, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: "Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday."

65. Spain, however, did become Mohammedan. In 711 the Arabs entered that country, and were soon masters of the kingdom, except for a few remote mountain fastnesses. Then, pouring across the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now, indeed, it "seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full." But the danger completed the reunion of the Frankish state. This brings us back to the story of the Franks and Martel, which we left in § 57.

66. Battle of Tours. — The duke of Aquitaine had long led a revolt against Frankish rule (§ 56). Now, however, he fled to the camp of Charles Martel for aid against the Mohammedan peril; and, **in 732**, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry met the Arab host. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant, turbaned horsemen of the Saracens hurled themselves in vain against the Franks' stern wall of iron. At night the surviving Arabs stole silently from their camp and fled back to the shelter of the Pyrenees.

The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion. A few years later, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph[1] of the East built, for his capital, the wonderful city of Bagdad on the Tigris. The Caliphate of the West fixed its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two Caliphates were more or less hostile to each other, and the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away. *The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon and Salamis, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.*

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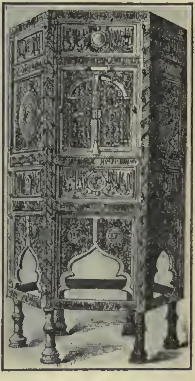
[1] *Caliph* ("successor") became the title of the successors of Mohammed.

67. Later Mohammedanism will be described at the point (§ 236) when Europe again came into conflict with it, some four centuries after Tours. Here we will note only that the Arabs quickly adopted the Greek culture of the Empire at Constantinople, and, in some ways, extended it, so that for centuries they infinitely surpassed Western Europe in civilization. On the whole, however, the Arabs showed little *original* or *creative* power; and, after a time, political mastery in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks, who were much less capable of culture than the Arabs.

Moreover, Mohammedanism expressly sanctioned slavery and polygamy. That is, it left no chance for the rise of woman or of the working masses. It accepted Mohammed's teachings as final, and so it crystallized into a changeless system, hostile to all progress. Its civilization took on, more and more, an Oriental character (§ 3). It was despotic, uniform, stagnant, — sure to be outrun finally by the ruder but progressive Western world.



Arabian Table of Bronze inlaid with Silver.

The term *Saracen* is sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, but strictly it belongs only to the Arabs. In North Africa, the Arabs mixed with the native *Mauritanians*, and the race became known as *Moors*. These were the Mohammedans who were to rule Spain for eight hundred years. The *Turks* came into the Mohammedan world first as invaders from Northern Asia. They were allied to the Tartars.

III. RISE OF THE PAPACY

The Franks had repulsed the Mohammedans from Western Europe. Next they were to form a firm alliance with the Papacy.

68. The Pope's Claim to Headship. — We have seen (§ 34) that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, leadership in the Christian world was divided among the great bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. The last of these had put forth a vigorous claim to supremacy over all the Christian church.

Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, upon the site of the first papal church. The popes used the adjoining Lateran Palace (the home of an ancient Roman noble) as their official residence until they removed to the Vatican in 1377.

The claim took this form: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his church to Peter; Peter had founded the church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, as successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.

The Roman Catholic view, indeed, holds that the headship of Rome, *in actual practice*, dates from Peter.[1] Early in the fifth century, a Roman emperor[2] had expressly commanded that all the church should recognize the headship of the pope;[3] but in the East this decree was not obeyed. The bishop of Constantinople, especially, claimed an equal place.

69. **Rome had many advantages that helped to make good her bishops' claim.** (1) *Men inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital.* (2) *The Latin half of the Empire*, which would most naturally turn to Rome, *had no other church founded by an apostle; nor did it contain any other great city.* The possible rivals of Rome were all east of the Adriatic. (3) *A long line of remarkable popes*, by their moderation and statesmanship, confirmed the place of Rome as the ecclesiastical head of all the West. Several times, indeed, they were accepted as arbitrators in disputes between leading Eastern churches. (4) *The decline of the Empire in the West*, after the barbarian invasions, left the bishops of Rome less liable to imperial interference than were the Eastern churches. (5) *Rome's missionary labors* extended her power. She brought the Arian Teutons finally to the orthodox doctrine; and she converted the pagan Teutons in Britain and Germany. To these converts, in a special sense she was a mother church, to be obeyed implicitly.

70. **Gregory the Great**, who was pope from 590 to 604, did much to make good the papal claim. His rule came in the period of the decay of the Eastern empire, after Justinian (§ 64). Thus he was really called upon to take up the temporal government of Rome, to save that city from ruin; and

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[1] Scholarly presentations of the Catholic argument, together with collections of some of the historical evidence upon which it is based, are given in Kenrick's *Primacy of the Apostolic See* and in Rivington's *Roman Primacy*. Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62–73, has a good statement with valuable extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo.

[2] Valentinian III; *Ancient World*, § 726.

[3] The name pope ("papa") was originally only a term of affectionate respect ("father") applied to any bishop. It did not become the *official* name of the bishops of Rome until 1085. Special reports: Leo the Great and Gregory the Great.

he waged wars and made treaties, like other princes. He corresponded with rulers and great churchmen all over the world. And missionaries sent out by him won the Saxon conquerors of Britain to Christianity.

71. Even in the West, however, until about 700 A.D., most men looked upon the bishop of Rome only as one among five great patriarchs — though the most loved and trusted one. **But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as Western Christendom was concerned.** In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens; and, soon afterward, remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

This "Great Schism" followed the ancient lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures (§§ 11, 25); but the occasion for actual separation was a dispute over the use of images in worship. This is known as the "iconoclast" (image-breaking) question. A small but influential party in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. The great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian* (§ 64), put himself at the head of the movement, with all his despotic power. Finally, he ordered all images removed from the churches. The West believed in their use as valuable aids to worship; and *the pope forbade obedience to the order of the emperor.* The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

In the East, Leo and his successors were temporarily successful. Before the year 800, however, the image-users regained the throne in the person of the Empress Irene. Meantime the question had divided Christendom. The churches of Greece and Russia and the other Slav states of Southeastern Europe still belong to the Greek communion.

Thus, *Rome was left the unquestioned head of the Latin church.* Other conditions, which we are now to trace, raised this headship into a real monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual, such as was never attained in the Greek church, where the patriarchs of Constantinople were overshadowed by the imperial will.

72. While the popes were thus extending their spiritual rule over all the West, **they were also growing into temporal**[1] **sovereigns** over a small state in Italy. This latter character appeared plainly with Gregory the Great (§ 70). We will trace the growth a little further.

In the break-up of Italy (§ 46), the imperial governor, with his capital at Ravenna, was cut off from Rome and the neighboring territory still belonging to the Empire. Bishops *previously* had held considerable civil authority. This new condition left the bishop of Rome the chief lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district; and the difficulty of communication with Constantinople (and the weakness of the emper-

Cloisters in the Church of St. John Lateran.

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[1] *Temporal*, in this sense, is used to apply to matters of *this* world, in contrast to the *spiritual* matters of the world *eternal*.

ors) made him, in practice, an independent ruler. At the same time, as spiritual head of Christendom, the pope called, in some matters, for obedience from the emperor himself.

The emperors did not permit this papal independence without a sharp struggle. One pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died in lonely exile in the Crimea. But the Roman population of Italy rallied round its great bishops against the disliked Greek power. They even discussed plans for setting up a confederation of the many Italian states under papal leadership. Thus, the popes more and more boldly defied the emperors. When Leo the Isaurian tried to collect imperial taxes in Italy, the pope sanctioned resistance. The imperial decree regarding images, we have already noted, met with a like reception. As this last dispute grew bitter, Popes Gregory II and III called church councils which excommunicated[1] the emperor. Leo sent an army to seize the pope and subdue Italy; but a storm wrecked the expedition.

The popes were elected at this early time by the clergy and people of Rome; but, until these events, they always asked or accepted confirmation from the emperor, like other bishops of the day. *Henceforward, however, bishops of Rome assumed office without sanction from Constantinople.* Fifty years later, *Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the emperors.* Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 in the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," — and so introduced our method of counting time.[2]

73. Popes and Lombards. — The popes had made themselves independent of the distant Greek Empire, but they were at once threatened with conquest by the neighboring Lombards. King Aistulf of Lombardy seized the Exarchate of Ravenna, and prepared to seize Rome. Had he succeeded, Italy would have become a united nation in the eighth century, instead of waiting till late in the nineteenth. The popes appealed to the Franks for aid against Lombard attack. The Frankish mayors needed papal sanction for their own plans just then, and so a bargain was struck (§§ 74, 75).

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[1] Excommunication was a terrible weapon of the church. If such a decree was obeyed by the community, it put the condemned man absolutely *out of communication* with his fellows and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him, or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty; and his very presence was shunned like a pestilence.

[2] The *Ancient World* (§ 652) explains the error in computing the true date for the birth of Christ. Pope Hadrian should have called this year 785 or possibly 788.

In the confusion of the sixth and seventh centuries, two organizing forces had appeared in Western Europe, — the papacy and the empire of the Franks. Now they began to work together.

IV. ALLIANCE OF FRANKS AND PAPACY

(From Charles the Hammer to Charles the Great)

74. The Frankish Mayors and the Popes. — Shortly after the victory at Tours, the "Do-nothing" king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, *but neither did he place any Merovingian upon the throne.* He continued to rule, as Mayor of the Palace, without any king at all. Before his death he secured the consent of the nobles to the division of his office between his sons Karlmann and *Pippin the Short.*

These young Mayors, less secure at first than their victorious father, crowned a Merovingian prince, in whose name they governed like their predecessors. But soon Karlmann retired to a monastery, — as various other princes, English and Lombard, did in this age, — and Pippin then began to think of taking to himself the name and dignity, as well as the labors, of royalty.

He felt, however, the need of powerful sanction; and in 750, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether this was "a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The pope, who needed Pippin's aid against the Lombards, replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so."

75. Thereupon Pippin sent the last Merovingian to a monastery and assumed the crown (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 145). When the Lombards again attacked Rome (soon after Pippin's coronation) Pope Stephen set out in person to ask aid at the Frankish court. During this visit, he reconsecrated Pippin as king of the Franks. On his part, Pippin conquered Lombardy, and gave to the pope the territory which the Lombards had recently seized from the Exarchate of Ravenna.

Previous Teutonic kings had held their kingship by the will of their people. Stephen anointed Pippin as the Jewish prophets did the ancient Hebrew kings. This began for European kings the sacred character of "the Lord's anointed."

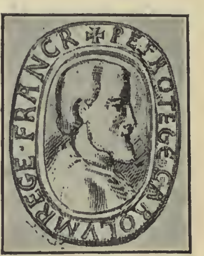
76. The "Donation of Pippin" created the principality of the *Papal States*, — a strip of territory reaching across Italy from Rome to Ravenna (map after page 60). This temporal kingdom endured until 1870, when its last fragments were united to the new-born kingdom of Italy.

The exact terms of Pippin's grant are not known. Some writers hold that the pope was intended to be wholly sovereign in this territory. Others maintain that Pippin stepped into the place of the Greek emperor, and simply intrusted to his lieutenant, the pope, somewhat larger domains. In practice, the Frankish kings and the popes long remained close friends, and it was not until much later (when disputes arose) that a theory was needed. When that time came, however, the ambiguous character of this grant was to entangle well-meaning men in hopeless quarrels for centuries.

SIXTH PERIOD

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

77. The Greatest Medieval Man. — In 768 Pippin, King of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Karl. This prince was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived. He stamped himself deeply on his own age, and his masterful mind even cast its shadow forward over many centuries to follow. He is known in history as Charles the Great, or, more commonly, by the French form of that name, *Charlemagne* (from *Carolus Magnus*). We must not think of him, however, as a Frenchman. He was a full-blooded German; and the forerunner of the later German kings rather than of French kings.


✠ XPE PROTEGE CAROLVM REGE FRANCR

SEAL OF CHARLEMAGNE. (This is the nearest approach we have to a likeness of Charlemagne. The so-called "pictures" of Charlemagne in many books are purely imaginative, by artists of later centuries.)

Charlemagne's secretary (and intimate friend), Einhard, has left us a vivid pen-portrait of him.[1] He was "large and robust, and of commanding stature . . . His eyes were large and animated; his nose, somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant . . . Whether standing or sitting, he showed great dignity." He dressed simply, ate and drank temperately, and delighted in riding and hunting. "He was ready of speech, and expressed himself with great clearness."

78. Character of Charlemagne's Wars. — The realm of the Franks was still in danger from barbarism on the east and

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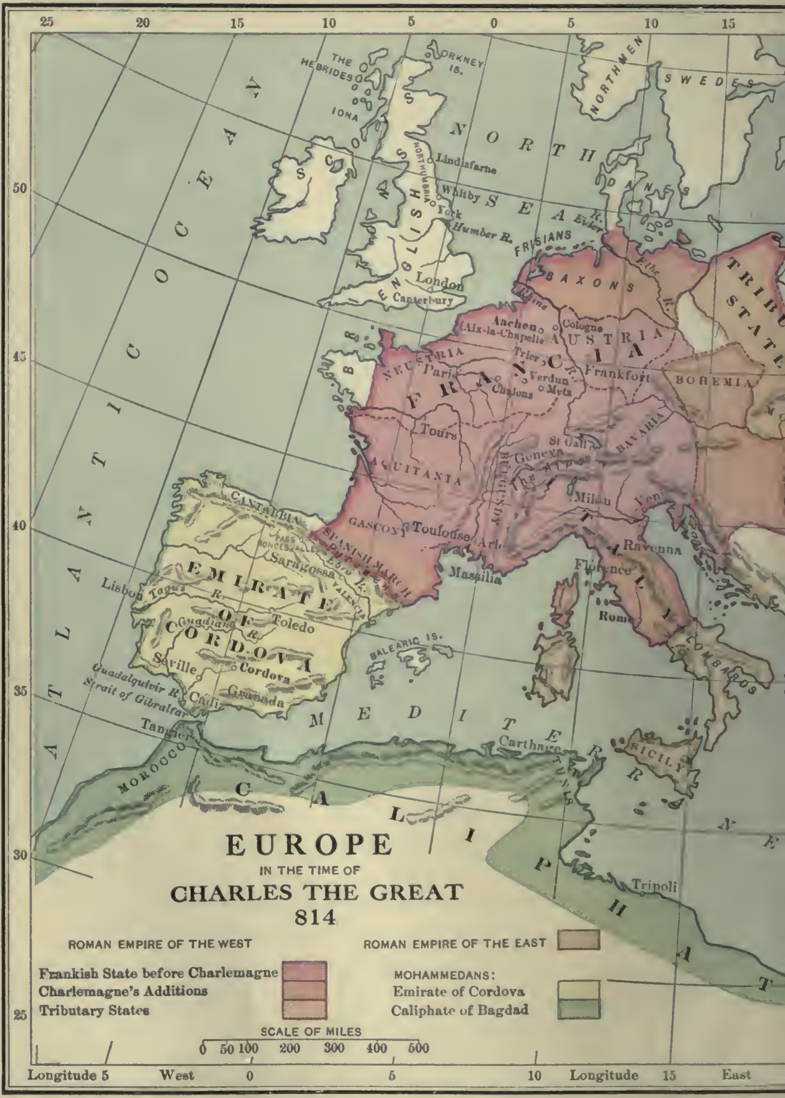
[1] Quoted from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* in Davis' *Readings*, II.

Mohammedanism on the south. Charlemagne took the aggressive and rolled the danger far back on both sides. His reign of nearly fifty years was filled with ceaseless *border* warfare, oftentimes two or three great campaigns to one season.

At first glimpse, therefore, he stands forth a warlike figure, like Alexander or Cæsar. Like them, he did *extend by arms the area of civilized life.* But his wars were not romantic or spectacular. They were extremely businesslike. He never had a really great antagonist. A campaign consisted commonly in sending overwhelming forces, under some trusted general, into the enemy's country to beseige its strongholds and waste its fields. Charlemagne did not war for glory or for gain, but to crush threatening perils before they grew too strong. He was not chiefly fighter or general, but statesman and ruler.

√ **79. Expansion to the Elbe.** — The most desperate struggle was with the heathen Saxons, who were threatening to treat the Frankish state as small bands of them had treated Britain some three centuries before. The Saxons still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea. Protected by their marshes and trackless forests, they kept up the contest against all the power of Charlemagne for more than thirty years. Repeatedly they were vanquished and baptized, — for Charles forced the conquered tribes to accept Christianity on pain of death; but nine times, after such submission, they rebelled, massacring Frankish garrisons and returning to heathen freedom, — to their human sacrifices and the eating of the bodies of witches.

The great king's methods grew stern and cruel. The blackest blot on his fame is the "massacre at Verden," where *forty-five hundred* leaders of rebellion, who had been given up at his demand, were put to death. The embers of revolt still flamed out, however, and finally Charlemagne transported whole Saxon tribes into Gaul, giving their homes to Frankish pioneers and garrisons.


EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST
Frankish State before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's Additions
Tributary States
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
MOHAMMEDANS:
Emirate of Cordova
Caliphate of Bagdad
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Longitude 5 West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East
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MEDITERRANEAN
THE HEBRIDES
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SWEDES
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Whitby
York
Humber R.
ENGLISH
London
Canterbury
FRISIANS
Eider R.
SAXONS
Elbe R.
Rhine
TRIBUTARY STATES
Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)
Cologne
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
FRANKS
Trier
Paris
Verdun
Metz
Chalons
Frankfort
BOHEMIA
BRETONS
Tours
St Gall
BAVARIA
Geneva
The Alps
AQUITANIA
BURGUNDY
Milan
Veni
GASCONY
Toulouse
Arles
Ravenna
Florence
Massilia
Rome
ITALY
LOMBARDS
SPANISH MARCH
Pyrenees
PASS ROUNCESVALLES
CANTABRIA
Ebro R.
Saragossa
VALENCIA
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Toledo
Guadiana R.
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Cadiz
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
MOROCCO
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Carthage
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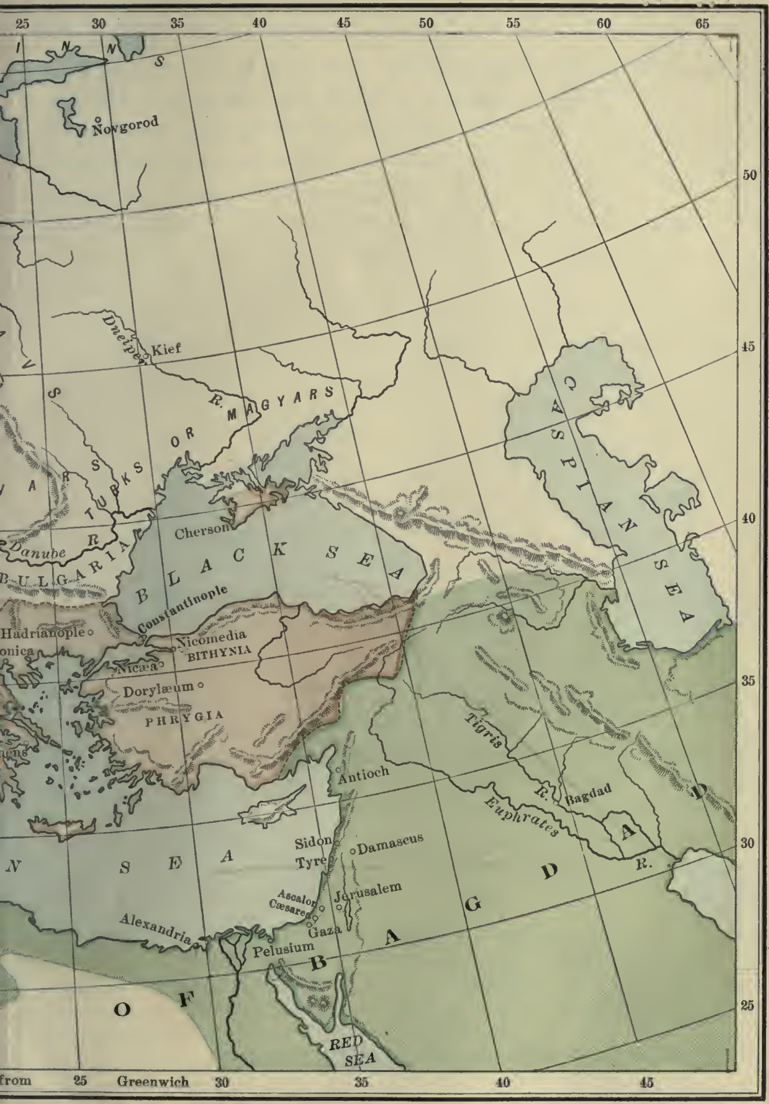

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Bagdad
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Antioch
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Ascalon
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Gaza
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Whatever we think of the methods, these wars were the most fruitful of the century. *The long pounding of thirty years laid the foundation for modern Germany. Civilization and Christianity were extended from the Rhine to the Elbe.* The district was planted with churches and monasteries, and these foundations proved more powerful than any army in holding the Saxon lands to the Frankish state. *The Saxon campaigns of Charlemagne began the armed colonization of the heathen East by the civilized Germans.*

80. Spain, Italy, Bavaria. — Other foes engaged the attention the great king would have preferred to give to reconstruction. (1) The *Saracens* were easily thrust back to the Ebro, so that a strip of north Spain became Frankish.[1] (2) The vassal *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope. After fruitless negotiation, Charlemagne marched into Italy, *confirmed Pippin's grant to the pope,* sent Desiderius to a monastery, and *crowned himself king of the Lombards,* at Pavia, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. (3) *Bavaria,* always uncertain in its allegiance, rebelled. Charlemagne subdued it thoroughly, sending its duke into a monastery.

81. Union of the German Peoples. — Thus, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon,— all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain, — *were united into one Christian Romano-Teutonic state.*[2] This seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne. More than this he did not wish. He might easily have seized more of Spain or some of the rich provinces of the Greek empire in southern Italy; but, with rare moderation he returned freely to that empire some of its provinces which had voluntarily submitted to him. To a mere conqueror, such realms would have been more attractive than the bleak Saxon land; but it seems plain that Charlemagne did not choose to take inharmonious elements into his Teutonic state.

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[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with Saracens there. The details are fable, but the *Song of Roland* was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages. Students should know Baldwin's *Story of Roland.*

[2] The population was largely Roman still; but, — in Italy and south Gaul, as in Saxon-land, — *the rule,* for the most part, *was in Teutonic hands.*

It is worth noting that the small Teutonic states in Britain and Denmark, outside Charlemagne's government, recognized vaguely his overlordship.

82. Wars against the Slavs. — The Germans had now become the chief champions of civilization. Beyond their lands there stretched away the savage Slavs and Avars (map after p. 72), who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in these strongholds — as the best way to defend the civilized world. Gradually the first line of peoples beyond the Elbe and Danube were reduced to tributary kingdoms. *Charlemagne made no attempt, however, to incorporate them into his German state*, or to force Christianity upon them. *He meant them merely to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*

83. Revival of the "Roman" Empire in the West. — Clovis and Pippin had ruled over many sub-states and diverse peoples, — over an empire[1] rather than a mere kingdom. Charlemagne's conquests had added to this imperial character. Now he strengthened his authority over his wide realms *by reviving the dignity and magic name of the Roman empire.* He knew that a mere "King of the Franks" could never sway the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, Saxon, and especially of the Roman populations they dwelt among, as could an "Emperor of the Romans" ruling from the old world-capital.

There was already a "Roman Emperor," of course, at Constantinople, whose authority, *in theory*, extended over all Christendom. Just at this time, however, Irene, the empress-mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, it seemed monstrous that a woman should pretend to sway the scepter of the world, and Charlemagne decided to restore the throne to its ancient capital in the West. On Christmas Day, 800 A.D., he was at Rome, whither he had been called once more to protect the pope from turbulent Italian enemies. During the Christmas service, while the king knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown and saluted him as *Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans.* The act was ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude.

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[1] An "empire," strictly speaking, is a political state containing many sub-states. A "state," in this sense, does not mean such a unit as Massachusetts or New York, but rather England or the United States. That is, it means a people living in a definite territory, under one government.

84. Character of the Revived Empire. — In theory, Rome had chosen a successor to Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople by his mother. In actual fact, however, the deed of Leo and Charlemagne divided the Christian world into two rival empires, each calling itself *the* Roman Empire. After a time men had to recognize this fact, — as they had to recognize that there were two branches of the Christian church; but to the men of the West, *their* empire, like their church, remained the only legitimate one. Two things regarding this restored empire must be borne in mind.

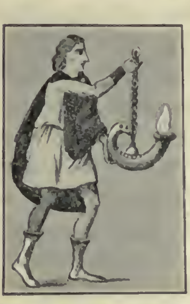
Neither empire was really Roman. As the Eastern grew more and more Oriental, *the Western grew more and more Teutonic.* Charlemagne and his successors had to be *crowned* at Rome. *But the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state; and Aachen, not Rome, was their real capital.* Roman ideas, so far as they remained vital, were worked out by rulers of Teutonic blood.

The new Empire arose out of a union of the papacy and the Frankish power. In later times the union was expressed in the name, The *Holy* Roman Empire. The Empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head. The limits of authority between the two heads were not well defined, and dissensions were afterward to arise between them.

85. Poverty and Misery. — We must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800 the West was ignorant and poor. There was still feudal

much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect; brigands infested them; and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was a primitive kind of agriculture.

Perhaps we can see this condition best by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. *There were no taxes*, as we understand the word, — partly because there was no money to pay them with, and little produce. Payment was made *by service in person*. The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks in war; the nobles paid by serving there, with their followers, and also by serving, without salary, as officers in the government. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the "gifts" which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came *from the produce of the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.



Serving Man with Lamp: time of Charlemagne.

To make sure of this revenue in the cheapest way, the king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm to consume the produce upon the spot. Charlemagne took the most minute care that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times. (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 149; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 18.)

86. The Government. — The complex and efficient system of government of the *old* Roman Empire had vanished even more completely than the old roads and commerce and taxing system. The new government of Charlemagne's Empire was rude and simple, but suited to the conditions of the age.

Five features deserve attention, — the *counts;* the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici;* the *king's own marvelous activity;* the *capitularies ;* and *Mayfields.*

Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom had fallen under the rule of *dukes*, who became almost independent sovereigns and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these *hereditary dukes* with *appointed counts*, more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; so these officers were numerous. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks"), and were called *margraves.* To counts and margraves the king intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self, — overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.[1]

This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because of *his own marvelous activity.* Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

With the help of his advisors, the king drew up collections of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as *capitularies.* (Davis' *Readings*, II, 377 ff., gives extracts.)

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[1] See instructions to the *missi*, in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 139–143.

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen. (Cf. § 49.)

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. *Lawmaking was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.

A modern French historian (Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus:

"An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent on him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything; the nobles only advised."

87. Attempts to revive Learning. — Charlemagne never learned to write. But he spoke and read Latin, as well as his native German, and he understood Greek. For the age, he was an educated man, and he tried earnestly to encourage learning. The difficulties in building up a better education were almost beyond our comprehension. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men for the clergy. He brought about the opening of schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of some of the bishops; and he urged that these schools should not only train the clergy, but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools, established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. For teachers, learned men were brought from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. Charlemagne also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the nobles of the court; and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the youths, and delighted in taking part in the discussions of the scholars whom he had gathered about him.

With great zeal, too, he strove to secure a true copying of valuable manuscripts, and especially a correction of errors that had crept into the services of the church through careless copying. "Often," says one capitulary, "men desire to pray to God, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. Do not permit *boys* to corrupt them. If there is need of writing the Gospel . . . , let *men* of mature age do the writing diligently."

Silver Coin of Charlemagne. The obverse side shows the Latin form of his name. Note the rudeness of the engraving compared with that of Justinian's coin on page 42.

88. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — In the early part of the eighth century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, Charles Martel and Charles the Great had excluded the first two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire.

For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important institutions in Europe. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in, after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea, to which he had given new life, was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against anarchy in behalf of order and progress.

True, Charlemagne was ahead of his age; and, after his death, his great design broke down. Still, his work was to be revived again by other men, as it could never have been except for his temporary success.

True, too, Charlemagne built upon the work of Pippin and Martel; but he towers above them, and above all other men from the fifth century to the fifteenth, — easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five mighty movements. He widened the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized church and society, and began a revival of learning. He wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new civilization. In his Empire were fused the various streams of influence which the Ancient World had contributed to our Modern World.

For Further Reading. — Students who have not studied this introductory period (from 400 to 800) in a course in ancient history will find a good brief account in Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages* or in Masterman's *Dawn of Medieval Europe.* Einhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour series (30 cents), and Hodgkin's *Charles the Great* is a readable and valuable little book. Davis' *Charlemagne* is a good longer account.

Exercises on Part I are not given, because this part of the book is often covered by classes in *Ancient* history, and teachers may wish to pass over it rapidly.

PART I

THE AGE OF FEUDALISM

Real history is that of the manners, the laws, the arts of men, and of the progress of the human spirit. — VOLTAIRE.

CHAPTER I

WHAT MODERN HISTORY BEGAN WITH

89. The world at the close of Ancient history was divided among four great powers, — two Christian "Roman" Empires and two Mohammedan Caliphates (map after page 72). Each Christian state was jealous of the other, and therefore more or less friendly with that Mohammedan power which bordered upon that other, while it was bitterly hostile to its own Mohammedan neighbor.[1]

B. 1

For centuries the Western Empire was the least polished, the least wealthy, and, indeed, the least civilized, of the four states. Mohammedan culture has been briefly referred to (§ 67). To an even greater degree the Greek Empire kept the old civilization. Constantinople was the most splendid city in the world. It possessed beautiful parks and was guarded by an efficient police system. Its streets were paved and lighted. Hospitals and orphan asylums cared for its poor. It was also the greatest center of trade and manufacturing. Its silks, jewelry, glazed pottery, weapons, and mosaics found their way sometimes, as rare possessions, into even the rude West. The population numbered about a million. The people were keen-witted and intellectual, and they looked with contempt, mingled with some dread, upon the warlike Franks, whom they still styled barbarians.

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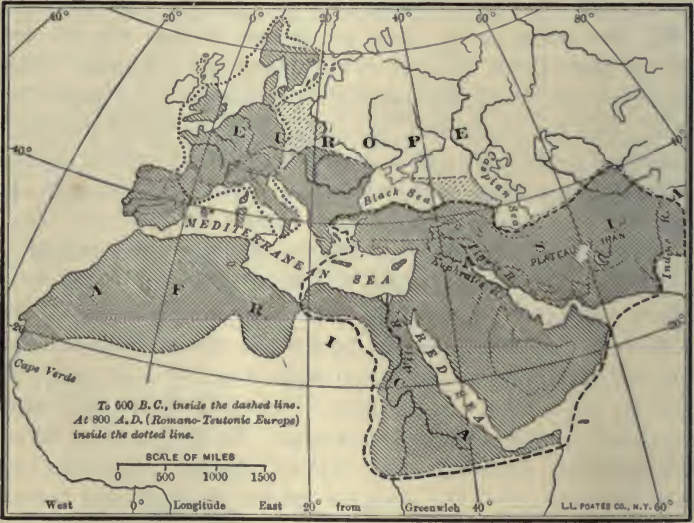
[1] The Caliph Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad, who figures in the *Arabian Nights*, was Charlemagne's contemporary. In an exchange of courtesies, the Saracen sent to the Frank a white elephant and a curious waterclock that struck the hours, — objects of infinite amazement to the Frankish court.

And yet the rude Western Empire of the Franks, with its fringes in the Teutonic states of England and Scandinavia, *was the only one of the four great powers which was to stand for further progress,* the only one with which Modern history is much concerned.

90. The scene of history had shifted to the West once more (cf. §§ 4, 8), and *this time it had shrunken in size.* Some Teutonic districts outside the old Roman world had been added (§§ 52, 79); but vast areas of the Roman territory itself had been abandoned. The Euphrates, the Nile, the Eastern Mediterranean, all Asia with Eastern Europe to the Adriatic, and Africa with Western Europe to the Pyrenees, were gone. The Mediterranean — the center of the old Roman world — had become an ill-defended moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa; and its ancient place as the great



40°
20°
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40°
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EUROPE
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
ASIA
PLATEAU IRAN
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Indus R.
Nile R.
RED SEA
Cape Verde
To 600 B.C., inside the dashed line.
At 800 A.D. (Romano-Teutonic Europe) inside the dotted line.
SCALE OF MILES
0
500
1000
1500
West
0°
Longitude
East
20°
from
Greenwich
40°
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.
60°

THE FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TO 800 A.D.

highway of civilization was taken over, as well as might be, by the Rhine and the North Sea.

91. We can now sum up the inheritance with which the Modern World began.

Through Rome the Western peoples were the heirs of Greek mind and Oriental hand, including most of those mechanical arts which had been built up in dim centuries by Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phoenician. Much of this inheritance, both intellectual and material, was forgotten or neglected for hundreds of years; but most of it was to be finally recovered.

Rome herself had contributed (1) a universal language, which was to serve as a common medium of learning and intercourse for all the peoples of Western Europe; (2) Roman law; (3) municipal institutions, in southern Europe; (4) the imperial idea, — the conception of one, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the world owed obedience.

The fresh blood of the Teutons reinvigorated the old races, and so provided the men who for centuries were to do the world's work. *The Teutons* contributed, too, certain definite ideas and institutions, — (1) a new sense of personal independence; (2) a bond of personal loyalty between chieftain and follower, in contrast with the old Roman loyalty to the state; (3) a new *chance* for democracy, in the popular assemblies of different grades.

Out of Roman and Teutonic elements there had already developed a new serf organization of labor (§ 30); a new nobility; and a new Romano-Teutonic kingship.

Most important of all, there was Christianity, with its institutions of monasticism and the papacy.

CHAPTER II

DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

92. Charlemagne died in 814, and his Empire did not long outlive him. His brilliant attempt to bring Western Europe into union and order was followed by **a dismal period of reaction toward ignorance and turmoil.** His son and successor, *Louis the Pious,* was a weak prince, whose reign was filled with quarrels among his sons as to how the realm should be divided among them. In twenty-seven years — from 817 to 843 — *seven different plans of partition were tried*, and most of them were accompanied by bloody civil war.

93. The greatest of these struggles closed with the Treaty of Verdun, in 843. *This treaty began the map of Modern Europe.* **Lothair,** the eldest grandson of Charlemagne, held the title of emperor, and wished to hold the two imperial capitals, Rome and Aachen. Accordingly he was given North Italy and a narrow strip of land from Italy to the North Sea. The rest of the empire was made into two kingdoms — that of the East Franks and that of the West Franks — for Lothair's two brothers.

The eastern kingdom lay beyond the Rhine and was purely German. It was to grow into the kingdom of the Germans. In the western state the Teutonic elements were being absorbed rapidly into the old Gallic population, and its territory corresponded fairly well with the extent of the new French language then rising into use.[1] It was finally to take the

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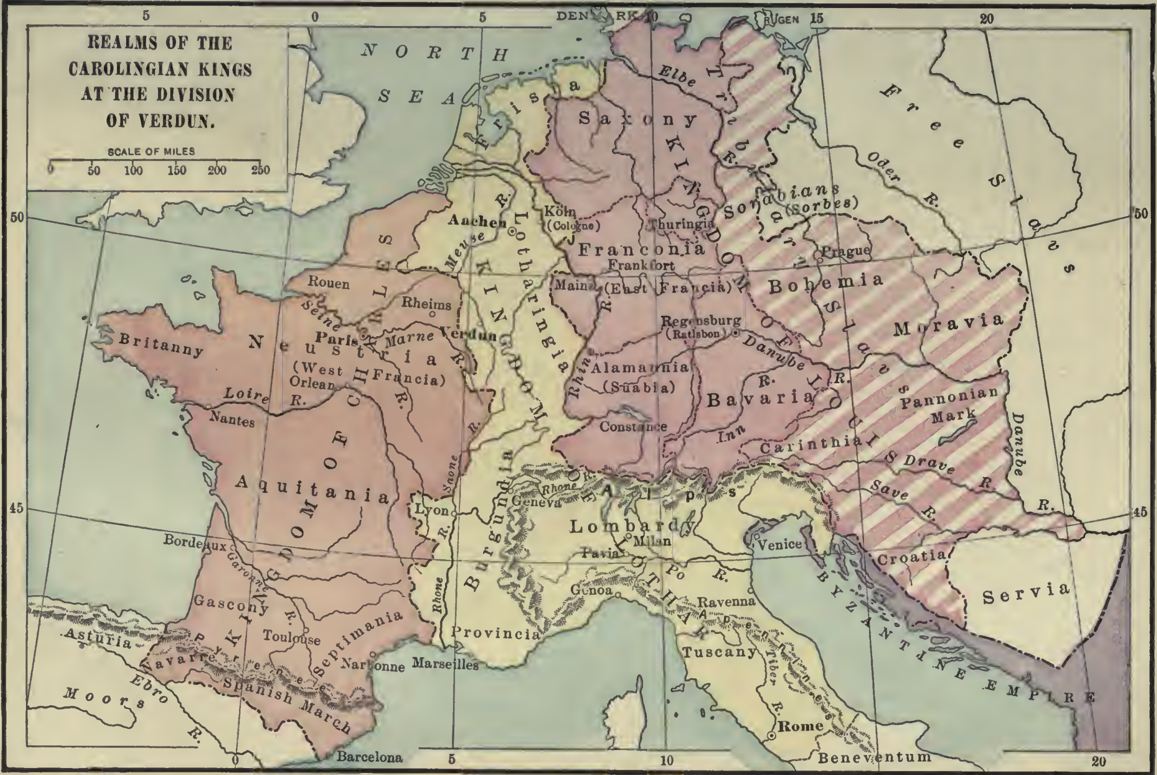
[1] During the war, the two younger brothers allied themselves against Lothair. To confirm this league, they took an oath in the presence of their armies. This famous "Oath of Strassburg" shows the growing difference between the languages spoken in the eastern and western parts of the Empire.



REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
250
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
RÜGEN
Frisia
Saxony
Elbe R.
KINGDOM OF LOUIS
Trib.
Sorabians (Sorbes)
Free Slavs
Oder R.
Köln (Cologne)
Thuringia
Franconia
Frankfort
Main R.
(East Francia)
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Slavs
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Danube R.
Alamannia (Suabia)
Rhine R.
Bavaria
Pannonian Mark
Danube R.
Constance
Inn
Carinthia
Drave R.
Save R.
Croatia
Servia
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Aachen
Meuse R.
Lotharingia
KINGDOM OF LOTHAR
Verdun
Burgundia
Rhone
Geneva
Alps
Lombardy
Milan
Pavia
Po R.
Genoa
Venice
Ravenna
Apennines
Tuscany
Tiber R.
Rome
Beneventum
Provincia
Marseilles
Saone
Lyon
Rhone R.
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Rouen
Rheims
Seine
Marne R.
Paris
Neustria (West Francia)
Orleans
Britanny
Loire R.
Nantes
Aquitania
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Gascony
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Pyrenees
Navarre
Asturia
Spanish March
Barcelona
Ebro R.
Moors
5
0
5
10
15
20
50
45

name of France. Lothair's unwieldly middle kingdom proved the weakest of the three states. It lacked unity both in geography and race. Italy fell away from the rest almost at once. Then the northern district (part French, part German) crumbled into fragments, most of which were finally absorbed by one of the two larger neighbors.

94. On the whole, the Middleland was more German than French, and most of it soon became attached to the eastern kingdom. Some centuries later, France began to seize parts of it, and, ever since, it has been a debatable land. From it came the many "Little Kingdoms" that were to confuse the map and the politics of Europe for centuries. Three of these small states survive, — in modern Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, and others lie at the root of the Alsace-Lorraine trouble of to-day.

95. For a century after Verdun, political history remained a tangle of ferocious and treacherous family quarrels. The founders of the Carolingian[1] line had won such surnames as "the Hammer" and "the Great"; but their descendants were known as "the Bald," "the Simple," "the Fat," "the Stammerer," "the Child," "the Lazy." A series of accidents united all the dominions of Charlemagne once more — for three years (884–887) — under Charles the Fat. Then the nobles deposed that sluggish prince, and the realm fell apart again, along the

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Charles, the king of the West Franks, swore in the language of his brother's German army, and Lewis, king of Bavaria (East Franks), swore in the West Franks' tongue, so that each army might know what was promised by the other party. The double oath begins: —

"Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salva-
"In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehalt-
(In God's love and for this Christian people and our common salva-
ment dist di in avant in quant Deus savir," etc.
nissi fon thesemo dage frammordes so fram so mir God gewizci," etc.
tion, from this day forward, so far as God gives me knowledge)

These are the earliest records in the French and German tongues. The French is half way between Latin (Roman) and modern French. This shows why the name *Romance Languages* is given to modern French, — and also to Spanish and Italian, which grew up in a similar way.

[1] The name *Carolingian*, from *Carolus*, the Latin form of Charles, is applied to all the rulers of Charlemagne's line.

lines of the Verdun treaty, *never to be reunited.* The many branches of the degenerate Carolingians died out one by one; and in 911 in Germany, and in 987 in France, the nobles elected native kings from among themselves. These stories will be told when we take up the separate histories of France and Germany.

Exercise. — Draw the Division of Verdun from memory, preferably upon "outline maps," with as much detail as in the map facing page 84.

For Further Reading. — Students may profitably consult Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 14–35, or Church's *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 140–156. Adams' *Civilization*, ch. viii, gives an admirable discussion.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW BARBARIAN ATTACK

"*From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us.*" — Prayer in church service of the tenth century.

96. Europe of the ninth and tenth centuries, we have just seen, was distracted by quarrels within. We are now to note that it **was imperiled also by a new danger from without. Once more barbarian invasions threatened the civilized world.** Instead of combining against the invaders, the Carolingian princes strove only to take base advantage of one another's misfortunes. Even within one kingdom, the people of different sections felt no common interest in repelling the attack, but allowed their neighbors to suffer, until the evil reached themselves. Moreover, the roads were so poor that troops could hardly be collected quickly enough to meet the scattered and swift attacks.

Europe seemed at the mercy of the invaders. On the east, hordes of wild *Slavs* and of wilder *Hungarians* broke across the frontiers, ravaged Germany, and penetrated sometimes even to Rome or to Toulouse in southern France. The *Mohammedan Moors* from Africa attacked Italy, Sicily, and southern France, establishing themselves firmly in many districts and turning the Mediterranean into a Mohammedan lake. Fierce *Norse* pirates harried every coast, and, swarming up the rivers, pierced the heart of the land.

The Slavs and Moors had appeared earlier in history (§§ 42, 67), but two of the invaders were fresh forces in European development (§§ 97, 98).

97. The Hungarians were a Tartar people, like the Huns (§ 40) in customs and character. Advancing westward from their old homes in the Ural-Volga country, they reached the upper Danube in 889, and for the next sixty years they proved the most terrible scourge that Europe had ever known. They were small, active nomads, moving swiftly on scraggy ponies, — slaying, burning, carrying off captives and all movable plunder, and laying waste the land.

98. The Norsemen were a new branch of the Teutons, and the fiercest and wildest of that race.[1] They dwelt in the Scandinavian peninsulas, *and were still heathen.* They had taken no part in the earlier Teutonic invasions; but, in the ninth century, population was becoming too crowded for their bleak lands, and they were driven to seek new homes. Some of them colonized distant Iceland, and set up a free republic there; but the greater number resorted to a life of warfare at the expense of richer countries. The Swedes expanded to the east, conquering the Finns and Slavs, while Danish and Norwegian "Vikings" ("sons of the fiords") set forth upon "the pathway of the swans" to plunder Western Europe, in fleets counting sometimes hundreds of boats, sometimes only two or three.

Remains of Viking Ship, found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted; length over all, 79 feet 4 inches, from stem to stern; breadth of beam, 16½ feet; perpendicular depth, 6 feet in the middle, 8½ feet at the extremities.

The Norse ships were long, open boats, seventy-five feet by twelve or fifteen, carrying a single square sail, but driven for the most part by thirty or forty long oars. A boat bore perhaps eighty warriors; and each man was perfectly clad in ring

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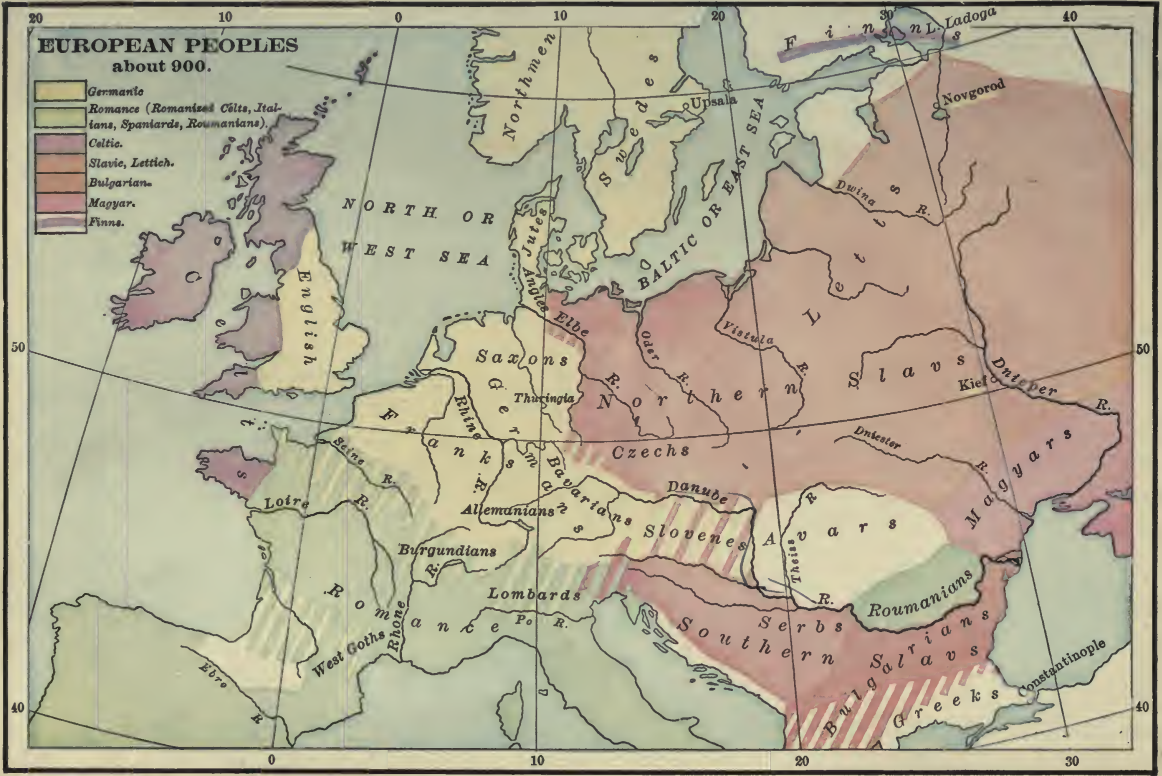
[1] There is a fine description of the Northmen in Green's *Conquest of England*, 50–59. See also some of the following: Boyesen's *Story of Norway*, Du Chaillu's *Viking Age*, Keary's *Vikings*, Mabie's *Norse Stories Retold*, Jiriczek's *Northern Hero Legends*, or the *Story of the Burnt-Njal.*



EUROPEAN PEOPLES
about 900.

Germanic
Romance (Romanized Celts, Italians, Spaniards, Roumanians).
Celtic.
Slavic, Lettich.
Bulgarian.
Magyar.
Finns.
NORTH OR WEST SEA
BALTIC OR EAST SEA
Northmen
Swedes
Upsala
Finns
L. Ladoga
Novgorod
Letts
Dwina R.
Jutes
Angles
Elbe
English
Celts
Saxons
Thuringia
Germans
Franks
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Allemanians?
Bavarians
Burgundians
R.
Lombards
Po R.
Romance
Rhone
West Goths
Ebro R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Northern Slavs
Czechs
Danube
Slovenes
Avars
Theiss R.
Kief
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Magyars
Roumanians
Serbs
Southern Slavs
Bulgarians
Greeks
Constantinople
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
40
0
10
20
30

mail and steel helmet, and armed with lance, knife, bow, and the terrible Danish axe. Daring, indeed, were the long voyages of the Northmen in these frail craft. They laughed at the fierce storms of the northern seas. "The blast," they sang, "aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant and drives us whither we wish to go."

Charlemagne maintained fleets to prevent pirate attacks; but in the quarrels of his weak successors the Norsemen found their opportunity. Every part of the Empire felt their raids. They drove their light vessels far up a river, into the heart of the land, and then, seizing horses, harried at will. They not only plundered the open country, but they sacked cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne. Within one period of a few years, they ravaged *every town* in old Austrasia, and finally stabled their horses in the cathedral of Aachen, about the tomb of Charlemagne. A characteristic sport of the raiders, according to popular stories, was to toss babes upon their spears, from point to point.

Especially did they plunder and burn the churches and monasteries. There they found the most desirable booty, — richly woven and splendidly decorated altar cloths, vessels of gold and silver used in the services, and sometimes deposits of treasure. The boldest outlaws of Christendom trembled at the thought of violating these sacred sanctuaries; but the scornful worshipers of Thor delighted in ravaging the defenseless temples of "the White Christ." When a band was defeated, the enraged people, on their part, flayed captives alive and nailed their skins to the church doors.

99. At last, like the earlier Teutons, the Norsemen ceased to be mere plunderers, and became conquerors. They settled the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides, little patches on the north of Scotland, and the whole west of Ireland, and finally established themselves *in the east of Britain* and *in the north of France.* These two latter colonies were the last important infusions of Teutonic blood into the old Roman world.

100. Rolf and "Normandy." — In 911 Charles the Simple, king of France, stopped the Norse raids in his country by planting some of the invaders on the northern coast to defend it, under their leader Rolf the Dane. Rolf was known also as *the Walker*, because, it was said, he was too gigantic for any horse to bear. He and his followers accepted Christianity as part of the bargain with the French king, and agreed to acknowledge Charles as their overlord for the new *Dukedom of Normandy*, as their district came to be called.

Custom required that Rolf should do homage to Charles for this "grant" of a dukedom by kneeling before the king and kissing his foot. Rolf refused haughtily, but finally commanded one of his followers to perform the humiliating act for him. The disgusted Norse warrior pretended to obey, but, according to the story, in lifting the king's foot to his lips, he raised it so high as to topple the king over on his back!

To understand the Norse invasions of England, and their results, we must know something more of the earlier history of that island. And that story will bring us back to Normandy.

CHAPTER IV

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

101. The Saxon Conquest. — In 408 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against a threatened invasion by the Goths. The imperial government had abandoned the island, and left the dismayed Romanized Britons to defend themselves as best they could against Teutonic ravagers on the coasts and the wild Celts[1] of the Scottish mountains. The Britons called in the Teutons to beat off the other foe, and soon these dangerous protectors began to take the land for their own.

The chief invading Teutons were the Jutes from the Danish peninsula (Jutland) and the *Saxons* and *Angles* (English) from its base. The Jutes made the first permanent settlement, about the middle of the century (449 A.D.), in southeastern Britain. The Saxons occupied the southern shore, and the Angles the eastern, carving out numerous petty states in a long series of cruel campaigns. Gradually these little units were welded into larger kingdoms, until there appeared seven prominent Teutonic states: *Kent*, the kingdom of the Jutes; *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and the English kingdoms of *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*.

102. This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. It took the Teutons a century and a half (till about 600) to master the *eastern half* of the island. Causes for this delay are to be found both in the nature of the invasion and in the condition of Britain.

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[1] *Celt* is a name applied to the Highland Scots, the Irish, the Gauls of France, and the native Britons of Britain, before the Teutonic conquest.

a. The Saxons at home were living in petty tribes, *under no common government*, and therefore could make no great organized attack. *Coming by sea*, too, they came necessarily in small bands. Moreover, they were still *pagans*, and, unlike the Franks, they were *untouched by Roman civilization.* Therefore they spread ruthless destruction and provoked a more desperate resistance.

b. Britain had been less completely Romanized than the continental provinces were. There was *more of forest and marsh*, and a *less extensive network of Roman roads.* Hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands.

103. Because the conquest was so slow, it was thorough. On the continent the invaders of the fifth century were soon absorbed by the larger native populations; *but England became strictly a Teutonic land.* In the eastern half of the island, in particular, Roman institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even names, for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

104. About the year 600, Christianity began to win its way among these heathen conquerors. In the north of England, the early missionaries came mainly from the old (Celtic) Christian church which was still surviving in western Britain and in Ireland, though cut off from connection with the rest of Christendom. The south, on the other hand, was converted by missionaries sent out directly by Pope Gregory the Great (§ 70); and the rulers of the north were soon brought to accept this better organized form of Christianity.

105. Political Union. — The Teutonic states farthest east were soon shut off from Celtic territory, and so ceased to grow; but Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria continued to expand at the expense of bordering British tribes. It was plain that leadership must fall to one of these three; and about the middle of the ninth century Egbert,[1] king of the West Saxons, brought all the Teutonic parts of the island under his authority. Egbert, however, was merely a head-king surrounded by jealous tributary kings who might break away at any moment from a weak ruler.

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[1] Egbert had spent some years at the court of Charlemagne and may have been influenced by the work of that ruler.

This was the situation at the beginning of the Danish invasions whose story we left in § 100. These at first shattered the new union, but in the end they helped it to grow more perfect. The story fills a century, and falls into two parts.

St. Martin's Church, near Canterbury. — From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old, and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church in Britain used by Augustine and his fellow missionaries, sent out by Pope Gregory. They secured the right to use it through the favor of Queen Bertha, a Frankish princess, who had married the King of Kent. A tomb, said to be Queen Bertha's, is shown in the church.

106. First Period of Danish Invasions (850–885). — The Danes began their raids in the time of Egbert, and made their first attempt at permanent settlement in 850, when a band wintered on the southeastern coast. From that time their attempts grew more and more eager, until in 871, after a series of great battles, in the last of which the king of Wessex was slain, they became for a time masters of Saxon England.

The power of Wessex soon revived, however, under *Alfred* *the Great* (871–901), brother of the slain king. Just after the Danish victory, Alfred had been driven into hiding in moors and fens. But from his secret retreats he made many a daring sally,[1] and finally he succeeded in reorganizing the Saxons and defeating the Danes. The Danes accepted Christianity, and, by the *Treaty of Wedmore* (885), received for their own the territory north of the old Roman road (Watling Street) from London to Chester. (Map on page 95.)

The several kingdoms in the south now allowed themselves to be absorbed in Wessex, which plainly was their chief defense against the invaders, and Alfred's half of the island became one Saxon state. *The first period of Danish warfare closed with this division of the island into a Danish North and a Saxon South.*

107. Alfred's Reforms. — When the young king had won back his land, the difficulties before him were still enormous. The country was burned and wasted; government was at a standstill, with its whole machinery demoralized; schools and learning had vanished. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book [from the Latin in which it was written] into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse. In other words, no priest in England understood the church services which he mumbled.

Alfred gave the rest of his life to heal these terrible wounds of his kingdom. To strengthen England against future danger, he reorganized the army, created the first English navy, and reared many a strong fort on commanding heights. But another side of his work was infinitely more important. He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper text-books in

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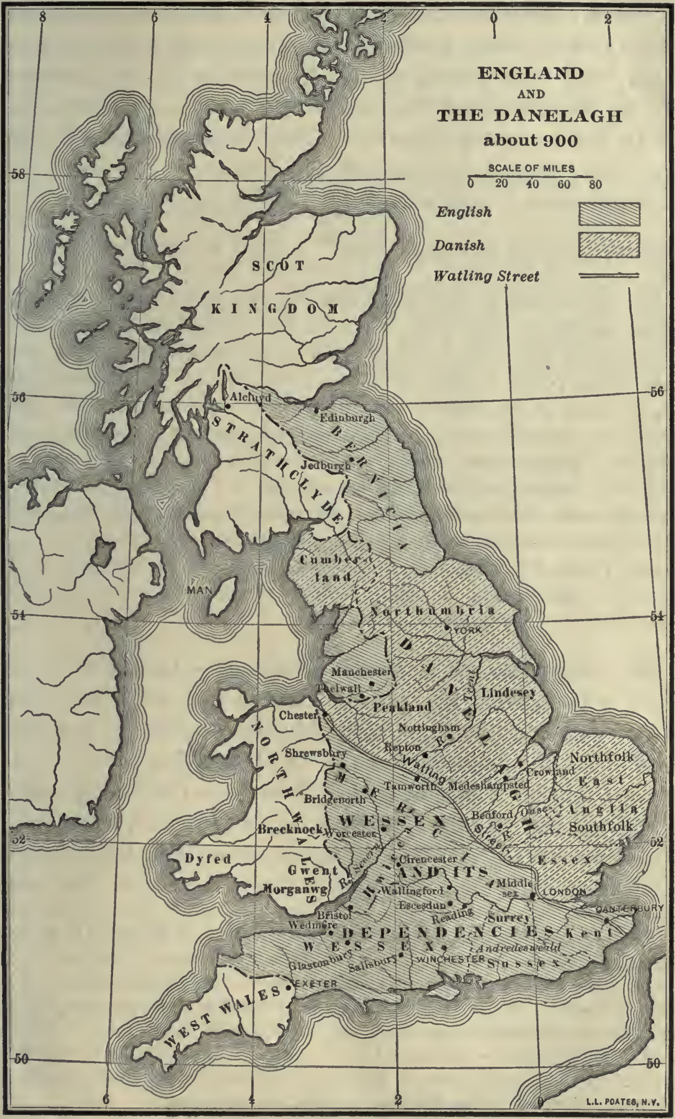
[1] Special report: anecdotes of Alfred during this period of his life.



ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT KINGDOM
Alclyd
Edinburgh
STRATHCLYDE
Jedburgh
BERNICIA
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
DANELAGH
Manchester
Thelwall
Lindesey
Peakland
R. Trent
Nottingham
Chester
Repton
Shrewsbury
Watling Street
Northfolk
Crowland
East Anglia
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
NORTH WALES
Bridgenorth
MERCIA
Bedford
Ouse
Southfolk
Brecknock
Worcester
WESSEX AND ITS DEPENDENCIES
R. Severn
Cirencester
Essex
Dyfed
Gwent
Morganwg
Wallingford
Middlesex
LONDON
Escesdun
Reading
Bristol
Surrey
CANTERBURY
Wedmore
Kent
WESSEX
Andredesweald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
8
6
4
2
0
58
56
54
52
50
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

English for his new schools, he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English, with much comment of his own, — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of "the father of English prose."[1] His own day knew him by the honorable name of "Alfred the Truthteller." Later generations looked back at him as "England's Darling"; and few kings have so well earned his title of "the Great."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him, —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in goldwork, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakspere. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily': and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'"[2]

108. Second Period of Danish Warfare. — According to the treaty with Alfred, the Danish king in the north of Britain was supposed to pay some vague obedience to the Saxon king; but, in fact, the *Danelaw* (land of the Danes' law) was an independent state. A second period of warfare (900–950) went to the reconquest of this Danelaw by the great successors of Alfred, — Edward the Unconquered, Athelstane the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds. These heroes of the house of Alfred completed that great king's work, and under Edgar the Peaceful (957–975), his great-grandson, the island rested in union and prosperity. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west and north came to Edgar's court to acknowledge his overlordship.

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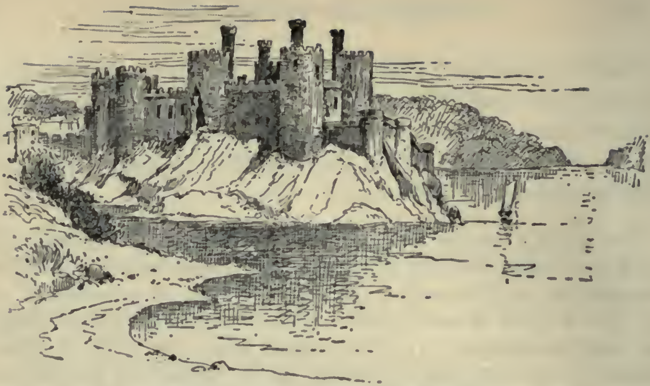
[1] There were a few ballads and one long poem (Song of Beowulf) in the English tongue, but no prose literature until these translations by Alfred.

[2] An admirable brief account of Alfred's work is in Green's *History of the English People*, I, 74–80 (from one passage of which the last paragraph in the text above is condensed), and much the same one in Green's *Short History*, 47–52. One of these works should be accessible. Many students will enjoy also one of the longer *Lives* of Alfred, by Hughes, York-Powell, Bowker, or Plummer. Hughes' is the shortest and most entertaining.

We can now see the significance of the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, whose story we began in § 96. Unlike the invasions of the fifth century, they did not create a new society. But (1) they brought in new Teutonic stock to invigorate northern France and eastern England; (2) they helped along the political union of England; (3) they helped to break up the Empire of Charlemagne; and (4) *they forced Europe to take on a new military organization for defense.* This organization we call *feudalism*, and we shall study it in the next chapter.

Special Reports. — 1. Ruric and the Norse kingdom in Russia. 2. The Varangians at Constantinople. 3. The Norse in Ireland. 4. Norse voyages to "Vinland the Good" in America. 5. Alfred the Great's life and work. Material will be found in the footnote references to §§ 97, 107. Students should search for other material.



Conway Castle. — From *Old England*.

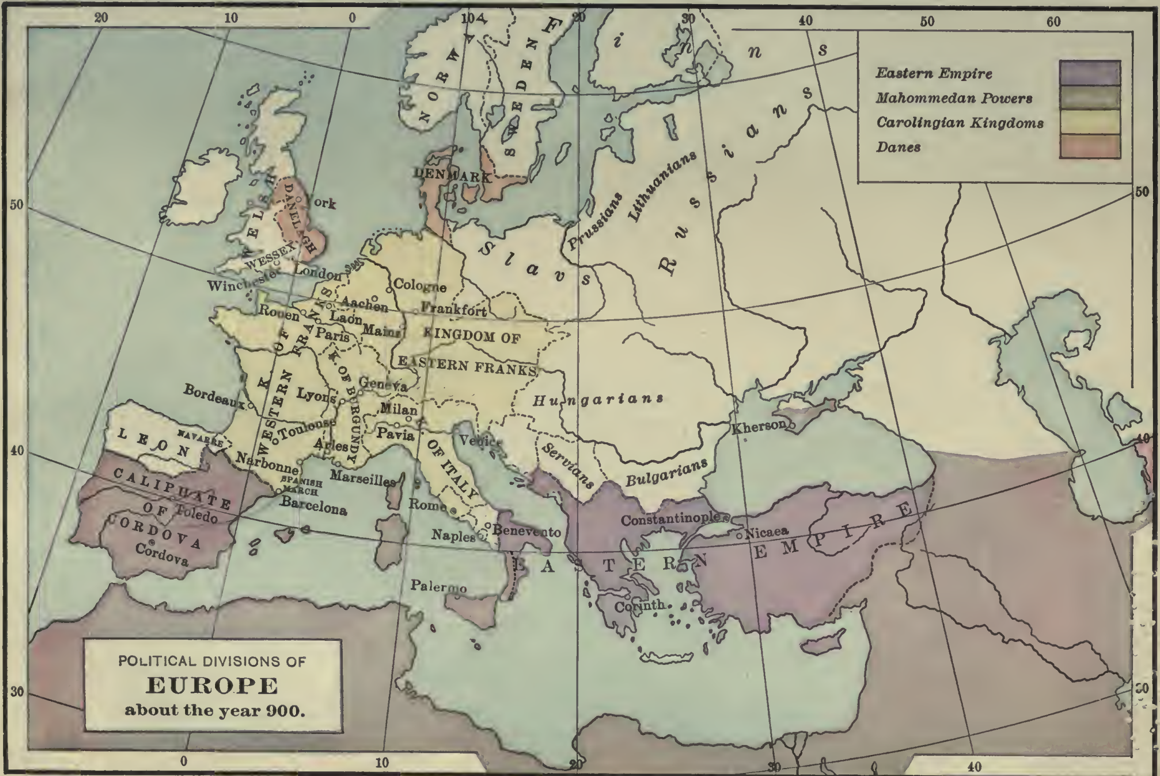
CHAPTER V

FEUDALISM

A protest of barbarism against barbarism. — Hegel.

109. The Successor of the Empire of Charlemagne. — The ninth century, as we have noticed, saw the *territorial* beginnings of Germany, France, and Italy, and (outside the old realm of Charlemagne) of England, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. *But the* ***nations*** *to occupy these territories were not yet made, and the new* ***governments*** *proved, as yet, unequal to the needs of the age.* Everywhere, so far as maintaining political order was concerned, *the immediate successor of the Empire of Charlemagne was the* ***feudal organization***. This new form of government dominated Europe for four hundred years, and played a leading part in many countries up to the nineteenth century. Indeed, it has left important traces in Europe to-day.

110. The Product of Anarchy. — After Charlemagne, through the renewal of barbarian invasions from without and the collapse of government within, the ninth century became an age of indescribable horror. The strong robbed the weak; and brigands swept over the land, to kill, torture, and plunder.



POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF

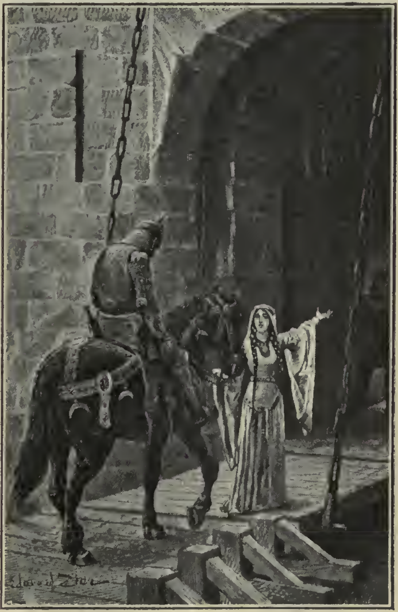
EUROPE

about the year 900.

Eastern Empire
Mahommedan Powers
Carolingian Kingdoms
Danes
NORWAY
SWEDEN
F i n n s
DENMARK
Russians
Lithuanians
Prussians
Slavs
WELSH
DANELAGH
York
WESSEX
London
Winchester
Cologne
Aachen
Frankfort
Rouen
Laon
Mainz
Paris
KINGDOM OF EASTERN FRANKS
K. OF WESTERN FRANKS
K. OF BURGUNDY
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Milan
Pavia
Toulouse
Arles
Narbonne
Marseilles
SPANISH MARCH
Barcelona
NAVARRE
LEON
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Toledo
Cordova
K. OF ITALY
Venice
Rome
Naples
Benevento
Palermo
Hungarians
Servians
Bulgarians
Kherson
Constantinople
Nicaea
Corinth
EASTERN EMPIRE
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
50
40
30

But *man must seek some government that can protect life and property; and out of this anarchy there emerged a new social order resting on force.* Here and there, and finally in greater and greater numbers, some petty chief planted himself strongly on a small domain. Perhaps he was a retired bandit or a rude huntsman; perhaps he was one of the old nobles and had held his domain formerly as an officer of the king. In any case, he kept it henceforth for himself, warding off all attack.

By so doing, he became a protector of others. The benefactor in that age was the man who could fight, and who could gather a troop of fighters under him. He was the noble, the soldier (*miles*). He laid anew the foundation for modern society, and became the ancestor of the later European aristocracy.[1] "In those days," says an old chronicle, kings, nobles, and knights, to be always ready, kept their horses in the rooms in which they slept with their wives." Finally, each district was provided with its settled body of soldiers and with its circle of frowning castles; and then the invasions ceased. The whole nature of feudalism was typified in these two military features, the castle and the mailed horseman.



DRAWBRIDGE AND PORTCULLIS. — From Gautier's *La Chevalerie.*

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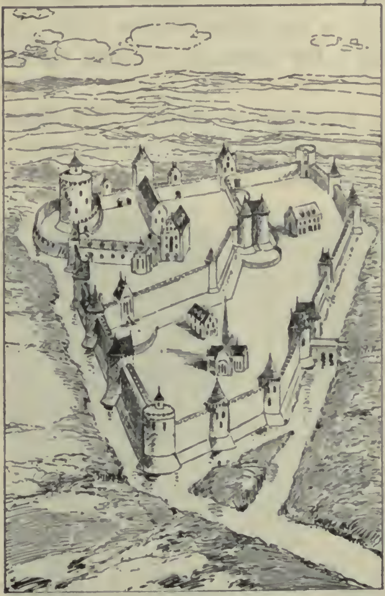
[1] Taine, *Ancient Régime*, 6. Taine's fine passage, pp. 5–8, is largely quoted or adapted in this and the following section.

111. Castles rose at every ford and above each mountain pass and on every hill commanding a fertile plain. At first they were merely wooden blockhouses, surrounded by palisades and ditches; but they grew into enormous buildings of massive stone, crowned by frowning battlements whence boiling pitch and masses of rock could be hurled down upon assailants. Usually the approach was across a *moat* (a ditch filled with water), by a narrow *drawbridge*, to a massive iron gate with a *portcullis* (a heavy iron grating) which could be dropped from above. Usually, too, the bridge was protected by flanking towers, from whose slit-like windows bowmen could command the road. Sometimes the walls inclosed several acres, with a variety of buildings and with room to gather cattle and supplies, and to shelter the neighboring villagers during an enemy's raid; but there was always an inner *keep* (an especially strong tower), with its own series of fortifications, and, if possible, with its own well. The keep was the especial residence of the lord's family,[1] and the stronghold where the last stand was made if the foe captured the outer defenses of the castle. Its walls were often enormously thick,



MEDIEVAL CASTLE of the larger sort, with moat and drawbridge. — A "restoration," from Gautier's *La Chevalerie.*

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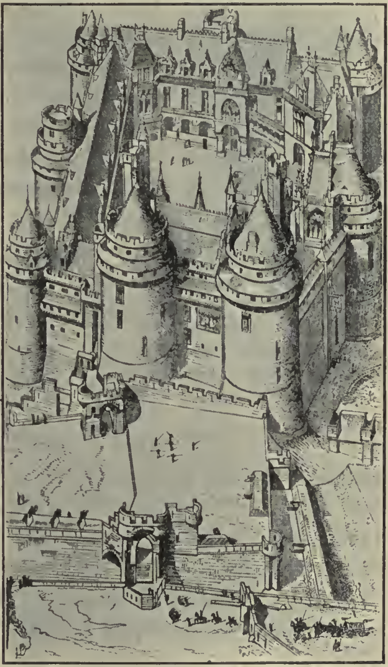
[1] Some two centuries later, the noble families began to escape from these damp and gloomy quarters by building a new "hall" for residence in time of peace.

so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three times his length. The secret winding stairway to the upper floors was sometimes concealed within these walls; and near the keep there was usually a small "postern" gate in the outer walls for the private use of the lord and his family.

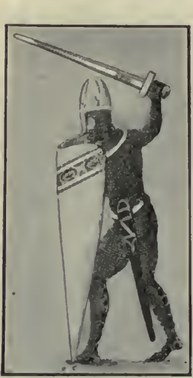
Until the days of gunpowder, feudal castles were virtually impregnable to ordinary attack. They could be captured only by surprise, by treachery, or by famine. Upon such walls the Norse invaders spent their force in vain. In later times, secure of such retreat, a petty lord could sometimes defy even his own sovereign with impunity; and too often the castles became themselves the seats of robber-barons who oppressed the country around them. To-day their gray ruins all over Europe give a peculiar picturesqueness to the landscape, mocking, even in decay, the slighter structures of modern times.



THE CASTLE OF PIERREFONDS in the fourteenth century. — A "restoration" by Viollet le Duc.

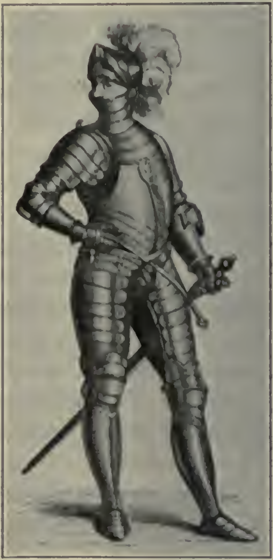
112. **"Men-at-Arms."** — The castles afforded a *refuge* for man and treasure. But during the invasions, the problem in *the field* had been to bring to bay the swiftly moving assailants, — the light horsemen of the Hungarians, or the Danes with their swift boats for refuge. The Frankish infantry had proved too slow.

Feudalism met this need also. Each castle was always ready to pour forth its band of trained and faithful men-at-arms (*horsemen in mail*) under the command of the knight, either to gather quickly with other bands into an army under a higher lord, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords and passes. The raider's day was over; but meantime the old Teutonic foot militia, in which every freeman had held a place, had given way to an iron-clad cavalry, — the resistless weapon of the new feudal aristocracy.



A German Knight of the twelfth century. — From a contemporary manuscript.

113. Armor. — In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales.[1] Then came in coats of "chain-mail," reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. About 1300 appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, which we usually associate with feudal warfare. A suit of this armor weighed fifty pounds or more; and in battle the warrior bore also a weighty shield, besides his long two-handled sword and his lance.[2]



Knight in Plate Armor, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire*.

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[1] The warriors in the illustration on pp. 147, 154 wear this kind of armor.

[2] The student will enjoy "Mark Twain's" humorous conceit in *A Yankee at King Arthur's Court* as to the discomforts of medieval armor, and the difficulty of getting at a handkerchief!

Necessarily the war horse that carried a heavy man so equipped was a powerful animal; and he too had parts of his body protected by iron plates.

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the middle ages (before the invention of gunpowder) **lay mainly in this equipment.** He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen at will. The peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wore no armor and wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks. Naturally they came to be called *infantry;* that is, *boys* ("enfants").

114. Origin of Feudal Classes. — While the disorders of the ninth century were at their worst, any man of courage who could get together an armed force and fortify a dwelling found the neighborhood ready to turn to him as its master. Other weaker landlords gladly surrendered to him their lands,[1] to receive them back as "fiefs," while they themselves became his *vassals,* acknowledging him as their *lord* (or *suzerain*) and fighting under his banner.

This soldiery afforded protection to other classes. The peasants saw that they were no longer to be slain or driven captive by chance marauders. They ventured to plow and sow. In case of danger they found asylum in the circle of palisades at the foot of the castle. In return they cultivated the lord's crop, acknowledged him as their landlord, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for each sale or inheritance. The *village* became his village; the inhabitants, his *villeins.*

Besides these resident laborers, who had some claim to consideration, fugitive wretches gathered on the lord's lands, to receive such measure of mercy as he might choose to grant. These sank into the class of *"serfs,"*[2] of whom already there were many on all large estates (§ 30).

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[1] This practice was known as "*commendation.*" It went on until practically all the land of Western Europe was held by its possessor from some higher lord.

[2] The terms "serf" and "villein" are explained in § 129.

115. Origin of Feudal Privileges. — Both villeins and serfs were largely at the lord's mercy; but one master, however tyrannical, could not be so great an evil as constant anarchy. In return for the protection he gave, the lord assumed many privileges. In later times, these came to be unspeakably obnoxious, but in their origin they were usually connected with some benefit conferred by the lord.

The lord's services did not stop with defense against robbers. He slew the wild beast, and so came finally to have the *sole right to hunt.* He was also the sole organizer of labor. He forced the villeins to build the mill, the oven, the ferry, the bridge, the highway. Then he *took toll for the use of all these conveniences ;* and later he demolished the mill that the villeins would have built for themselves.

> "Later the masters of these castles were the terror of the country, but they saved it first. *Power always establishes itself through service, and perishes through abuse.*" — DURUY, *Middle Ages*, 201.
>
> "Disastrous as were most of the effects of the system, it at least justified its existence by saving Christendom from the foe without. . . . Any ransom was worth paying, if thereby Rome was saved from the Saracen, Mainz from the Magyar [Hungarian], Paris from the heathen of the North." — OMAN, *Dark Ages*, 512.

116. Each petty district became practically independent of every other district. The king had been expected to protect every corner of his realm, and as a fact he had protected none; but each little chieftain proved able to care for his own small corner when he was left to himself. *Feudalism meant the replacing one ineffective central authority in each country by countless disconnected but effective local authorities.* The noble took even the courts of his district under his care. His territory became a little state of itself. The great nobles coined money, and made war and treaties, like very kings. Out of some 70,000 feudal lords in France in the tenth century, two hundred or more held these sovereign powers of coinage and of war and peace.

117. Feudalism seems to us a bad system, but it **had a good side.** The fief, large or small, became an object of love and devotion to its inhabitants. The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society. Perhaps the system was more rough than paternal; but it was better than anarchy, and it nourished some virtues peculiar to its own day.

A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation. Joinville was a great French noble of the thirteenth century, about to set out on a crusade. At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting and dancing in honor of his approaching departure. "And on the Friday I said to them: 'Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me.' And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands*; and, *that I might not influence them*, I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided."

118. So far, we have been looking at feudalism as the product of military necessity. **Many of its features, however, were the result of economic[1] necessity,** — of the lack of money and of roads. Economically, as well as politically, each locality had been thrown upon its own resources and had been compelled to provide for its own needs. The rich man's wealth was in land; but he could make land pay only by renting it for services or for produce. He rented part of it to smaller "nobles," who paid him by fighting for him, and part to workers, who raised and harvested his crops, and gave him part of their own. The man who had no land was glad to exchange his services for the use of land in one way or the other.

119. There were three elements of feudalism. The first was the *personal relation* between lord and vassal. This is summed up in the word *vassalage*. It seems to have been due in large measure to the

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[1] *Economics* refers to wealth, as *politics* does to government.

peculiar personal relation between chieftain and "companion" among the old Teutonic barbarians (§ 39). Vassalage will be explained in detail in § 122 ff.

The second element *concerned landholding.* Each vassal held a fief from his liege lord, in return for "honorable" service. This practice was copied from a common usage among the Romans.

The third element was the *jurisdiction* (right of government) which each master of a fief held over the dwellers and subvassals upon it. This connection of political authority with landholding dates in some degree from the early Teutonic conquests.

The union of these three things, in the period of disorder that followed Charlemagne, produced European feudalism.

120. Feudal Theory and Practice. — Rising out of anarchy, feudalism kept some anarchic traits. At first the relations of lord, vassal, and villein differed widely in different localities, and each district fixed its own customs and law. To a great degree this remained true as long as feudalism lived at all; but gradually the kings' lawyers built up a theory of beautiful simplicity, to which facts, in some measure, came to conform.

In this feudal theory, *the holder of any piece of land was only a tenant of some higher landlord;* and, besides the clergy, there were *two main classes of society,* — the fighters, who were "noble," and the workers, who were ignoble.

The king belonged to the fighting class and was the *supreme landlord.* He let out most of the land of the kingdom, on terms of military service, to great vassals who swore fealty to him. Each of these parceled out most of what he received, on like terms, to smaller vassals; and so on, perhaps through six or seven steps, *until the smallest division was reached that could support a mailed horseman for the noble's life of fighting.*

In practice there was no such regularity. The various grades were interlocked in the most confusing way. Many of the smallest vassals held their land directly of the king or of the greatest lords, — not of a lord just above them in importance, — and the holdings and obligations differed in all conceivable ways. Often great lords held part of their lands from smaller ones, and even kings were vassals for part of their kingdoms, — perhaps to vassals of their own.

Thus the Count of Champagne in the thirteenth century was lord of twenty-six castles, scattered over north-central France, each the center of a separate fief. Most of these he held from the King of France, but others of them he held from seven other suzerains, — among them the Emperor and the Duke of Burgundy. Some of these lords of the count were now and then at war with one another. The count had sublet his land among 2000 vassals, but many of these held lands also from other suzerains, — sometimes from suzerains of the count.

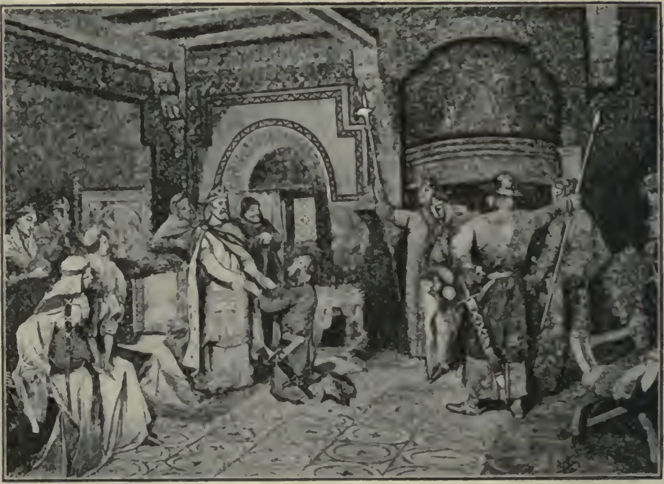
121. Suzerain and Vassal. — Except for the smallest knights, all landlords of the fighting class were "suzerains" (liege lords); and, except perhaps the king, all were vassals. There was no great social distinction between the lord and his vassals. They lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. The "vassal" was always a "noble," and his service was always "honorable." It must never be confounded with the "ignoble" service paid by serfs and villeins.

At first, fiefs were granted only for the lifetimes of the vassals; but, in the ninth century, *they became hereditary.* For three hundred years more, a man from the lower ranks sometimes received a fief as a reward for special service, and so became a noble; but in the twelfth century nobility itself became strictly hereditary.

In order the more easily to secure the services due them, the lords objected to a vassal's dividing a fief among his sons, and thus established the practice of "primogeniture" (inheritance of landed property by the eldest son only). On the continent all the sons of a noble kept their *nobility*, even if they were *landless;* and (unless they entered the clergy) it became their aim to win lands, by serving some great lord who might have fiefs to bestow.

In England the term "noble" had a much narrower meaning: it applied only to the greatest lords, and to their *eldest* sons after them. That is, the principle of primogeniture was applied to nobility as well as to property. *The whole "gentry" class in England would have been nobles on the continent.*

122. The receiving of a fief was accompanied by the solemn ceremony of *homage.* This had somewhat the character of a "bargain" for mutual advantage between lord and vassal. The future vassal, with head uncovered and sword ungirt, knelt before the lord, placed his folded hands between the lord's hands, and swore to be the lord's "man" (Latin, *homo*). He took also an oath of *fealty*, promising to perform many specific obligations. The lord raised the vassal from his knees, gave him the "kiss of peace," *invested* him with the fief, — usually by presenting him with a sword or a clod of earth as a symbol, — and promised to *defend* him in it.



AN ACT OF HOMAGE. — From a twelfth century manuscript.

The important duties of the vassals may be classed under three heads, — military service, court service, and financial payments.

123. The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord,[1] to serve in war, — perhaps alone, or perhaps followed by an army of knights and men-at-arms, according to the size of his fief. He could be compelled to serve only a fixed time each year, commonly forty days, but for that time he was to maintain himself and his men.

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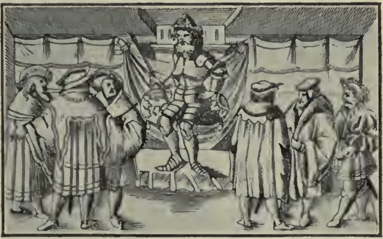
[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3, gives forms of summons.

The short term of service made the feudal army of little use for distant expeditions; and indeed vassals were sometimes not under obligation to follow their lord out of the realm. The jealousies between the vassals, and the absence of organization, and of all discipline except that of a lord over his immediate followers, made the feudal array an unwieldy instrument for offensive warfare.

124. The vassal was bound to serve also in the lord's "court," usually at three periods each year. The court had two distinct functions. (1) As a judicial body, it gave judgment in legal disputes between vassals; and (2) as a council, it advised the lord in all important matters.



A Baron's Court. — From a sixteenth century woodcut.

A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (*pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the judge. The second office of the court was even more important: the lord could not count upon support in any serious undertaking unless he first secured the approval of his council. In feudal language, the council "advised and consented." This expression, through English practice, has come down into our constitution: our President is empowered to do certain things "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

125. The vassal did not pay the lord "taxes," in the usual sense of that word, but on certain special occasions he **did have to make four kinds of financial contributions.** (1) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum of money.[1] It was called a *relief*, and commonly it amounted to a year's revenue. (2) If the vassal wished to sell his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (3) Upon other occasions he made payments known as *aids*. The three most common purposes were *to ransom the lord*, if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter*. (4) Similar to such payments, but more oppressive, was the obligation *to entertain the lord and all his following* upon a visit.

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[1] The payment of this sum by the son of a deceased vassal was a recognition of the fact that in theory the fief had been granted only for the life of the previous holder and that it had reverted to the higher lord. Cf. § 121.

The lord had other claims upon the fief, which under certain circumstances might produce revenue. (1) He assumed the *guardianship of a minor heir*, and took to himself the revenues of the fief at such times, on the ground that there was no holder to render the service for which it had been granted. (2) He claimed the right *to dispose of a female ward in marriage*, — so as to secure for her a husband who should be a satisfactory vassal, — and then commonly he sold to the woman the right to marry without interference. Sometimes to extort a huge sum he presented a hateful suitor. Thus the English royal accounts contain various entries similar to the following one: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, renders [to the king] 130 marks and 4 palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not be compelled to marry." (3) In the absence of heirs, the fief returned (*escheated*) to the lord; and (4) if the vassal's duties were not performed, it might come back to him by *forfeiture*, through a decision of his court.

126. The lord was bound to defend his vassal against attack, to treat him justly, and to see that he obtained justice from his co-vassals. The lord could not withdraw a fief, so long as the vassal was true to his bargain; and the vassal could hold the lord to the performance of *his* duties, or at least could try to do so, by appealing to the court of the lord's lord.

Now we can understand why feudalism is called a *decentralized* system of government. Every citizen of the United States owes allegiance *directly* to the central government. Such had been the case, too, in the old Roman Empire. But there was nothing of this sort under feudalism. A vassal, C, owes obedience directly only to his lord, to B, and will follow him to war against B's lord, A, or even against the king. C owes obedience to A only *through* B, and the obligation to A, if thought of at all, is infinitely weaker than that which binds him to B.

127. Feudalism came to dominate all the relations of man with man. Other things than land were given and held as hereditary fiefs, — the great offices of the kingdom, the right to fish in a stream, or to cut wood in a forest. A monastery or a cathedral drew its *revenues* largely from its serfs and villeins and from the church lands cultivated by them; and it provided for its *defense* by giving other lands to nobles on terms of military service. Thus bishops and abbots became suzerains, and they were also vassals, for their lands, to some other lord.

So, too, the towns, when they grew up in the twelfth century. A town was sometimes a vassal of a lord or of another town, and perhaps at the same time a suzerain of smaller towns. Both towns and church were fundamentally hostile to the feudal spirit; but for a time they had to accept the feudal form.

128. Private Wars and the Truce of God. — Feudal *theory* paid elaborate regard to *rights,* but feudal *practice* was mainly a matter of *force.* There was no adequate machinery for obtaining justice; it was not easy to enforce the decisions of the crude courts against an offender who chose to resist. The whole noble class, too, thought war the most honorable and perhaps the most religious way to settle disputes. Like the trial by combat (§ 48), it was considered an appeal to the judgment of God.

For the slightest causes, great or petty lords went to war with each other; and these "*private wars*" became a chief evil of the age. They hindered the growth of industry, and commonly they hurt neutral parties quite as much as they hurt participants. There was little actual suffering by the warring nobles, and very little heroism. Indeed, there was little actual fighting. The weaker party usually shut itself up in its castle. The stronger side ravaged the villages in the neighborhood, driving off the cattle and perhaps torturing the peasants for their small hidden treasures.

In the eleventh century the church, unable to stop such strife, tried to regulate it by proclaiming the "Truce of God," forbidding private war between Wednesday evening and the following Monday morning of each week and during the church festivals.[1] It was long, however, before this truce was generally observed.

129. Workers in the Feudal Age.[2] — The "upper classes" comprised the clergy and the nobles, — the "praying class" and the "fighting class." *These made up feudal society proper; but they were fed and clothed by an immensely larger number of "ignoble" workers.* The workers, whether legally free or servile, did not count in politics and not much in war, and they are hardly referred to in the records of the time except as cattle might be mentioned. They had few rights and many duties. Labor was almost wholly agricultural, and was performed, mainly, by serfs and villeins.

As in the last Roman days (§ 30), *the serf* was bound to the soil by law: he could not leave it, but neither could he be sold apart from it. He had his own bit of ground to cultivate, at such times as the lord's bailiff did not call him to labor on the lord's land. Usually the bailiff summoned the serfs in turn, each for two or for three days each week; but in harvest or haying he might keep them all busy, to the ruin of their own little crops. Then, if the serf had a crop, he had to pay a large part of it for the the use of his land, and he was compelled to pay a multitude of other dues and fines. Sometimes he paid money, but almost always, especially in the early period of feudalism, he paid "in kind," — eggs, a goose, a cock, a calf, a portion of grain at the mill where the rest had to be ground. So, too, he paid part of his bread baked at the lord's oven and part of his cider made at the lord's press.

In theory, *all* that the serf had was his lord's, and most of the class were left only a bare living. Still some masters allowed their better serfs to accumulate a little property —

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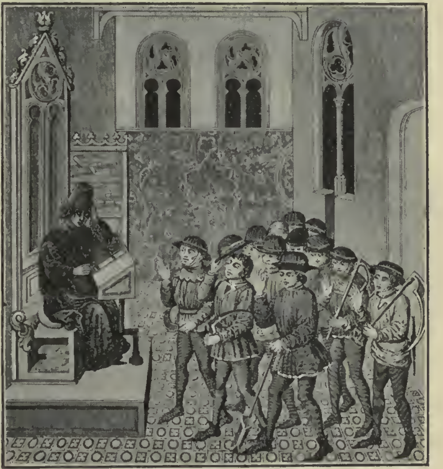
[1] See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 2, for such a proclamation, by the Archbishop of Cologne in 1083.

[2] Cf. § 30, note. The best short treatments are Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 509–520, and Adams' *Growth of the French Nation*, 64–68.

just as some slaves in the United States before the Civil War were permitted to possess property.

A step above the serf was the villein.[1] The villein was free in person. That is, he could leave his land and go from one lord to another. Such changes were not very common; and in any case the villein must have *some* lord. *The landless and masterless man was an outlaw, at the mercy of any lord.*

Practically, the most important distinction between villein and serf was that the villein's land was subject only to *fixed and certain* charges, not to arbitrary exactions. These charges, however, were usually so fixed as to leave the villein only the bare necessities of life.[2] The way in which the higher classes thought of the villein is shown by the fact that his name became a term of reproach ("villain").



Villeins receiving Directions. — From a miniature in a fifteenth century manuscript.

130. Cautions for the Student. — To avoid common misconceptions regarding feudalism, it is well to fix in mind the following points: —

(1) The kings kept their old authority *in theory*, and therefore were always something more than great feudal lords, though the difference was vague.

(2) "Vassal" never means serf: a vassal was free and noble, though he was, by bargain, the "man" of some "lord."

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[1] Serfdom and villeinage ran into each other in a most confusing manner, so that the two are often referred to under either name.

[2] Cf. § 114. There is an excellent account in Emerton's *Medieval Europe*, 517–518, and a longer one in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 39–44.

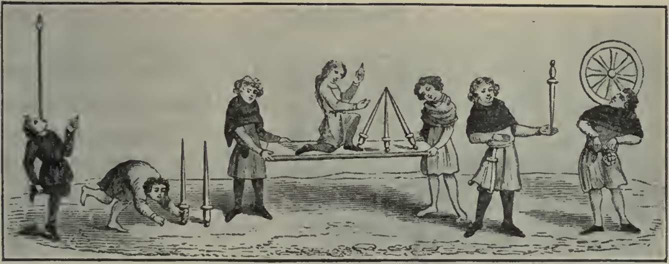
(3) Strictly speaking, feudal society contained *only* suzerains and vassals, though these classes made up but a small part of the population.

(4) Serfs and villeins were not part of the feudal system. That is, their relations to their masters were not *feudal* relations, in strict language. But some such classes were necessary to the existence of the feudal classes above them.

(5) Feudalism did not create serfs, to begin with, but it did thrust down into the position of serfs and villeins many men who had formerly been free.

(6) In feudal times, society was always more complex and less symmetrical than would seem from any single account.

FURTHER READING on this chapter, apart from the footnote references, is best suggested at the close of the following one, pp. 129, 130.



JUGGLERS. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

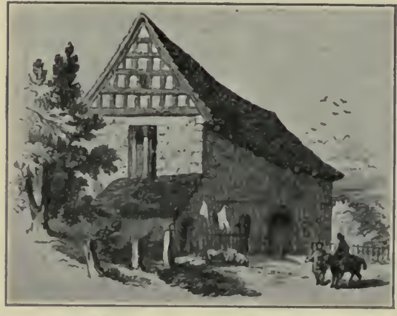
CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

131. There were few towns in Western Europe until the twelfth century, and the new town life of that period will be discussed in its place (§§ 259 ff.). From 900 to 1200 society was mainly rural. It is the work and the home life of this rural society with which this chapter deals.

132. The Manor. — Besides the land he let out to military vassals (§ 120), each noble had to keep some of his land for the support of his own household and for other revenue. This was "domain" land. It was cultivated by the lord's serfs and villeins, under direction of a bailiff, or steward. The peasant workers did not live in scattered farmhouses, each on its own field: they were grouped in little villages of twenty or fifty dwellings, as in Europe to-day. *Each such village, with its adjoining "fields," was a "manor."* Great lords held many manors, usually widely scattered throughout the kingdom, and the smallest noble necessarily held at least one.

Each village or manor had its church, usually at a little distance, with grounds about it, part of which were used for the graveyard. Usually the village had also its manor house. This might be the lord's castle, on a hill above the other dwellings, or it might be a house only a trifle better than the homes of the villeins, to be used by the lord's steward. At one end of the village street stood the lord's smithy; and near by, on some convenient stream, was the lord's mill. The smith and

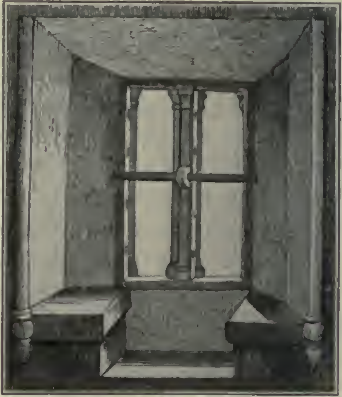


ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, Melichope, England; in its present condition.—From Wright's *Homes of Other Days.*

miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

133. Peasant Homes.[1] — The other dwellings were low, filthy, one-room hovels of rough wood or sticks, plastered together with mud. They had no chimney or floor, and usually no opening (no window) except the door, and they were thatched with straw. These homes straggled along either side of an irregular lane, where poultry, pigs, and children played in the dirt. Behind each house was its weedy garden patch and its low stable and barn. These last were often under the same roof as the living room of the family,—as is still true sometimes in parts of Germany.

The house, small as it was, was not cluttered with furniture. A handmill for grinding meal, or at least a stone mortar in which to crush grain, a pot and kettle, possibly a feather bed, one or two rude



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE UPPER WINDOW SHOWN IN MELICHOPE MANOR HOUSE. This view shows the depth of the wall, — into which, indeed, the stairway is cut.

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[1] The most graphic treatments of peasant life are in Jessopp's *Friars*, 87–112; Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet*, 46–52; and in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 31–52. Of the last, read especially 31–40 and 50–52. There is also a good treatment in Ashley's *Economic History*, I, 10–43.

benches, and a few tools for the peasant's work, made up the contents of even the well-to-do homes.

134. Farming. — The plowland was divided into three great "fields" or three groups of fields. These were unfenced, and lay about the village at any convenient spots. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long,"[1] and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest, and was managed by his steward.

Of course this kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Agriculture was extremely crude. Serfs were not intelligent or willing workers, and even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. They expected only six or eight bushels of wheat or rye from an acre. Walter of Henley, a thirteenth century writer on agriculture, says that threefold the seed was an average harvest, and that often a man was lucky to get back his seed grain and as much again.

The breed of all farm animals, too, was small. The wooden plow required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. Carts were few and cumbrous. The distance to the outlying parts of the fields added to the labor of the villagers. There was little or no cultivation

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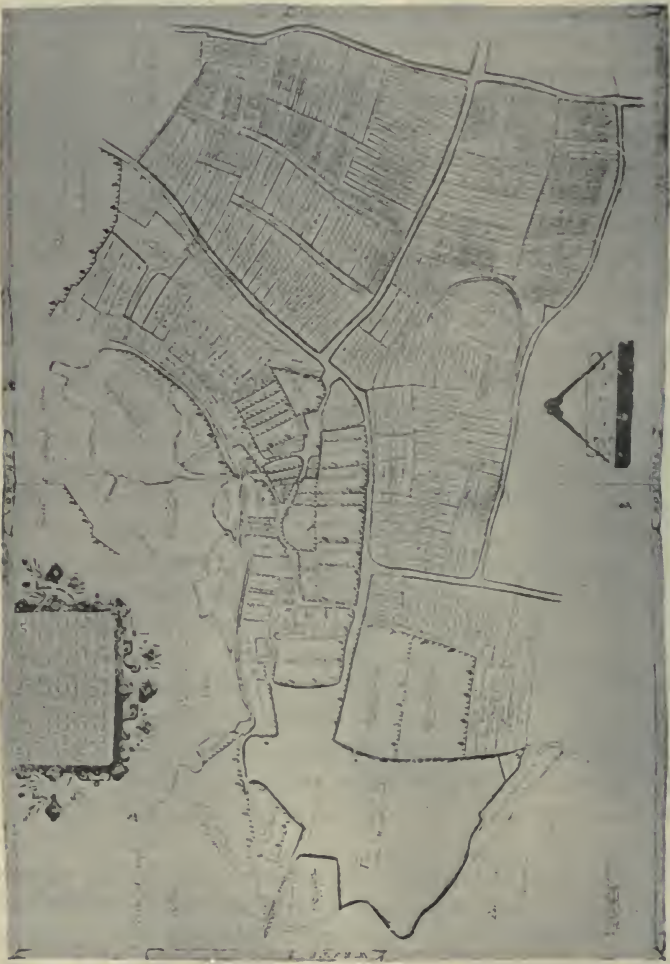
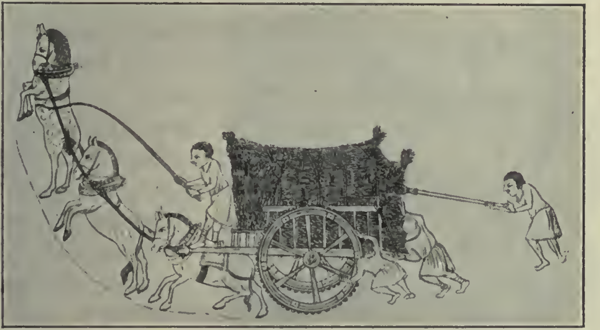
[1] This expression is the origin of our "furlong."



A Sixteenth Century Map of the Open Fields of the Manor of Lower Heyford, Oxfordshire.

of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes a few turnips and cabbages and carrots, rather uneatable varieties probably, were grown in garden plots behind the houses. The wheat and rye in the "fields" were raised for breadstuffs, and the barley for brewing beer. Sometimes a few peas and beans were grown for fodder.

The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was twice as valuable as plowland. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine.

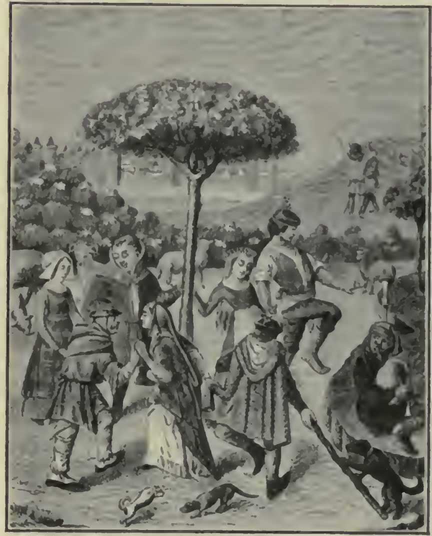


A Reaper's Cart going Uphill. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*; from a fourteenth century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the roads. The steepness of the hill is, of course, exaggerated, so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

It was difficult to carry enough animals through the winter for the necessary farm work and breeding; so those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food caused loathsome diseases among the people. The chief luxury among the poor was honey, and well-to-do peasants often had a hive of bees in their garden plot. Honey took the place of sugar, and the wax was made into the candles which lighted the churches and were kept burning before the shrines of saints.

135. Each village was a world by itself. Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market the three outside products needed, — salt, millstones, and iron for the plowshares and for other tools. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. Commonly in the ninth century it had not even a shop. The women of each household wove rough cloth for the single garment that covered them; and the men prepared leather for their own heavier clothing.

This shut-in life was stupefying and degrading. Measured by our standards, it was often indescribably ferocious, indecent, and cheerless. Pictures in manuscripts of the time, however, show that it had occasional festivities; and it was a great step up from the slavery of laborers in earlier times.

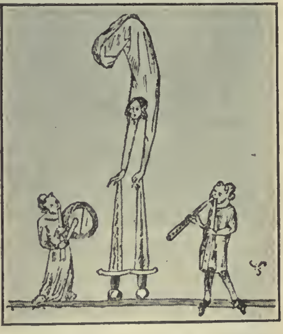

PEASANTS' MAY DANCE. — From a miniature in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

136. One feature of this manorial life had promise in it. This **was the court of the manor,** composed of all heads of families and meeting every three or four weeks. The lord's steward presided, and exercised very great power; but all took part, and the older men had an important voice in declaring "the custom of the manor" — a thing which differed in every two manors and which took the place of town legislation among us.

The assembly settled disputes between villagers, imposed penalties upon any who had broken "the customs of the manor," and, from time to time, redistributed the strips of plow land among the village families. In England such gatherings sent their presiding officer and their "four best men" to the larger local assemblies (§ 161), and so kept alive a chance for representative government to grow up.

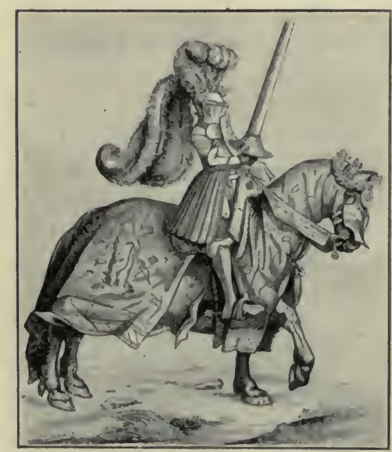
137. Life in the Castle. — The noble classes dwelt in gloomy fortresses over dark dungeons where prisoners rotted. They had fighting for business, and hunting with hound and hawk, and playing at fighting, for pleasures. The ladies busied themselves over tapestries and embroideries, in the chambers. Gay pages flitted through the halls, or played at chess in the deep windows. And in the courtyard lounged gruff men-at-arms, ready with blind obedience to follow the lord of the castle on any foray or even in an attack upon their king.

138. The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. Kings and great lords gave such entertainments, to win popular applause, on all joyous occasions, — the marriage of a daughter, the knighting of a son, the celebration of a victory. The tournament during the middle ages took the place of gladiatorial games among the Romans.



Jugglers in the Sword Dance. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists at Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and any mere description is tame in comparison. As there portrayed, the news of the coming event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place, perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found ready welcome for meals and lodging at any castle or manor house.

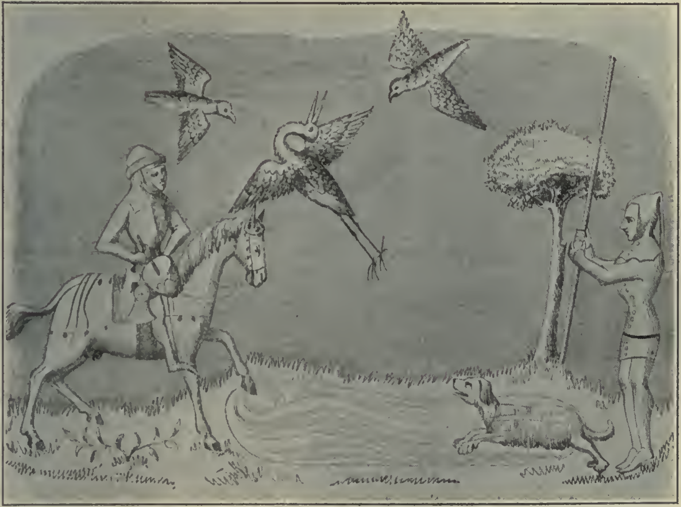


A VICTOR IN A TOURNAMENT. — After a drawing by Dürer.

The contests took place in a space (the "lists") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group of knights "held the lists" against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot. Again, two mimic armies met in the mêlée. Perhaps even the yeomen were allowed to show their skill with bow and in wrestling.

139. Chase and Falconry. — The population was thinly scattered, and large districts everywhere were waste or forest. This gave admirable opportunity for hunting to the inhabitants of every castle. Hunting was the second most important sport of the nobles, and it was a monopoly possessed by that class, protected by cruel and bloody custom. For a common man to be found with a haunch of venison, or even with a hare, meant the loss of eyes or hands.

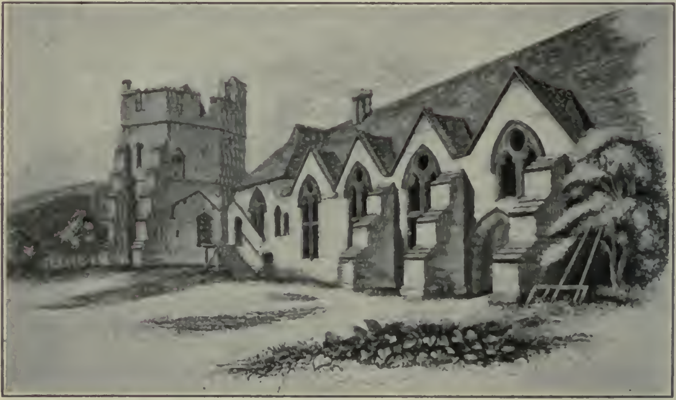
Indeed, hunting was more than sport. The table of every castle depended in large measure upon a steady supply of game. The larger wild animals, — bear, deer, wild boars, — were brought to bay with dogs, and slain by the hunter with spear or short sword. (This was the "chase.") Smaller game, — herons, wild ducks, rabbits, — were hunted with trained hawks. (This was "falconry.") Each castle counted among its most trusted servants a falconer, who saw to the capture of young hawks (falcons) and trained them to fly at game and to bring it back to the master. *Falconry* was the peculiar medieval form of hunting, and lords and ladies were madly devoted to the sport. Many a noble lady, even on a long journey of many days, rode, falcon on wrist, ready at any moment, to "cast off" if a game-bird rose beside the road, — somewhat as



FALCONRY. — From a medieval manuscript reproduced by Lacroix.

the backwoodsman carries his rifle on a journey, always ready for a stray deer.

140. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependants gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for precedence in rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, and the lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boar heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models in many a medieval pasty, which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.



STOKE CASTLE. A modest manor house of the thirteenth century, called a castle because of its tower.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbed up and rolled between the hand to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually diluted with water. A prudent steward of King Louis IX of France (Joinville, § 143) tells us how he "caused the wine of the varlets (at the bottom of the tables) to be well watered, but less water to be put in the wine of the squires, and before each knight [he] caused to be placed a huge goblet of wine and a goblet of water," — a judicious hint which it is to be hoped some knights accepted.

THE HALL OF STOKE CASTLE.

During the midday and evening meals, there was much opportunity for conversation, especially with strange guests, who repaid the hospitality by the news of the districts from which they came. Intervals between courses, too, were sometimes filled with story-telling and song, and with rude jokes by the lord's "jester" or "fool."

141. Chivalry.[1] — This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood."

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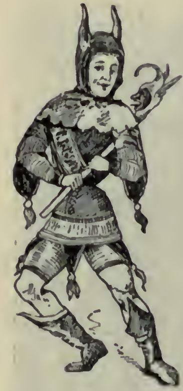
[1] There is a good treatment in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, 112–121. Longer accounts may be found in Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, or in the *histories* of chivalry by James or by Cornish.

Chivalry grew up slowly between 1000 and 1200 A.D. We will look at it in its fully developed form. There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

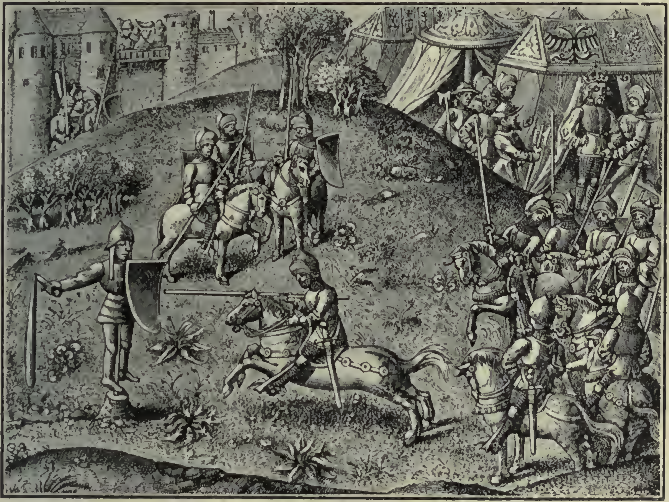
a. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page.* Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.



A COURT FOOL. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

b. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, the squire's education was completed. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, confessed his sins to a holy priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn church services and a sermon upon the duties of a blameless knight. Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the vows to be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans. The ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then the lord struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." (This blow was the "accolade.") Rising to his feet, the new-made knight vaulted upon his horse and gave some exhibition of his skill in arms and in horsemanship; and the festival closed with games and feasting and the exchange of gifts.



THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, as the reward for distinguished bravery. In such case, there was no ceremony except the accolade.

Chivalry was an attempt to fuse the ideals of the Teutonic warrior and of the Christian. It has been called "the flower of feudalism." Its faults were twofold. (1) *It was exclusive.* Its spirit was altogether a class spirit. It recognized no obligations except to nobles. Even the vow to protect women did not apply to any women but those of gentle birth. (2) *It carried some of its virtues* (bravery and devotion to ladies) *to such extremes as to make them fantastic, if not vicious.*

The ideals, too, were not always reached, and a perfect knight may have been no more common than is a perfect gentleman to-day. But chivalry did help to soften manners and to humanize society. Along with other feudal institutions, it developed a high sense of personal honor and of personal independence, and, at the same time, of personal loyalty to a lord. It elevated women, and it had much to do with creating the modern home and our idea of a gentleman.

142. Ideals of Knighthood in Literature. — Toward the year 1400, the English poet Chaucer gives this picture of his typical knight: —

"A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the time that he first began
To riden out, he lovéd chivalry,
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. . . .
And tho that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid.
And never yet no villainy he said
In all his life, unto no manner wight.
He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

143. Moral Ideals of Feudal Nobles about 1300. — Joinville was a great noble of Champagne, in what we now call France, who has already been quoted (§§ 64, 140). He followed King Louis IX (St. Louis) on one of the crusades (§ 241), and for a time served in the king's household on terms of mutual friendship. Many years later, when ninety years old, Joinville dictated to a scribe his recollections of the great king, dedicating the book to the great-grandson of St. Louis, then the heir to the throne. The following extracts show something of the morality of the best feudal society.

"And because I see no one who ought to have [the book] so rightly as you who are his heir, I send it to you, that you and your brothers and others *who may hear it read*, may take good example from it and put these examples in practice, that God may be pleased with you. . . . The King loved truth to such a degree that even with the Saracens he would not draw back from what he had promised. As to his palate he was so indifferent that never did I hear him ask for any particular dish, as many men do, but he ate contentedly of whatever was served up to him. He was measured in his speech. Never in my life did I hear him speak ill of any one; nor did I ever hear him name the Devil, — a name widely spread in this realm (and it is a great disgrace to the kingdom of France, and to the king when he suffers it, that one can hardly speak without saying 'the Devil take it,' and it is a great sin to devote to the Devil a man given to God from the moment that he is baptized. In the Joinville household, whoso utters such a word receives a box on the ears or a slap on the mouth, and bad language is almost wholly suppressed). . . . He asked me once whether I wished to be honored and to enter Paradise through death? Keep yourself then from doing or saying aught which, if all the world knew, you could not avow and say, 'I did this,' 'I said that.' He told me to refrain from contradicting anything said in my presence, providing there was no sin in remaining silent, because hard words engender strife. . . . He used to say that a man should so equip his person that the grey-beards of the day should not be able to say that it was over done; nor the young men that there was anything wanting. After the king's return from over the sea, he lived so devoutly that he never wore furs of different colors, or scarlet cloth, or gilt stirrups or spurs. I was reminded of this by the father of the king who now reigns [Philip the Hardy] alluding once to the embroidered coats of arms fashionable now-a-days. I made answer to him that never in the voyage over the sea did I see embroidered coats . . . and that he would have done better to have given the money to the poor and to have worn plain clothes as his father used to do."

For Further Reading. — Excellent "source" material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3; in Robinson's *Readings, I*, 170–196; and in Ogg's *Source Book*. The student should know Froissart (fourteenth century), — at least in Lanier's charming volume, *The Boys' Froissart*, — and Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* (thirteenth century). For modern accounts, the best statements are those in Adams' *Civilization* and his *Growth of the French Nation*, and in Emerton's *Medieval Europe*. The older accounts, such as those of Hallam, Robertson, and Guizot, are more or less untrustworthy, especially regarding the rise of the institution.

For special features, — chivalry, village life, etc., — see footnote references to §§ 129, 133, 141. *Historical fiction* upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, although they give a false glamor to the age, and perhaps they should be corrected by "Mark Twain's" scathing treatment in his *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.* Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow* and Conan Doyle's *White Company.* Charlotte Yonge's *Little Duke* and Stockton's *Story of Viteau* are good for younger students and will be enjoyed by older ones. Martineau's *Prince and Peasant* pictures the abuses of feudalism at a later period. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*

Exercise: Explain the terms, — vassal, fief, commendation, homage, fealty. Let the class prepare lists of such terms for rapid and brief explanation, and select some thirty, from this volume so far, for future reviews.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH

144. The Universal Church a Political State. — Every topic since the disappearance of the old Roman Empire has called for constant reference to the church. For centuries to follow, also, that institution pervaded all the life of Europe. Nowhere in the world to-day does any church fill so large a place, or wield so great authority, as the Catholic church did from the sixth to the fifteenth century. *To understand the Middle Ages, it is even more necessary to know about the church than to know about feudalism.*

Christianity was not only a religion: *it was also a government.* Its officers exercised many powers that have now been handed over to civil[1] officers. Public order depended on the church almost as completely as did private morals. Over wide regions, with its spiritual thunders and the threat of its curse, it protected the widow and orphan, and others in danger of oppression, from the brutal barons who had respect for no earthly power.

But, further than all this, *the church was a sort of vast political state.* For seven hundred years after Charlemagne's empire broke up, the church was the only bond that held the Western world together in a sense of unity. The one name for that Western world during those ages was "Latin *Christendom.*" Nations were not yet made. Not Britain or France or Germany, but Christendom, was the true fatherland to which men gave their love and patriotism.

The church was universal. Membership was not a matter of free choice. All the people of Western Europe, except the

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[1] *Civil* is used very commonly in contrast to *ecclesiastical.*

Jews, were baptized into it almost as soon as they were born. To attempt to leave it, or to deny its authority, was to invite the punishment of death as a heretic. It was as impossible to think of any one between the Adriatic and the Atlantic outside the church, as it is now to think of a Frenchman in France outside the French nation.

We have called feudalism the successor of the Empire of Charlemagne; but, in its claim upon men's allegiance, *the church was the true successor of the old Roman Empire.* That Empire, in its time the one home of civilized man, had made possible the expansion of the church throughout its realms, with a government similar to that of the Empire itself (§ 34). Then, as the Empire fell to pieces, and disappeared from the West, the church *remained*, — dressed in the old forms and working through the old territorial divisions, — the sole representative of the old imperial unity.

145. From a very early date, there was a line drawn between laity and clergy. — After the fourth century, the distinction had *outward* marks. Lay society ceased to use the old Roman robes after the barbarian invasions; but the clergy *retained* them. Thus churchmen came to have a peculiar garb. They also adopted the custom of *tonsure*, — shaving a large part of the head.

So far as religion was concerned, the laity were merely called upon to support the church and to obey scrupulously the teachings and directions of their spiritual guides, the clergy. The clergy had for their charge "the cure (*care*) of souls." They were the mediators between man and God; and they alone could administer the holy sacraments, which were indispensable to salvation.

146. The sacraments were seven. (1) *Baptism* purified the infant from the sin of Adam and took him into the Christian community. (2) *Confirmation* admitted the youth into full church fellowship. (3) *Extreme unction*, in a dangerous illness, gave the soul strength to meet death. (4) The *Mass* (the celebration of the Lord's Supper) helped to purify from the ordinary sins and temptations of daily life. (5) *Penance* (after confession of sin and repentance) restored to the Christian life those who had fallen away into deadly sin. (6) *Marriage* made holy the life of husband and wife. (7) *Ordination* handed down (from Christ) to the clergy their exalted authority and their power to administer these sacraments.

147. Penance played an especially important part in human life. In ordaining a priest, the bishop said to him, "Whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven him; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." A man who had fallen into sin, then, could escape *only* through a priest's absolution. And, before the priest could absolve from sin he must hear the confession of the sinner, and be convinced of his sincere repentance. Then he might pronounce the solemn "I absolve you from your sins."

This absolution freed the soul from danger of punishment in hell, but not from some punishment hereafter in purgatory. To escape the fires of purgatory, it was still needful for the offender to do penance — to accept some punishment imposed by the priest. This punishment varied with the sin. The priest might order the offender to repeat many prayers, or to keep fasts, short or long, or to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint, or even to the Holy Land. In place of these temporal penalties, the absolved sinner might be permitted to give money to the church for its work.

148. The worship of the church *remained* generally in Latin, — the language in universal use in Western Europe when the services took their form. Sermons, of course, were preached in the language of the people. The chief place in the service was held by the Mass. All men believed that the bread and wine, when consecrated by the priest, were *transformed* into the very *substance* of the body and blood of Christ. Hence the term *Transubstantiation*, which came later into use to signify this miraculous change.

The mass could purify not only those who were present at the sacrament but even those who were suffering in purgatory. And so rich men often left large sums to the church to pay for masses for their souls after death, and many gifts were made in like manner for masses for the souls of departed friends.

The early church had delighted in honoring its martyrs, and *it came to venerate them as saints* and to pray to them to intercede with Heaven for the living. A church building which possessed the tomb of a saint became the goal of many pilgrimages, and worshipers offered both prayers and gifts before the saint's shrine. Chief of all saints was the *Virgin Mary*, the Mother of God. And the universal inclination to offer prayer to a sainted woman helped to introduce an element of gentleness and tenderness into worship which cannot be overvalued for that rough age.

As early as the fourth century, *most of the great religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, had come to be celebrated much as in the present day.* The splendor of the religious celebration, and the joyousness of the social side of such festivals, were high lights amid the gloom and savagery of the dark centuries.

149. Preaching played a smaller part in the church's work than to-day, but there was no time when it was not a mighty instrument for good. The following extract from a sermon by the good Bishop, St. Eloy, in the seventh century, is typical in the force with which it insists on man's duties to his fellowmen as well as to God.

> "It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . . Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection, without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; *let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest. . . .*"

And Joinville (§ 143) tells how a barefoot monk preached before the mighty monarch, Louis IX: —

"He said he had read carefully in the Bible and other holy books, and had always found that no kingdom had ever risen in war against its lord except when the ruler failed in justice to the people. Let the king, then, see that justice is done equally, to every one of his people, that God may not take his kingdom from him with shame."

150. The growth of the church organization has been described in section 34. **We are now to survey the organization as it stood when the church had won Western Europe.**

a. **All Christendom was made up of parishes,** — the smallest church units. Commonly, a parish was a farming village (a manor) or a part of a town. At its head was a *priest*, who, in large city parishes, was assisted by *deacons* to look after the poor.

b. **A group of parishes made up the diocese of a bishop**; and every parish had to belong to some diocese. The bishop usually established his headquarters in the largest town of his diocese, where there would be several parishes close to his own *cathedral* church, and where he could most easily keep in touch with the outlying parishes. Nearly every town of any consequence in the twelfth century was a bishop's seat (Latin, *cite*), and so gained the name *city*; and its cathedral was far larger and more magnificent than the other churches of the diocese.

The bishop was the mainspring in church *government*. He was regarded as the successor of the apostles, and was subject only to the guidance of the pope, who was successor to the chief of the apostles. Originally, his special duty had been to *oversee* the parish priests. (The Greek word *episcopus*, from which we get the word *bishop*, meant simply overseer.) This duty continued, and involved much difficult travel. But, with the development of the power of the church, other functions had been added to the bishop's office.

He looked after the enforcement of the laws of the church. This "canon law" had grown into a complex system. To administer justice under it, *each bishop held a court*, made up of trained churchmen, over which he presided. This court had jurisdiction not merely over ecclesiastical matters: it tried any case that involved a clergyman, *or any one else who was under the special protection of the church,* — as were all widows, orphans, students, and the families of those who were absent on pilgrimages or crusades (§ 243). Other laymen could claim the privilege of trial in church courts when the case involved religious or moral questions of many sorts; as, for instance, cases depending on laws of marriage and inheritance, the keeping of contracts which had been sanctioned with oaths, the taking of interest (*usury*), which was regarded as unlawful, and all matters connected with the revenues of the church.

The bishop also had charge of the extensive property of the church in the diocese, — a task calling for the assistance of a considerable body of clerks and accountants. His agents, too, collected the tithes due the church throughout the diocese (the tenth of all produce), and distributed its proper share to each parish church.

The bishop was himself a priest, in charge of the services of his cathedral church; and he had some religious powers that did not belong to ordinary priests. *Only a bishop* could admit to full church fellowship by *confirmation,* or *ordain* new clergy, or *consecrate* new church buildings.

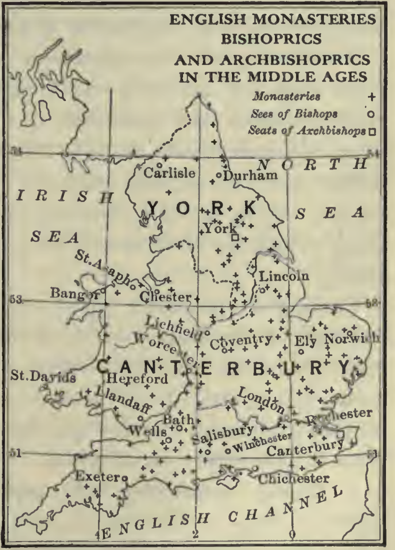
He was likewise an important officer of the civil government. The Roman emperors, after Constantine, had begun to make bishops their lieutenants for many matters of government. And the Teutonic conquerors of the Empire had carried the practice further, because they knew that the bishops had the necessary knowledge to deal with the difficulties that arose, and that bishops were not dangerous to their rule, — as other Roman officials might be if intrusted with authority.

With the growth of feudalism, this temporal power extended itself still more widely. *A bishop was a great feudal lord,* owing military service possibly to several different suzerains, holding much power over vassals, and possessing power of life and death over hundreds of serfs.

About the bishop was a body of assistant clergy, called *canons.*

Taken in a body, the canons were the "cathedral chapter." They aided in the services of the cathedral and in the management of the diocese; and, on the death of the bishop, they appointed his successor, — subject perhaps to the approval of some temporal ruler.

c. **A number of dioceses made up a province,** — which was usually one of the old divisions of that name under the Roman Empire. Over each province, seated in its most important city, was an *archbishop*, or *metropolitan*. The archbishop was a bishop also of one diocese, and he had a general supervision, but not a very definite one, over the other bishops of the province. His court, too, heard appeals from theirs; but he did not excel a bishop in power or dignity in any such degree as a bishop excelled a priest. In each country, one archbishop usually secured a primacy over the others, and became known as *primate*. Thus, the Archbishop of Canterbury was primate of England, with influence superior to that of the Archbishop of York.


ENGLISH MONASTERIES
BISHOPRICS
AND ARCHBISHOPRICS
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
Monasteries +
Sees of Bishops o
Seats of Archbishops □
IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
YORK
CANTERBURY
Carlisle
Durham
York
St. Asaph
Bangor
Chester
Lincoln
Lichfield
Worcester
Coventry
Ely
Norwich
St. Davids
Hereford
Llandaff
London
Rochester
Bath
Wells
Salisbury
Winchester
Canterbury
Exeter
Chichester
54
53
52
51
4
2
0

d. **At the head of all this church hierarchy stood the *pope*,** the spiritual monarch of Christendom. He was *supreme lawgiver, supreme judge, supreme executive.* He issued new laws in the form of *bulls* (so-called from the gold seal, or *bulla*, on the documents), and he set aside old laws by his *dispensations*, — as when it seemed best to him to permit cousins to marry, a thing forbidden by the canon law. His court heard appeals from the courts of bishop and archbishop, and likewise from many of the temporal courts of Christendom. Now and then he set aside appointments of bishops and other clergy, and himself filled the vacancies.

After the middle of the eleventh century, he appointed *legates*, to represent his authority directly in different countries, serving him somewhat as the *missi dominici* served Charlemagne. A legate could revoke the judgment of a bishop's court, remove bishops, and haughtily command obedience from kings, — quite as Shakspere pictures in his *King John.*

That the pope was a temporal prince over a group of provinces in Italy has been explained. Above all else, *he was the spiritual guide and guardian of Christendom*, compelling even kings, on occasion, to cease to do evil and to begin to do justice. Sometimes the papacy fell into weak or improper hands, but on the whole, no line of kings in Europe began to equal the mighty bishops of Rome either in devotion to their work or in ability.

For aid in his high office, the pope gathered about him a **"college[1] of cardinals."** At first this body comprised only seven bishops of Rome and its vicinity; but it grew finally to include great churchmen in all countries. After the middle of the eleventh century, this college elected the popes, as will be explained more fully in its place.

e. **Bishop, archbishop, and pope could each call *councils*** of inferior clergy. The local councils dealt, of course, with local concerns. A *general council*, made up of all bishops in Latin Christendom, settled supreme matters of faith and of church policy. Such an assembly was believed to be divinely inspired in its decisions. The first general council was the one Constantine called at Nicea (§ 35); and at some other times emperors as well as popes summoned these gatherings.

In this organization of councils, the church was far ahead of the temporal government of Europe. England had a national

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[1] "College," in this common use, means merely a *collection* of people.

convocation of clergy, to legislate in church matters, centuries before it had a parliament; and until the recent creation of the Hague Congress, Europe had *no* general political assembly to compare in any way with the general councils of Christendom in the Middle Ages.

Three matters which have been referred to in the paragraphs above call for more extended notice, — benefit of clergy, the weapons of the church, and its revenues.

151. The right of the clergy to be tried in clerical courts was known as "benefit of clergy." The practice had its good side. Ordinary courts and ordinary law partook of the violent and ferocious life of the age. Trials were rude; and ghastly punishments were inflicted for trivial offenses, — often, no doubt, upon the innocent. It was a gain when the peaceful and moral part of society secured the right to trial in more intelligent courts and by more civilized codes. Moreover, in the Middle Ages, all corporations, even trade gilds, very commonly had courts with considerable power of jurisdiction over their own members. The demand of the church was not out of keeping with the ideas and practice of the age, as such a claim would be now.

But the church law was too mild to deal with serious crimes. It did not use force in its punishments, but only required the offender to punish himself by penances of various kinds or by fines, or payments to the church. This mildness was seriously abused. Its advantages tempted men to "take Holy Orders" (enter the clergy) until, besides the preaching clergy and the monks, the land swarmed with "clerics" who were really only lawyers, secretaries, scholars, teachers, or mere adventurers. Some of these, by their crimes, brought disgrace upon the church and danger to the state.

152. The church had two mighty weapons to compel obedience to its commands, — *excommunication* and *interdict.* A bishop could excommunicate any man in his diocese, and a pope could excommunicate any man in Christendom. Excommunication shut the offender out from all religious communion. He could attend no church service, receive no sacrament, and at death, if still unforgiven, his body could not receive Christian burial. But excommunication was even more than this. In modern language, it was a universal boycott for all social and business relations also. If it was obeyed by the community, it cut a man off absolutely from all communication with his fellows, and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty, and his very presence was shunned like the pestilence.

One decree of excommunication reads: "By virtue of the divine authority given to bishops by St. Peter, we cast him out from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church. Let him be accursed in his town, accursed in his field, accursed in his home. Let no Christian speak to him or eat with him. Let no priest say mass for him, or give him the communion. Let him be buried like the ass."

What excommunication was to the individual, the interdict was to a district or a nation. Churches were closed, and no religious ceremonies were permitted, except the rites of baptism and of extreme unction. No marriage could be performed, and there could be no burial in consecrated ground.[1] "The dead were left unburied, and the living were unblessed."

153. Revenues. — All churches and ecclesiastical lords had their revenues, of course, from rents and landed properties. Pious men and women, at their death, often left property to the church, and it came finally to own over a third of the land in many countries. There were also many dues and fees paid to the clergy, such as the *tithe* (§ 150).

But besides all this, — which corresponded fairly well to the income of the lay lords of the time, — there was also a

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[1] In this extreme form, the interdict was rarely proclaimed; and, of course, a decree of excommunication against a king was always disregarded by many of his followers, But, on the other hand, few kings or peoples could hold out against the mere threat of these terrors in an age when religious practices were so interwoven with the fiber of daily life. The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 4, give several decrees of interdict. Notice especially the reply to one by the Doge of Venice in 1606.

papal system of taxation extending over all Christendom, long before any king had so effective a revenue system for his particular country. The most famous element in this taxation was *Peter's Pence*, or a penny for each hearth each year, collected over Western Europe by an organized body of papal officers. Much more important, however, were the many enormous payments made by the clergy, — such as the payment by each bishop, at his accession, of half the first year's revenue of his office, — a payment corresponding to a feudal *relief* (§ 125).

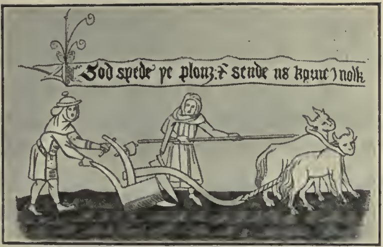
154. Thus *Christendom* was divided into *provinces, dioceses,* and *parishes,* ruled by *pope, archbishops, bishops,* and *priests.* Besides these, there were the thousands of monasteries (§ 51) that dotted Europe, with their multitudes of monks, ruled by priors and abbots, subject to the final authority of the pope. This vast centralized monarchy of the church had its laws and legislatures and judges, its taxes, its terrible punishments, and its promise of eternal happiness.

155. Of all this mighty organization, the village priest brought the church closest home to the mass of the people. The great ecclesiastics — bishops, archbishops, and abbots — were often from the noble class by birth, and in any case they always became part of the aristocracy. But the rural priest was commonly a peasant in origin, and he often remained essentially a peasant in his life, — marrying in the village (until the eleventh century) and working in the fields with his neighbors. He was a peasant with a somewhat better income than his fellows, with a little learning, a revered position, and with great power for good. He christened, absolved, married, and buried his parishioners, worked for them daily the purifying miracle of the Mass, comforted the heart-sore and wretched, and taught all, by word and example, to hold fast to right living. He looked, too, to their physical welfare. It was as much his duty to guard the village against the visit of a leper as against that of a heretic.

The church building was also the social center of the parish. In it took place the most solemn events of every life, — christening, confirmation, marriage, burial. Near it, on Sunday, between the sacred services, the people found their chief recreation in sports and games. And from its steps the priest gave to them what news they received from the outside world, reading aloud there, too, any rare letter that some adventurous wanderer might be able to get written to his home.

156 Democracy. — One other fact about the church government must be kept in mind. The government was a centralized monarchy, but it was infinitely more democratic *in spirit* than feudal society was. Long after the gulf between nobles and non-nobles became impassable (§ 121), men of humblest birth rose sometimes to the loftiest offices of the church. Pope Gregory VII, who set his foot upon the neck of the mightiest king in Europe (§ 221) was the son of a poor peasant. Another pope was a shepherd's son; another, a baker's; and many a great bishop had even a lowlier origin. *The church* in the Middle Ages *was the only part of society where talent and study could lift a poor boy to power.* This was one explanation of its tremendous authority. *It was recruited by the best minds from all classes.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — Cutts' *Parish Priests and their People* (ch. ix) and Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* (ch. iv) give admirable descriptions of the way in which the medieval church affected the life of the common people.


God spede þe plouȝ: & sende us korne ynow

Plowing. — From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND[1] IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1327

I. FROM EDGAR TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

157. Part of a Danish Empire. — In § 108 we left England united under Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). In the long fight against the Norse invader, under the great Alfred and his sons and grandsons, Angle and Saxon and Northumbrian and Mercian had learned to look upon themselves as Englishmen, — citizens of one country. The many Teutonic states in Britain had at last been fused into a true "England," — though bitter feuds did sometimes still break forth between Englishmen of the north and Englishmen of the south.

During the first years of the next century, the ruler was a weak man, Ethelred the Redeless;[2] and the island was conquered by Swegn, king of Denmark, and his son *Knut*. This Danish attack was wholly unlike the invasions in the time of Alfred. Denmark had now become a Christian kingdom; and Knut, who was master also of much of Norway, made England part of a great Scandinavian empire (1016–1035).

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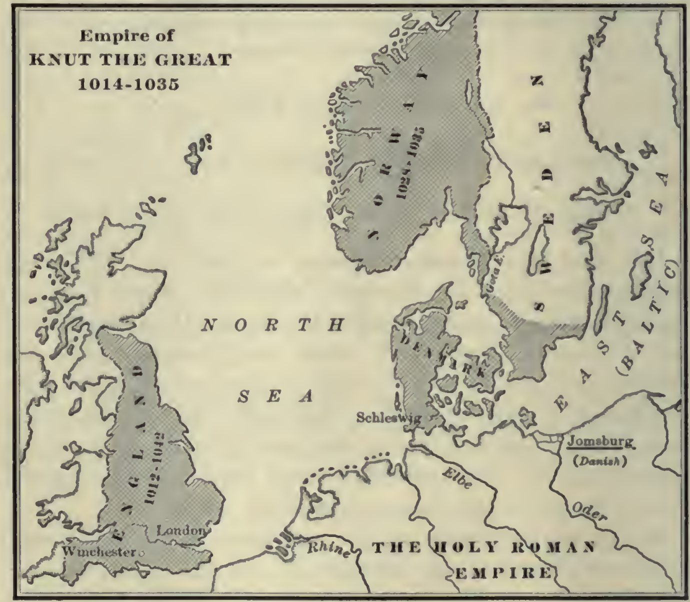
[1] It is desirable for students to read more widely on English history, from this period, than on that of other European countries. Green's *English People* remains the most attractive general account. Either Gardiner's or Andrews' *History of England* makes a good one-volume text.

[2] *Ethelred* means "noble counsel." This nickname meant "Ethelred the man without counsel."

At the same time he showed himself an English king in feeling. He lived mainly in England, and dismissing his Danish army, he rested his power upon the good government he gave to the realm. After twelve years of his rule, while absent for a time, he wrote a noble letter to his English subjects: "I have vowed . . . to rule justly and piously. If I heretofore have done anything unjustly, through the headiness or carelessness of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly."


Empire of
KNUT THE GREAT
1014-1035
NORWAY
1028-1035
SWEDEN
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
1012-1042
London
Winchester
DENMARK
Schleswig
Gota Ä.
EAST SEA (BALTIC)
Jomsburg
(Danish)
Elbe
Oder
Rhine
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

158. The First Norman Influence. — Knut's sons and successors, however, proved lawless and ruthless young savages, and in 1042 the Witan[1] of the English kingdom restored the

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[1] This was the meeting of the "wise" men, the National Assembly of great lords and ecclesiastics (§ 49) which with the king ruled the land and made laws, and which sometimes elected a king.

Saxon line of kings by electing Edward, son of Ethelred and a Norman princess.

The story of the Norse settlement (911) in the north of France (Normandy) has been told in § 100. Normandy was a fief of the French kings, but practically it long remained an independent state. Rolf and his fierce Norse warriors were pagan barbarians; but a century later their "Norman"[1] descendants were the foremost champions of Western civilization. A long line of able dukes maintained stern order; and this security quickly drew immigrants from the troubled neighboring provinces, so that it became one of the most populous and prosperous parts of Europe. The rulers were patrons of learning and architecture. Churches and rich abbeys rose on every side; agriculture flourished; and the native serfs grew into free peasants. The mixture of Norse blood gave to the population a robust vigor which was notable for centuries, especially in the daring of the Norman sailors. With peculiar adaptability, the Normans took on French customs, adopted French ideas and the French language, and were now to spread this culture into other lands, especially into England.

King Edward of England, as has been said, was half Norman by birth, and he had spent much of his life at the Norman court. He brought swarms of Norman favorites with him to England, and began to introduce Norman customs, much to the disgust of his English subjects. Edward's piety, and his constant dependence upon monks and priests, won him the surname *the Confessor;* but he was a weak man, without ability or decision, and his reign was a series of internal squabbles.

He left no son; and at his death, the English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful Saxon nobleman, for their king. But *William, Duke of Normandy*, claimed the throne on the ground of distant relationship and of a promise from Edward. The claim was flimsy, but William prepared to make it good by arms.

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[1] *Norman* is a softened form of Norsemen (Northmen).

II. THE NORMAN PERIOD, 1066–1154

159. The Norman Conquest. — "Harold, the Last of the Saxons,"[1] is a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of a few months adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon independence. England was threatened from two sides. Harold's turbulent and tyrannical brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold, standing firm for justice, had refused to restore him. So Tostig had stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the west, while William of Normandy prepared to invade from the south.

For months, Harold of England watched anxiously the two storm clouds, holding fleet and army ready to meet either onset. England as yet had no real feudal system, and Harold's army, aside from his large body of household troops, was made up mainly of a militia of farmers. In September the king had to let this array disperse for the harvest, and at once the two storms burst.

The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Harold was in the south, to meet the even more formidable force from across the Channel. Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold, in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*.

But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops, while the jealous nobles of the old Danelaw foolishly and treacherously held aloof. The gentlemen and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner; but, on the whole, they seemed a poorly armed, rustic force, with which to meet the steel-clad Norman knights. William was ravaging cruelly, to support his host and to draw Harold to an attack. But the English king wisely seized the hill of Senlac, commanding William's position, and entrenched his troops there by palisades; so that the invader, unable to forage further, was forced to risk an attack on Harold's terms. This brought on the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac*, one of the world's decisive struggles.

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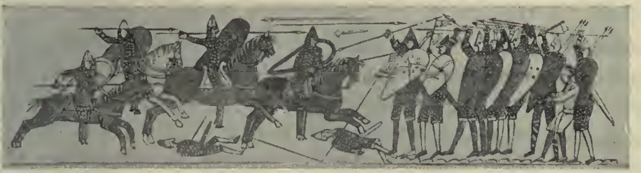
[1] This is the title of Bulwer's novel, which all students should know. Charles Kingsley's *Hereward* describes another side of the conquest.

A long day the battle raged between two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mail-clad family guards of the King massed about his standard, the Golden Dragon of Wessex. They wielded huge, two-handed battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the King among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a splendid force to resist attack.* The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.* For the last time for centuries, footmen met knights on equal terms.



Battle of Hastings. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. The scene given here pertains to the close of the battle.

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, — "The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — "I live; and by God's help I shall conquer!" And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard.

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's orders, and then turning savagely upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the King, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the Dragon standard. But the Duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed English array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed, in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse. William was left master of the kingdom.

The Norman conquest was one of the chief turning points in English (and American) history. Never since has a conquering people established itself in England. Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, had held the island in turn. Each had brought his peculiar contribution to its development. Now the Normans had conquered, because they were better equipped for warfare than the old English, and better disciplined. This same superiority they were to show in government.

160. The Normans found some institutions in Saxon England which had lasting influence on English and American life. These had to do with the *local* divisions of Saxon England, and with the Saxon machinery for justice and local government. The local divisions were of three orders, — shires, hundreds, and townships.

As Wessex had extended her sway over the island (§ 105), the early tribal kingdoms (Kent, Essex, and so on) had sunk into *shires;* and in the end all England came to be divided into about forty such units. Each had its shire-reeve (sheriff). In the Saxon period this officer, appointed by the king, had little power; but under the Norman kings he became much more important. The church, too, had adopted the shires as units for church government. Each shire (or *county*, as the Normans called the divisions) was the diocese of a bishop.

Before the tribal kingdoms sank into shires, they had possessed their own local subdivisions. These, or others formed in imitation of them, remained as subdivisions of the shires, and were known as *hundreds* (a name that survives for local divisions in Maryland and Delaware).

Each hundred was made up of *townships*, or *villages*.. The chief village of each shire had usually grown into a fortified "borough," a trading town, with some special privileges granted by the kings. Trade had raised some other villages into boroughs.

161. Local Government. — *The ordinary township had come to have little self-government.* Such powers as it had once possessed had passed mainly into the hands of some neighboring noble, to whom the village was coming to stand much like a "manor" on the continent. Boroughs had greater privileges. They were practically compressed hundreds, so far as government was concerned.

The hundred was the busiest unit for carrying on government. It did its work in a "court" which met once a month. The *hundred court* was made up of the landlords, or their stewards, and the "reeve" (headman), priest, and "four best men," of each village. The sheriff of the shire, or more commonly one of his subordinates, and some representative of the bishop, presided. The court dealt with a great variety of matters. In particular, it settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

There was also a *shire court*, which met twice a year. This body was composed much as the courts of the various hundreds were. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many matters of local government.[1] *It was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived. It was these institutions, too, which were to prove the cradle of later English liberty.*

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[1] Students should note that "court" in medieval history has a more extended meaning than in recent times. A "court" was concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business.

162. Saxon Feudalism. — Neither feudalism nor serfdom had developed in Saxon England in any such degree as on the continent. Still, even the larger units (shire and hundred), as well as the little townships, were coming under the influence of local nobles. Sometimes a lord secured from the king the right to hold a private court alongside the people's court of the hundred. Moreover, the freemen of the villages had been sinking in condition. After Alfred's time, it became necessary for each free villager to attach himself to some lord. At first, the purpose was merely to hold the lord responsible for the villager's obedience to the laws; but, in return for his responsibility, the lord began to exact small payments of various sorts from the villagers, and that class had begun to pass into the condition of villeins on the continent. This last change was greatly hastened by the Norman conquest.

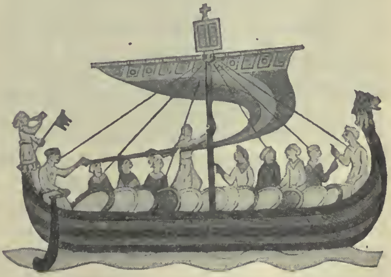
163. Norman Centralization. — The Normans did not meddle much with the local institutions they found. Their genius for organization did build up a more effective *central* government, as we shall see shortly, and they checked certain weaknesses of the old *local* organization. There had been no good machinery to secure *uniformity* of government and custom in the different shires, or to compel obedience to the national laws. The Normans increased the authority of the sheriff, the king's especial representative, so as to meet these needs. *But the most important political change of the Norman period lay in* **a new sort of feudalism** *which William the Conqueror introduced.*

164. English Feudalism after the Conquest. — Feudalism was already fully developed in Normandy. William introduced it into England as a complete system, but with certain changes which freed it from the worst evils of feudalism upon the continent.

He first confiscated all the land of the kingdom, with legal formalities, on the ground that the landowners had forfeited their holdings as traitors, — since they had not willingly recognized him as king. Much of this land, especially that of Englishmen who had fallen in battle against him, he used to pay his followers; but most of it he granted back to the old holders on the payment of small fines. In any case he introduced feudal tenure. That is, the land was to be held of the king on condition of feudal service, with the usual "feudal incidents" of reliefs, aids, and so on. **But with the grant of land, the king did *not* grant authority to the lord over his vassals to the extent that was customary on the continent.**

Instead, he introduced many checks to keep the lords from usurping feudal independence. (1) No one lord was permitted to accumulate such vast possessions as were often held by single barons in France and Germany. (2) The properties that the great lords did hold were scattered in different counties. Thus each piece really became a surety for the lord's fidelity; and a great vassal could not easily gather his forces for any treasonable attack.[1] (3) The chief authority in a shire was now exercised, not by an hereditary nobleman, but by the king's sheriff. (4) *Vassals of every degree were required to swear fidelity directly to the king*, so that they owed him allegiance *even against their own immediate lords.*

(5) William also preserved the old national militia of shire and hundred, putting it under the command of the royal sheriffs. Thus the English king was not wholly dependent upon the feudal array. He even had a force to confront disloyal nobles.



A NORMAN SHIP. — From the Bayeux Tapestry.

165. General Result. — Until 1066, England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its church had become almost independent of Rome, and in politics its foreign relations had been mainly with the Scandinavian countries of the north. At home, from the time of Alfred the Great, the two chief dangers had been the growth of feudal anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

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[1] This fortunate arrangement came about probably not so much from design as from the fact that William really became master of the country only by degrees, and so had to reward his followers a little at a time.

The Norman Conquest changed these conditions. It brought the church again into dependence on Rome,[1] and drew England into the thick of European politics.[2] Within the island, it crushed together north and south, so that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and it built up a strong central government. The kings were strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. Through dread of royal power, Norman nobles and Saxon people were drawn together[3] and became fused into an English nation, which in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, won constitutional liberty. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. England was the first country in the world to work out for a large territory *the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.*

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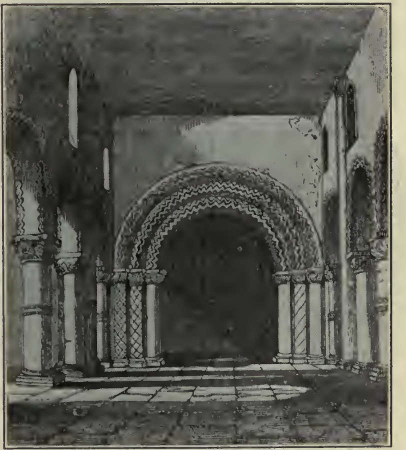
[1] The ecclesiastical condition was a factor in the conquest. The Pope blessed the enterprise and sent Duke William a consecrated banner. (This is the banner in the stern of William's ship, in the illustration on page 151.) Afterward, Pope Gregory VII demanded that William do homage to him for his realm. William haughtily refused (see his letter to Gregory in Lee, *Source Book*, No. 50). He filled the high places in the church with Normans in sympathy with Rome, and he developed separate ecclesiastical courts (§ 150), which had not existed before in England; but he guarded jealously against papal interference in his government. He forbade the clergy to place any of his knights under excommunication without consulting him; he declared any one an outlaw who should carry an appeal to Rome without royal permission; and no papal letter could be received in England without his sanction.

[2] For some generations the rulers of England were also dukes of Normandy, and so great vassals of the French crown.

[3] The sharp distinction between the Norman and the Saxon had disappeared before the close of the Norman reigns (§ 166). Scott's *Ivanhoe* pictures a state of affairs in this respect which had passed away at least two generations before the time dealt with in the story.

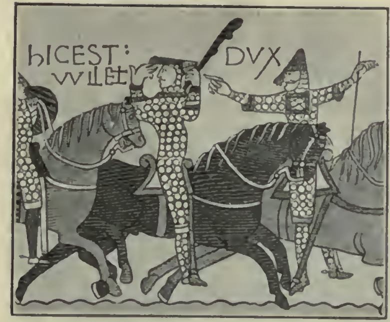
The conquest also brought in new blood, a higher culture, and new elements in language. Norman lords and clergy, and likewise Norman merchants and artisans, flocked into England. All these people spoke their own Norman-French tongue, and for a time only the lowest classes spoke English. Gradually, the English gained its place as the language of the whole people; but meantime it lost its more complicated grammatical forms and was enriched by a multitude of Norman words.



Norman Doorway, St. Peter's, Northampton. Note the massive round arch and the simple but effective ornament.

166. The Four Norman Kings. — *William the Conqueror* (1066–1087) was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by an English Witan, and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Some of his chief work has been described. Among his other wise deeds was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, which gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. One-tenth of these are called "burgesses" (inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of them dwelt in what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights (not 60,000, as some old English historians understood and taught).

William the Conqueror stamped himself on the world's history, making it a far different thing from what it would have been without him. In his makeup there mingled strangely



"HERE IS DUKE WILLIAM."—From the Bayeux Tapestry.

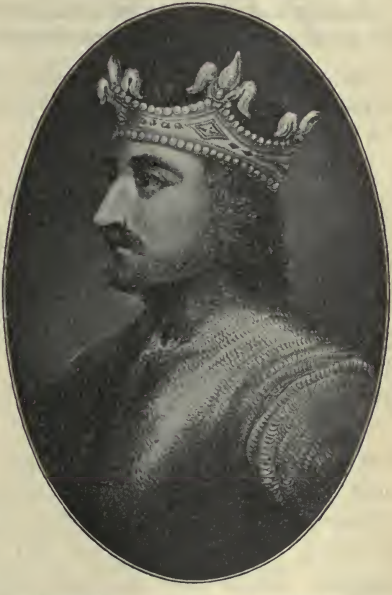
the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the cool caution and shrewdness of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Starkman he was, and great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the period, "so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same conquered English writer fails not to praise the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold." And he gives a suggestion how the lonely and grim king grew gentle in the outdoor woods: "He loved the red deer as though he were their father."

William, by will, left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son *William Rufus* (the Red). This prince (1087–1100), to strengthen his claim, procured an election from an English Assembly; but he proved unscrupulous, though able, and is remembered as a tyrant.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, the statue at Falaise, his birthplace.

He was succeeded by his brother, *Henry I*, the youngest son of the conqueror. Henry (1100–1135) had been born in England and he married an English princess. He, also, secured an election; and in return he granted to the people of England a Charter of Liberties,[1] which a hundred years later was to become the model for a more important grant. Henry also began many important reforms in the government, and the English of his own day gave him the honorable title, "The Lion of Justice."

The English nobles promised Henry to make his daughter Matilda his successor; but, after his death, his nephew *Stephen* secured an election. Stephen (1135–1154) was weak by nature, and his rule was distracted by civil war with the supporters of Matilda. His reign is the darkest period in English history after the Conquest. The work of Henry was undone. Feudal anarchy seemed at last to have seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers exclaim upon the misery of the age with bitter phrases: —



STEPHEN, from an engraving based on coin portraits.

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . men died of hunger, for the earth bare no corn . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept. . . . In those days, if three or four men came riding towards a township, all the township fled hastily, believing them to be robbers. . . . That lasted the nineteen winters Stephen was king."

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[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I.

The four Norman reigns may be summed up briefly, thus: William I, conquest, consolidation, provision against feudal disintegration; William II, tyranny; Henry I, the charter, and beginnings of judicial organization; Stephen, anarchy and civil war.

Observe that the three successors of William I all had rivals for the throne, and so were kept in some measure in dependence upon the nation.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — The Danegeld; Domesday Book; a fuller story of the Norman Conquest, with the harrying of the North; the making of the New Forest.

III. UNDER PLANTAGENET KINGS

167. Henry II, 1154–1189. — Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname, *Plantagenet.* The son of this marriage became Henry II of England, the first of a long line of Plantagenet kings.

At twenty, Henry had landed in England, to make good his claim to the throne against Stephen. An English army gathered round him; but all parties were wearied of strife, and Theobald, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the rivals to terms. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should keep the crown during his life, but that he should recognize Henry as his heir, excluding his own son. This bargain was kept. Stephen died the same year, and Henry quietly succeeded.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his tasks while servants and attendants dropped with weariness. He was the hardest worker of his day. Said one observer, — "He never sits down"; and it was remarked that in travel (on horseback, over the bad roads of the time), he was fond of crowding two days' journey into one.

168. Henry was the most powerful ruler in Europe. *England was only a part of his territories.* Through his mother he had inherited the dukedoms of Normandy and Maine (map after page 182), as well as a shadowy claim upon Brittany, which he converted into real lordship. Through his father, he was Count of Anjou and Touraine. By marriage with Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included also Poitou and Gascony. Thus *he ruled more than half of what is now France — and six times as much French territory as was then held directly by the French king.*

True, Henry held these French provinces, in name, as a vassal of the king of France. This fact kept him constantly entangled in warfare with his suzerain. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. He thought of himself, indeed, chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. So, too, others thought of him in that day. None the less, he proved one of the greatest and most beneficent of all the English kings.

Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. For a time, he held Scotland in imperfect subjection, her king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily, as in every strong English reign.

169. Henry and Feudal Disorder. — The first task of the new king was to restore order. During the long civil wars, both sides had brought swarms of foreign mercenaries into England. These bands paid themselves by plundering the country, and they were still ravaging at will. Henry drove them out or hunted them down. Then the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time, and which had so often become strongholds for the oppression of the people, were demolished ruthlessly, — in spite of the grumbling and black looks of the great nobles, and some trifling rebellions.

Henry also took two measures to decrease *permanently* the military importance of the feudal lords.

A law known as the *Assize of Arms* revived the old national militia. Every freeman below the rank of the vassals who held their land by military service was ordered to provide himself with weapons and armor. Those who held land of their own were to be arrayed in coat of mail and helmet, and armed with lance and shield. Poorer men must have at least the helmet and lance. All had to hold themselves always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriffs.

The subvassals of the great lords were excused from military service, on condition of a money payment to the king. This sum was called *scutage* ("shield money"). With this fund the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies (§ 123). Thus the king became more independent of the great nobles, who were no longer followed to the field by such numerous bodies of knights as formerly. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became more and more interested in farming their lands and especially in the business of the shire courts, — so that we begin soon to speak of them as "knights of the shire."

170. Henry II and the Church. — The king had checked feudal independence: next he sought to check the independence of the church. All "clerics," or "clerks," were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts (§ 151). Henry was resolute to make all men, lay or cleric, equal before the law; but the church clung firmly to its privileges.

As a step to his purpose, Henry secured the archbishopric of Canterbury (the highest ecclesiastical office in England, which just then fell vacant) for his trusted counselor, Thomas

Becket. This appointment proved the greatest error in Henry's life. Thomas had been the king's friend as well as his chief minister,—a gay companion at the feast or in the hunt, and a gallant follower in the French campaigns. Henry had heaped riches and offices upon him. But in this new position, Thomas became a changed man. He renounced all luxury and gayety, and wore at all times next his body a coarse hair shirt, like the meanest penitent; and he took up enthusiastically the cause of the church against the king.

Henry was willing that clerks should be tried in the church courts, but he demanded that, when convicted there, a criminal should be turned over to the ordinary courts to be punished like other men. Thomas would consent only that the extreme penalty for any crime by a clerk should be degradation from his order, to be imposed by the church courts; and that then, *for future offenses*, the ex-clerk might be tried and punished like other laymen. To settle this dispute, a "Great Council" of lords and bishops was gathered at Clarendon.

This Assembly drew up a long code to regulate the relations of church and state. This body of laws is known as "the Constitutions of Clarendon," and it claimed to be a recital of the customs of the realm. Priests were to elect a bishop, and monks their abbots, only in the presence of royal officers subject to the king's approval; and the church officers so elected were to do homage to the king, and hold their lands of him as his vassals, with all the ordinary feudal obligations. No appeal was to be made in any case to the pope without the king's permission; and no bishop could leave England without royal authority.

All this was only a reënactment of rules proclaimed by William the Conqueror, which had fallen into disuse; but the "Constitutions" went on to make good the claim of Henry as to jurisdiction. The royal courts were to decide, in the first place, whether a suit belonged in the church courts or not; church courts were to hold trials only in the presence of royal officers; and a convicted clerk was to pass to the ordinary courts for punishment.

Thomas refused assent. His personal enemies took advantage of the king's wrath against him to try to ruin him by trumped-up suits in the king's court. Thomas appeared there, cross in hand, haughtily refused to plead, and appealed to the pope for judgment, — in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Shouts of "Traitor!" drove him from the room; and that night he fled from the realm in disguise, leaving Henry free, *for a time*, for further organization.

171. Excursus. — The great need of the Middle Ages was a better means of administering justice. In theory the king could always do justice even by setting aside the decision of other courts. A favorite name for the royal power was "the fountain of justice." But the difficulty was for the man who suffered from injustice to get at the king. The kings of France and Germany depended more upon their personal efforts, and less upon organization, than was to be the case in England. They were marvels of energy, and they toiled ceaselessly; but they worked at an impossible task. When Conrad II of Germany (§ 215) was passing in the royal procession to his coronation (1025), three low-born persons — a peasant, a widow, and a child — pressed through the crowd and called to him for justice. Conrad kept the procession waiting while he heard their troubles and righted their wrongs, saying to the bishop who wished him to pass on, "Since I have been chosen as a ruler, it is better to do my duty at once; you have often said to me that it was not the hearer, but the doer of the law that was blessed." A moment later another man stopped the procession with his cries for justice, and was heard upon the spot. This was the way the German and French kings administered justice. Herbert Fisher (*Medieval Empire*, 168) says of the German king, "Instead of *organizing labor* on the great highway that was to lead from chaos to order, he *takes up the pick* and works devotedly, with face to the ground." For centuries, royal justice was simply what justice the king in person could get through with in the day, with all the interruptions of war, travel, and other business. There was *no fixed court*, and there were *no regular sessions at different places.* To render justice was a hard task for the king, and to secure it was impossible for most of his subjects.[1]

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[1] This condition made possible the growth of irregular secret tribunals, with some of the characteristics of the modern frontier "vigilance committee." The most famous of such medieval institutions was the *Holy Vehme*, which appears in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*. There is a good account in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, I, 169–170.

172. The most important of Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice. The work of his grandfather, Henry I, had gone to ruin in the anarchy under Stephen. The king's court remained practically a feudal court for the king and his great vassals; while the majority of Englishmen sought justice still in the courts of hundred and shire, or in the local feudal courts that were rising alongside these popular courts.

If this condition had continued longer, each district in England would have developed its own local customs, and national uniformity would have become almost impossible. *Henry saw the need of one law for all England.* He opened the doors of the royal courts to all. In particular, he undermined the feudal courts, and widened the usefulness of the royal court, by ordering that if any free landholder was in danger of being dispossessed of his land by his lord unjustly, the man might find protection in the king's courts.

But Henry did more than issue an empty invitation for all Englishmen to come to the king's justice. *He sent the king's justice out through the realm to the doors of all Englishmen.* Early in his reign, he had sent out judges from his court, from time to time, to visit different shires. The primary duty of these visiting judges had been to watch the sheriffs, and see to the just collection of royal dues. But, incidentally, they were empowered to represent the king by doing justice wherever any man appealed to them, — even from the local court of a great lord.

Before his death, Henry extended and systematized this method. England was divided into six districts, and three judges from the king's court were sent to journey through each district, to hold court in every shire each year at a stated time. These were *circuit* or *itinerant* judges.

Thus the customs of the king's court became common **law for all England, — the "Common Law," which is to-day the basis of English and American justice. Moreover, the bringing impartial justice to every man's door was a gift beyond price in the twelfth century. It created a rever-**

ence for the law and for courts which has always remained a marked trait of English and American thought and feeling.

173. Henry's laws also introduced a better method of trial. Alongside the old forms, — trial by ordeal and by combat, — he *began* **a system of jury trial.** It had been a custom of the Frankish kings sometimes to bring together a number of old men in a given district, to give witness in disputes that concerned the ancient customs of the region. The Normans brought this form of "inquest" to England. The Conqueror's officers used it in compiling Domesday Book; and the ignorance of the Norman rulers as to the customs of the land gave frequent occasion to employ it.

So far, however, the sworn[1] body of witnesses had been used only to settle matters in which the king was interested in person. Henry II extended the same method to questions of property ("civil" cases) in which private persons were concerned, to replace the judicial combat.

174. Henry also gave us the beginning of our "grand jury." Many offenders were too powerful for any one person to dare accuse. Henry provided that in each county, at regular intervals, a jury should be called together to "present" suspected criminals to the king's circuit judges for trial.

For some time longer, suspects presented by such a grand jury were tried by ordeal or by combat. But in 1215 a great Church Council, representing all Western Christendom, condemned the ordeal as a method of trial; and then it became the custom *in England* to summon another smaller jury (*petit jury*) to try the man whom the larger jury (*grand jury*) had accused. That is, jury trial, which Henry II had introduced for civil cases, became the custom for criminal cases also.

The accused still had the right to claim trial by combat. The noble classes commonly did so, for some generations, and the practice was not legally abolished until 1819, shortly after an attempt had been made to take advantage of the obsolete right.

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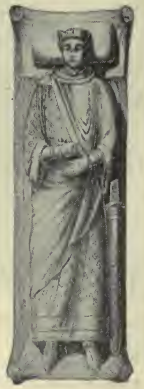
[1] "Juror" means a man who has been "sworn."

For a long time the trial jury were witnesses as well as judges of the testimony. They were allowed, however, to call in other witnesses; and gradually a line was drawn between them and these others, until finally it became the rule that the "jurymen" should come without any knowledge of their own regarding the case, so as to hear and judge impartially the evidence submitted by the witnesses. For many centuries, jury trial, which we owe to Henry II, has been looked upon, justly, as a main element in English and American freedom.

175. Closing Years. — Part of his work Henry had already seen undone. Thomas Becket, from his refuge abroad, did not cease to thunder against the king and all his officers; and finally the pope took up Becket's cause in earnest. Henry was forced to receive Thomas back to his archbishopric, in a pretended reconciliation. But the quarrel soon broke out as bitter as ever; and, stirred by angry words of the king, four of his knights brutally murdered the archbishop.

This foul deed made Becket a holy martyr for the church in the eyes of the people. For a time Henry was deserted on all sides; and he was compelled to make his peace with the pope by surrendering the most important of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Then the feudal lords tried to cast off royal control as the church had done. They found a leader in Henry's oldest son, a younger Henry; and a powerful coalition was formed between this English feudal force, the king of Scotland, and the king of France. Henry's splendid generalship crushed his foes in detail; *and England had seen its last great uprising of feudalism against the national government.*



EFFIGY OF HENRY II, from his tomb.

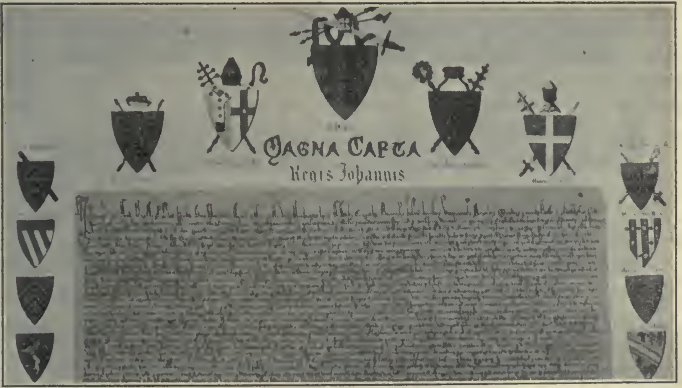
But these troubles only foreshadowed the deeper sorrows and humiliation of the king's closing days. Two sons, both rebels against him repeatedly, had died before him. But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard and John. Broken in health, Henry was vainly seeking reconciliation, when Richard and the French king suddenly appeared in battle array, driving him in headlong flight from his favorite French capital, which they laid in ashes. Hunted from town to town, the dying king was driven to beg for mercy. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators against him, whom he was required to pardon, was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed, it had been Henry's partiality for John that had driven Richard into arms against him. Thus, John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. "Now," said Henry, turning his face to the wall, "I care no more for myself or the world." And he passed away, muttering to himself, "Shame! shame! on a conquered king."

176. Henry's reign "introduced the rule of law." William the Conqueror's laws had been, in comparison, the edicts of an absolute ruler. All Henry's reforms, like the Constitutions of Clarendon, were contained in a series of "assizes," or codes, issued "with the advice and consent" of the Great Councils of lords and bishops, which he called together year after year, when foreign affairs permitted him to be in England. ***Back of all his other reforms, looms up this foreshadowing of a national legislature.***

177. Richard I, 1189–1199. — The great officers who had been trained under Henry II carried on his system of government with little change through the reigns of his two tyrannical sons. Richard "the Lion Hearted" cared mainly for military glory. He was a valiant, impetuous knight, but a weak statesman and a bad ruler. Of the eleven years of his reign, he spent only seven months in England, and these solely to get money for foreign wars. Happily he was as careless as he was tyrannical; and, in his need of money, *he sold many charters of liberties to the rising towns.* He is remembered as the leader of the Third Crusade (§ 249).

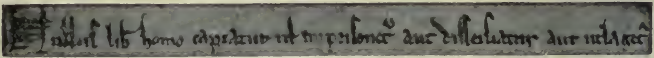
178. John (1199–1216) was an abler man than his brother, but a more despicable character. Three events mark his reign, — defeats by France, by the pope, and by his subjects. (1) Abroad, he lost Normandy and all northern France to the French king. This seemed a deep humiliation to Englishmen at the moment; but it proved a good thing. From this time, English kings and barons gave their attention more exclusively to English affairs, instead of trying to secure domain abroad. (2) After a long quarrel with Pope Innocent III, John was compelled to surrender his crown, to receive it back as a vassal of the papacy. (3) England wrested from his hands a charter of liberties, known as *Magna Carta* (the Great Charter). This third event demands fuller notice (§ 179).

179. Magna Carta. — Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression and harsh exactions brought all classes of Englishmen to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France, two mass meetings of English barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered, to discuss redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, whom the pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before one of these gatherings the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis,

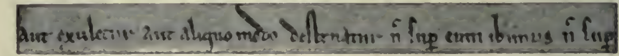

Magna Carta
Regis Johannis

Facsimile (reduced) of the opening lines of Magna Carta. The characters in the margin are supposed to be the coats of arms of barons who signed as witnesses, but they are a later embellishment to the document.

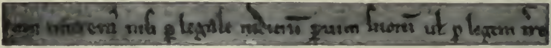
Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting. John at first refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London arrayed in their "train bands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June 15, 1215*, at a meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede*, he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."



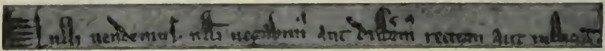
Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,



aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

The Charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, not to establish new ones. But it had been won by the nation from the king, and the closing provision expressly sanctioned rebellion against a king who should refuse to obey it. That is, *it set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries, during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins. The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; and the greater part of the document is concerned with the privileges of feudal vassals. But, as time passed, and as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age.

The Charter became at once the standard of freedom for the whole nation. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (§ 169) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council of England. All vassals of the king had a right to attend this Council; and so this provision established the principle, — No taxation without the consent of the taxed. It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "habeas corpus." It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, his means of livelihood, and so foreshadowed our very modern laws providing that legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools. Two notable provisions are given in the cut above.[1]

180. Henry III, 1217–1272. — John had no intention of keeping his word; and in a few months, as soon as he could make preparations, he began war to overthrow the Charter. His sudden death, however, left the crown to his nine-year-old son, Henry III. In the name of the boy-king, the great officers of the kingdom gave the Charter the first of its many solemn confirmations; and for some years England enjoyed peace and prosperity.

After Henry reached manhood, his long reign was marked by misgovernment and disorder; but it witnessed also much progress toward political freedom for which the king deserves no credit. Henry was a pious, weak, frivolous, extravagant, tyrant. In the second half of his misrule, the English people found a champion in Earl *Simon de Montfort*, the most powerful of the English nobles, and a brother-in-law of the king. The struggle became open war, and Earl Simon won at the *Battle of Lewes* (1264). For a year he was master of England, acting through the captive king. That year, as we shall see (§ 185), was notable in the history of English freedom. Then Prince Edward, once Simon's loved disciple, rallied the royal party, took the great Earl by surprise at Evesham, and defeated and slew him (1265). For the rest of Henry's lifetime, authority remained really in the hands of his capable son, who satisfied the people *by promising to rule according to the system of Simon.* Soon after, the prince succeeded to the throne as Edward I.

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[1] Every high school student should study the document itself. It is printed in all collections of documents on English history; and five-cent copies can be secured in the *Old South Leaflets*.

STIRLING CASTLE, a stronghold captured by Wallace early in the Scotch rising.

181. Edward I, 1272–1307. — For the two centuries since the Conquest, every king had been a foreigner, — Norman or Angevin (from *Anjou*) in tastes and training. *Edward was English to the core.* He had even the golden hair of the old Saxon kings, and a favorite Saxon name, as well as a thoroughly English character. In his campaigns in France, Wales, and Scotland, he proved himself a great general; but, tall, deep-chested, long-limbed, skilled in arms, he was prouder of his fame as a knight, earned by desperate fighting in person on many a field against heavy odds. In his younger days, his passionate temper hurried him sometimes into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

Edward wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain into one kingdom. In this he won only a partial success. The conquest of Wales he did complete; and, to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his oldest son the title Prince of Wales, which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, Scotland seemed to submit to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace*, and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce*, roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence; and the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.

The true fame of Edward rests upon his work as a lawgiver and as an organizer of the courts of justice. In both respects, he extended and rounded out the work of Henry II.

The following section (§ 182) deals with a topic "hard" to recite upon but too important to omit wholly. It may be well for a class merely to *read* it with the teacher.

182. The Judicial System. — Every high-school student knows something of the "evolution" of plant and animal life, and has learned that the complex "organisms" that we see about us have "evolved," through long periods of time, out of simpler forms. A like development can be traced in many human institutions, and can be studied in the growth of the English judicial system.

The feudal "court" of the Norman kings resembled that of any great lord except in size. Any vassal who held land directly of the king (any "tenant-in-chief") had the right to attend. In practice, the smaller "tenants-in-chief" were not often present; and the composition of the court varied with the localities where it chanced to be called. Under these conditions, there grew up a smaller, *more permanent* body, composed partly of officers of the king, steadily in attendance upon his person. This inner body kept the name "the king's court" (*curia regis*), while the larger and less frequent gatherings came to be called "the *Great* Council."

The smaller "court" still aided the king in *any* matter of government, and its work was still mainly "executive"; but, more and more, the king called upon it to decide the appeals for justice which were made to him. Thus, by the time of Henry I, the "court" *began* to have considerable *judicial* business. It began also to have *different names* when meeting for different purposes. When it met to look after the king's revenues, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money which were laid upon it by the sheriffs). In such meetings, the court was called "*the Exchequer*," while at other times it was still called merely "*the king's court.*"

Henry I began to send out members of the court, now and then, to collect revenues and to oversee the administration of justice in the shire courts. Henry II renewed this practice, and extended it into a *system* of circuit "judges." Matters of law called for special knowledge. Trained lawyers began to have greater weight in all the work of the "court," and such men began to be used almost exclusively for these "judges." The circuit judges had become a distinct body of men *within* the "court," but they might still, at times, meet with the larger body for its other work.

Appeals from the circuit judges might still be made to the king. To hear such appeals, another distinct body of judges were set apart by Henry. It was called the *Court of Common*

Pleas, because, like the circuit judges, it dealt mainly with questions of property (*civil* cases) between man and man. To decide important *criminal* cases, especially those which in any way concerned the king's power or revenue, another body of judges was set aside, upon a particular "bench" in the room where the king's court gathered. This group came to be known as "*the Court of the King's Bench.*"

DANCERS. — From an English manuscript of the thirteenth century.

Edward I now completed this growth. *He made the three courts, — the Exchequer, the King's Bench, and the Common Pleas, — into wholly separate bodies, sitting each in its own fixed place, and each with its permanent body of trained judges devoted exclusively to its work. This has remained the English judicial system down to modern times.*[1]

183. Lawyers. — In the time of Henry II, the lawyers, of whom mention is made so often, were still all great *churchmen* with some knowledge of the Roman law. But by the time of Edward, legal business had increased so much *that law had become a profession apart from the church*, and large numbers of trained "lay" lawyers practised in the courts much in the same way as at present. If a man of Edward's day could have stepped from the room in which one of the great courts was doing business into a modern English court of justice, he would have felt quite at home, — as he would not feel anywhere else in the England of to-day. Even the gowns, the wigs, and the forms of procedure remain.

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[1] Appeals could still be made to the king; and so grew up the later supreme jurisdiction of "the King in Council." Under Edward, too, the Chancellor was authorized to hold a court for the purpose of doing justice in cases where it would not be done if the usual forms of law were followed strictly. Thus began the "equity jurisdiction" of the "Court of Chancery."

184. Like Henry II, Edward struck vigorously at feudalism — in four distinct ways.

He *widened the jurisdiction of his courts* at the expense of the feudal courts. A famous "writ of quo warranto" called upon every great noble to show "by what warrant" he exercised judicial authority. Commonly, such authority had been seized in some time of disorder in preceding centuries, and had become established by custom merely. Even when a definite grant of jurisdiction had been made, along with the grant of lands, it was often hard to produce a record of it. But Edward and his courts held that unless an *express* grant of such power from some king could be proven, the authority must revert to the king's courts. This was the heaviest blow that feudalism had ever received. It went far to overthrow it, *so far as government was concerned*, in favor of a national government.

One of Edward's greatest laws was called *Quia Emptores*, from the two Latin words with which it opened. It provided that if thereafter a lord sold any of his land (or let it out in any way), then the new holder should not be his vassal, as formerly, but a vassal only of the next higher lord. In effect, this soon made the great mass of landowners into vassals only of the highest landlord, — tenants-in-chief of the king. *The landlord side of feudalism had lost its chief importance.*

Another great statute compelled all gentlemen who had an income of £20 a year from land to become "knights." This multiplied immensely the number of people in this proud order. Or rather, the feudal class lost itself in a much larger class. *Its social exclusiveness had gone.*

Edward's laws also revived Henry II's "assize of arms," and extended it, ordering that all men who could not provide themselves with armor for the national army should at least be ready to come with bow and arrows. The English long-bow had been becoming famous in the hands of forest outlaws (whose story is told in popular ballads, like the ones about Robin Hood); but Edward was the first English king to see the value of that weapon in regular war. Soon afterward, his archers won for him the pitched battle of Falkirk over the most gallant of Scottish chivalry. Unarmored infantry repelled armored horsemen. *The military supremacy of the feudal noble had received a fatal blow* — though even then few people really understood the fact until the victory of English archers was repeated on a larger scale in France somewhat later (§ 290).

We have been speaking of Edward's "laws." As Henry II carried his reforms through extending the influence of the Great Council, which stated the "customs of the realm" in a series of codes, or assizes, so Edward carried his reforms in a long series of "statutes," enacted by a new national legislature which we call *Parliament* (§ 185 ff.).

185. The Beginning of Parliament. — Some sort of an "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the *Witan* (or meeting of Wisemen) at times exercised great power, sanctioning codes of laws, and even deposing and electing kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some infusion of more democratic elements.

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering, — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the Witan, but somewhat more aristocratic. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body was merely the king's mouthpiece in ordinary times, until Henry II raised it to real importance.

Magna Carta gave it additional weight by providing that no new "tax"[1] should be imposed without the Council's consent. At the same time, the Charter prescribed just how the Council should be called together. As has been said (§ 182), all who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or

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[1] The charter did not say "tax." Taxation proper had hardly begun. It did say that no "scutage," a sort of war tax, should be imposed without the Council's consent. Then, when a system of real taxation grew up, the principle was applied to all taxes.

"barons") were entitled to be present, but only the "great barons" ever came. According to the Charter, thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county.

Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the National Assembly.*

This was a thoroughly natural step for *Englishmen* to take. The principle of representative government was no way new to them. It had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire (§ 161) spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who gave testimony in compiling Domesday Book under William I, or who "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II, spoke for the whole shire. *England was familiar with the practice of selecting certain men from a community to speak for the community as a whole.* The same principle was now applied in a larger, central gathering, for all England.

So far, indeed, only the land-holding aristocracy were in the Great Council, either in person or through the representative knights, and the representative portion of the meeting had no influence except to "consent" to taxes to be collected from those of their class who were not present. The arrangement arose from the king's extravagance and need of money. But after the Battle of Lewes, Earl Simon seized upon this system of representation for wider usefulness. The writs for the famous Parliament[1] of 1265, issued by Simon's direction while the king was in his power, called for the attendance of two knights from each shire *and also of two burgesses from each borough*, to sit with the lords and clergy. Simon wanted more than money. He wanted the moral support of the nation, to be given by a body representing all classes. He had taken a great step toward changing the *Great Council of royal vassals* into a "*Parliament*" *representing the people of England.*

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[1] This name for the National Assembly had come into use shortly earlier. We use it now to distinguish the Assembly after the introduction of representation, from the earlier "Councils."

186. The Model Parliament, 1295. — In the years that immediately followed this deed of Simon, several national assemblies met, wherein towns and counties had some representation; but the exact form varied from time to time, and the powers of the representatives were slight and indefinite. In the "*Model Parliament*" of 1295, however, *Edward I* adopted Simon's plan of thirty years before. Each shire and each borough was called upon to send its two representatives, — since, as Edward's writ read, "**that which touches all should be approved by all.**"[1] From that time, the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English national assembly. *For the first time in the world's history, representative government was put upon a good working basis.*

Once more Edward had been the disciple of his old instructor, Simon de Montfort. When the great Earl, on the fatal morning of Evesham, beheld the sun glancing through the mists upon the glittering arms of Edward's advancing host, and recognized that the Prince had caught him in the toils and that defeat was certain, he exclaimed proudly, as he sought death in headlong charge upon the spears, "It was from me that he learned it." And so, thirty years later, as John Richard Green well says, Simon's spirit, looking down upon the Model Parliament, might well say, "It was from me that he learned it."

187. After a half century or so, parliament began to sit in two "Houses." The nature of this division was not the result of any deliberate plan, but it was of immense importance. Edward summoned to his Model Parliament the "three estates,"[2] — the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses. The greater nobles and the greater clergy had *personal* summons; the other classes were represented by delegates, — the smaller landholders by the elected "knights of the shire," the towns by their chosen burgesses, and the lower clergy by elected representatives, one for each district.

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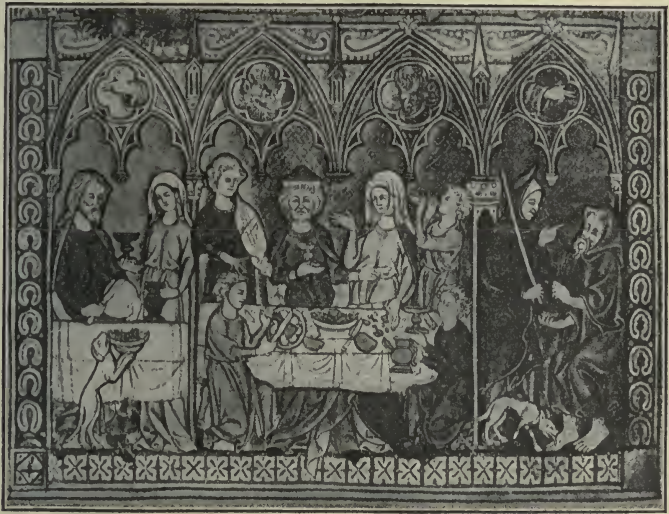
[1] Hill's *Liberty Documents* gives the *Summons* and critical comment.

[2] "Estate," used in this way, means a "class" of people with distinct privileges and duties of their own.

At first all sat together. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been about as bad if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. England followed a course of its own. The *inferior* clergy, very happily, soon refused to attend parliament. The *great* spiritual lords (bishops and abbots), with personal summons, were not numerous enough by themselves to make an "estate," and so they sat with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit apart, the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

Thus the three estates faded into two; and even these two were not distinct. For in England, unlike the case upon the continent, only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility (§ 121), and to the right to a personal summons to the House of Lords. The younger sons — and even the oldest son during his father's life — belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, oftentimes, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shopkeeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.* This preserved good understanding between the two Houses, so that upon occasion they could act in unison in behalf of English liberty. The House of Commons, from the first, was much more than an "estate," and it was to widen, in time, into the representative of the nation.

188. Parliament deposes a King. — Even before this two-House form was established, parliament gave one striking demonstration of its power. Edward II (1307–1327), son of the great Edward, was a weak and unworthy successor. Selfish and greedy favorites ruled through him, to the discontent and injury of the people. Finally, the nation rose against him, and parliament deposed him with much legal formality. With the long reign of his son, Edward III, England emerges from the Middle Ages.

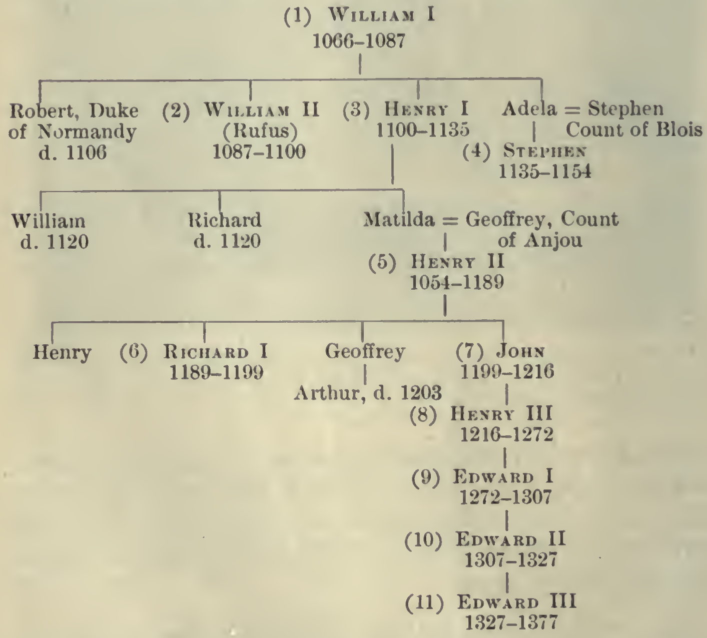


A FAMILY DINNER. — From an English manuscript of the fourteenth century. Notice the dogs, the musicians, and the bare-footed monk at whom the fool is directing some jest.

The authority of parliament for ordinary times was yet to grow; but, by 1340 (in the time of Edward III) the division into two Houses was effected. The framework of the national legislature was complete, like the framework of the judicial system a little earlier. In studying this growth, we have been studying more than *English* history merely. England has been the "Mother of Parliaments" for all countries which to-day have free governments.

For Further Reading. — Besides the general references in footnote on page 143, it would be well for a student who likes books to read Hutton's *Simon de Montfort and His Cause* (sources) and Tout's *Edward I*, at least chapters iv and viii. On Magna Carta, good source material will be found in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 231–238, and in Ogg's *Source Book*, 297–310. Pollard's *History of England* (in the fifty-cent Home University Library) is a brilliant outline in very brief form. Mrs. Green's *Henry II* and Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet* are excellent.

189. TABLE OF NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS[1]


(1) William I
1066–1087
Robert, Duke of Normandy d. 1106
(2) William II (Rufus) 1087–1100
(3) Henry I 1100–1135
Adela = Stephen Count of Blois
(4) Stephen 1135–1154
William d. 1120
Richard d. 1120
Matilda = Geoffrey, Count of Anjou
(5) Henry II 1054–1189
Henry
(6) Richard I 1189–1199
Geoffrey
Arthur, d. 1203
(7) John 1199–1216
(8) Henry III 1216–1272
(9) Edward I 1272–1307
(10) Edward II 1307–1327
(11) Edward III 1327–1377

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[1] The kings are numbered. The symbol = means "married."

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1314

190. Rise of the Capets. — During the Norse raids in the north of France (§ 100), the only successful leadership for the French had come, not from the degenerate Carolingian kings, but from a hero of obscure birth, known as *Robert the Strong.* According to one story, he was the son of a butcher of Paris. At all events, he saved Paris from destruction. Paris was then a little town on a marshy island in the Seine. By holding it against the Northmen, Robert, and his son Odo after him, kept the pirates from extending their conquests into central France.

In return, Odo extended his own lands from the Seine to Orleans, on the Loire. This territory was called the Dukedom of Francia; and Duke Odo was the most powerful noble in all the land that we now call France. All about him in that land were similar great lordships, — Flanders, Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, Gascony, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Burgundy, Champagne, Blois, — each ruled by its hereditary duke or count.

In name, all these rulers, like Odo, were vassals of the French Carolingian king. But, in 887, when they deposed Charles the Fat (§ 95), *they chose Odo for their king.* Odo was the first French king of France. For the next hundred years, the crown passed back and forth between the family of Odo and the Carolingians. Then, in 987, the Carolingian line died out, and *Hugh Capet*, a grand nephew of Odo, was made king by the great council of nobles. The surname *Capet* came from Hugh's habit of wearing an abbot's *cape* or cope.

It had been the custom for a king to name a successor during his own lifetime, and then to have the nomination approved by the nobles. *For three hundred years, however, each Capetian king was happy enough to have a son* old enough and capable enough to receive the scepter directly from his hands, and, indeed, to be associated with him in the government during his lifetime. So, in the absence of conflicting claims, even the *form* of election vanished. French kingship became strictly hereditary, *and the Capetian family ruled France until very recent days,* when France ceased to have kings at all.

191. Reference Table: Capetian Kings to 1314, with Accession Dates.

Hugh Capet	987	Philip II (Augustus)	1180
Robert II	996	Louis VIII	1223
Henry I	1031	Louis IX (the Saint)	1226
Philip I	1060	Philip III	1270
Louis VI	1108	Philip IV (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VII	1137		

192. A "Feudal Kingship."[1] — In 987 there was as yet no "kingdom of France." Hugh Capet was crowned "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons." This title shows something of the composite nature of "France" at that date.

The election of Hugh did not increase his actual power. It did increase his duties, but his resources rested on his possessions as Duke of Francia. Several of the great princes ruling over the rest of France were each nearly as powerful as the king, and so far as they obeyed him at all, they obeyed him as their feudal suzerain rather than as a national king. He had no hold upon the subvassals — as English kings always had, thanks to the wise changes that William the Norman made in feudalism; nor did he have a national militia such as England always possessed. When he needed an army, his forces came (1) from his own immediate feudal followers in his hereditary duchy, and (2) from such of his great vassals elsewhere as friendship might bring to his aid.

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[1] Read the admirable treatment in Adams' *Growth of the French Nation,* 55–59, from which this and the two following sections are condensed.

193. The Work of the Capetians. — Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. From these unpromising fragments, the Capetian kings in the next three centuries made a new French nation, with a common language, common customs, and a common patriotism.

Two outside forces helped the Capetians in this great work, the church and the lawyers. (1) The church felt the need of a strong king to protect society against the violence of greedy nobles. And in that day when bishops and abbots were themselves mighty feudal lords, the church could give not only moral support but important material aid. (2) In the eleventh century the lawyer class rose into importance, especially as the advisers and clerical assistants of the nobles and kings. They were trained in the Roman law with its imperial traditions (§ 49, note), and they built up a theory of absolute kingship which gave the kings moral support in every new claim for authority.

In the main, however, France was made through the shrewd, tireless, persistent policy of a long line of able kings who never lost sight of their goal. Says George Burton Adams, the leading American historian of France: —

> "There is no other modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as the French. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else."

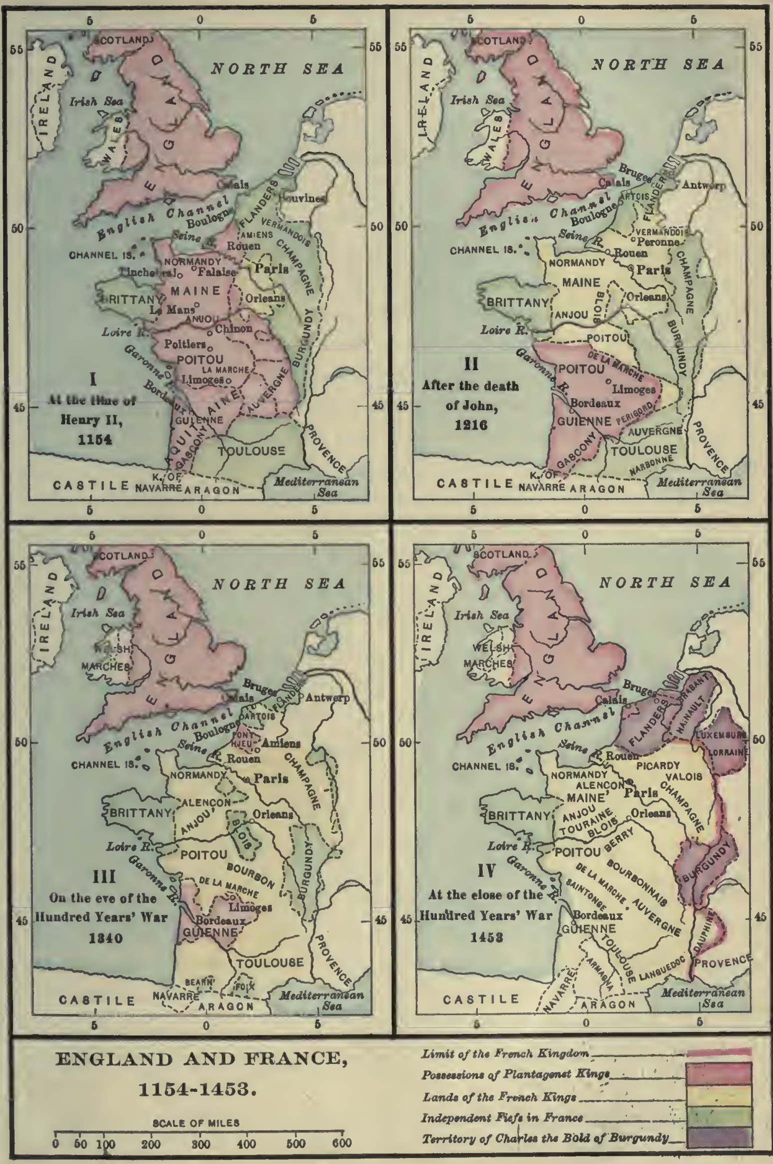
194. "France" grows. — The first great advances were achieved by Philip II, whom admirers styled *Philip Augustus*, because, like the Roman Augustus, he had "enlarged the boundaries of the state." His reign covered the last ten years of Henry II of England, all of Richard's and John's reigns, and the early years of Henry III. When Philip came to the throne, Henry II was still working vigorously and wisely to strengthen the national unity of England against feudal "decentralization." *But in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity,* — not because he was king of England, but because, as a great vassal, he held directly six times as much of France (§ 168) as Philip held directly. On all occasions, in

France, Henry upheld the feudal privileges of the vassals against the crown.

It was natural that a French king should strive to stir up enemies, even from within his own household, against this too powerful vassal. Philip set Richard on to make war against his father; and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. *The northwest quarter* of "France" was so added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea, with ports both on the Atlantic and the Channel. (Maps following.)

The king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, ranked still among the most powerful French vassals, — along with the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Flanders, the duke of Brittany, and the count of Champagne. There had been another of the group, the great Count of Toulouse, most formidable of them all; but Philip had broken his power just before he finally attained success against John.

In this case the success of the French king came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there had been a period of decline in the church (§§ 211 ff.). This resulted in much religious discontent, and in the rise of several sects of heretics. The most important of these heretical sects were the *Albigenses*, who had their home in southeastern France. They rejected some doctrines of the church, and they rebelled especially against its system of government. Indeed, their dislike for the clergy became so intense that they changed an old by-word, — "I had rather be a Jew," into "I had rather be a priest."


I
At the time of Henry II, 1154
II
After the death of John, 1216
III
On the eve of the Hundred Years' War 1340
IV
At the close of the Hundred Years' War 1453
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
Irish Sea
WALES
WELSH MARCHES
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
Calais
Boulogne
Bruges
Antwerp
Bouvines
FLANDERS
ARTOIS
PONTHIEU
AMIENS
Amiens
VERMANDOIS
Peronne
Seine R.
Rouen
Paris
NORMANDY
Falaise
Tinchebrai
MAINE
Le Mans
ALENCON
ANJOU
TOURAINE
BLOIS
Orleans
CHAMPAGNE
BRITTANY
Loire R.
Chinon
Poitiers
POITOU
LA MARCHE
DE LA MARCHE
Limoges
AUVERGNE
BERRY
BOURBON
BOURBONNAIS
SAINTONGE
PERIGORD
Garonne R.
Bordeaux
GUIENNE
AQUITAINE
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
NARBONNE
LANGUEDOC
ARMAGNAC
BEARN
FOIX
BURGUNDY
PROVENCE
DAUPHINE
PICARDY
VALOIS
BRABANT
HAINAULT
LUXEMBURG
LORRAINE
CASTILE
K. OF NAVARRE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Mediterranean Sea
55
50
45
5
0
5
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Limit of the French Kingdom
Possessions of Plantagenet Kings
Lands of the French Kings
Independent Fiefs in France
Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy

ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1154-1453.

The church had made many attempts to reclaim these heretics, in vain. Finally, the great reforming pope, Innocent III, proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than the Saracens," against whom Christian Europe had been pouring forth her crusaders for a hundred years. The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war. Aside from religious motives, they hated the democracy which was beginning to appear in the rising towns of the South, and they hungered greedily for the rich plunder of that more civilized region. A twenty-years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, exterminated the heretics, along with the prosperity of what had been the richest province of France.

From the days of Clovis and Pippin, southern, Roman Gaul had remained practically independent of northern, Teutonic Gaul. At last the feudal North had conquered the city South, — *but the fruits of victory fell to the French monarchy.* Raymond, Count of Toulouse, had tried to protect his Albigensian subjects, and his power had been ruined by the conflict. Philip at once seized the larger part of his realm, and the rest fell to the crown piecemeal, in after years. "France" had acquired *southeastern* France, and had won its way to the Mediterranean. At the opening of his reign, Philip had ruled directly a twelfth of modern France. *At the close, he ruled more than two-thirds of it.*

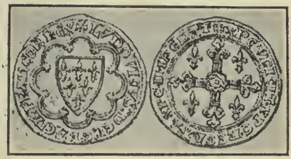
195. Growth of the Absolute Monarchy. — As the kings acquired the soil of France, piece by piece, their realm outgrew the crude feudal system, and they had to create new machinery of government. And as they added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority, until by 1300 they became the most absolute sovereigns in Europe. Here, too, Philip Augustus made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin, so that they could not aspire to independent power.

This work of organization was completed before the year 1300 by Philip's grandson, *Louis IX* (St. Louis), and by Louis' grandson, *Philip IV*, surnamed the "Fair" for his handsome face. In each district the royal officer was given vast authority as a representative of the king. He appointed inferior officers, collected royal revenues, — including new taxes of a modern sort which Philip IV introduced, — and oversaw every detail of local administration. The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins. These classes found no gain in the changes in France, except in the greater quiet and freedom from war. But the small vassals and the townsmen did find escape from the rapacity and capriciousness of their old feudal lords.

In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; and Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the despotic power intrusted to their officers by the absolute French kings; and for centuries Frenchmen came to trust absolutism as Englishmen trusted law.

196. The Estates General. — This contrast is shown, in part, in the history of the French institution which most resembled the English parliament. Philip the Fair had completed his reforms by adding representatives of the towns to the nobles and clergy in the Great Council of France. This brought together all three "estates"; and the gathering was called the *Estates General*, to distinguish it from smaller gatherings in the separate provinces. The first meeting in this form was held in *1302*, only a few years after the "Model Parliament" in England. But Philip and his successors used the Estates General only as a convenient taxing machine. It never became a governing body, as the English parliament did. Nor did the French people know how to value it, as the English quickly learned to value parliament. The kings assembled the Estates General only when they chose, and easily controlled it. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer, and finally ceased.

197. *Louis IX* has been spoken of several times in preceding sections (§§ 143, 149). He is one of the noblest figures in medieval history. In particular he did much to extend justice through widening of the power of the royal courts. Still, his personal administration of justice was of a very primitive sort, such as has been described in § 171. Joinville's Memoir (§ 143) gives many illustrations. "Sometimes I have seen him, in order to administer justice to his people, come into the gardens of Paris dressed in a green coat, a surcoat of woolen stuff without sleeves, his hair well combed, and a hat, with white peacock feathers, on his head; carpets were spread, and all people who had business to be disposed of stood before him. . . . Many a time it happened in summer that he would go sit in the wood of Vincennes with his back to an oak, and make us take our seats around him. And all who had complaints to make came to him without hindrance of ushers. Then he would call a certain noble and say, 'Dispose of this case for me'; and when he saw anything to amend in the words of those who spoke he would correct it with his own lips."



A Gold Florin of Louis IX.

Elsewhere, Louis recommends his people to put up with any bearable injustice; and, with unconscious pathos, he admits his inability to secure full justice for his subjects, even from his own officers. This, as well as the king's deep religious nature, is shown in this following extract from his deathbed testament to his son: —

"Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mould thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently, and render thanks, and know that thou hast deserved it. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride. Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Bestow the benefices of the church upon men of unspotted lives. Wage no war with any Christian prince, except it be necessary after grave deliberation. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants as to how they conduct themselves, and whether they are guilty of *overmuch* greed and deceit. . . . Fair dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son. And may the blessed Trinity preserve and defend thee from all evil, and give thee grace to do the will of God."

For Further Reading. — Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* is the best brief account, and quite as full as can be used with profit at this point. The same author has a shorter survey in his *Civilization*, ch. xiii. Excellent treatments of certain phases are given in Perry's *St. Louis*, Hutton's *Philip Augustus*, and Smith's *The Troubadours*. Hale's *In His Name* is a story of the Albigenses, no doubt idealizing that sect.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE FEUDAL AGE

I. GERMANY, TO THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

198. There were five great branches of the Germans in the ninth century, — *Saxons, Franconians* (the old East Franks), *Suabians* (Alemanni), *Bavarians,* and *Lotharingians* — whose land, from its frequent connection with France, is best known by its French name, *Lorraine.* The location of these five "stem duchies" can be seen on the map after page 192. Each was ruled by a native duke, and, at times, was on the point of growing into a distinct nation.

The great tasks before the rulers of Germany were (1) to free the land from barbarian invasions (§ 97), and (2) to unite these five German peoples.

199. The Franconians and Saxons were the two leading peoples. From the time of Clovis, the Franconians had held supremacy; but leadership was now slipping from them to the Saxons, whom Charlemagne had conquered and Christianized. They were less touched by Roman culture than any of the other divisions of Germany. They kept many primitive Teutonic customs; and even the old paganism lingered among the wild moors of their northern borders.

When the German branch of the Carolingian family died out in 911 (§ 95), the German nobles chose as their king *Conrad,* Duke of Franconia. But Conrad could not keep the other great dukes in order; and at his death he patriotically recommended for his successor his strongest rival, Henry of Saxony. The messenger to inform Henry of his election found him, falcon on wrist, at his favorite sport of hunting in the Harz mountains; and this incident has given him the surname, *Henry the Fowler.*

200. Henry (919-936) kept the great dukes in close and friendly dependence, and, for his day, beat off the Hungarian raiders. First, it is true, he was forced to buy a humiliating truce by paying a yearly tribute to the barbarians. But he used the interval in wise preparation. *He hastened the adoption of armored horsemen* in Germany, — where the feudal movement was only then beginning. *He built numerous strongholds at exposed points* along the frontier; and to make them centers for the life of the people, he ordered that all markets[1] and festivals should be held within such walled places. Germany had then almost no towns, except a few ancient Roman foundations along the Rhine, like Cologne; and many of the oldest German cities of to-day, such as Nordhausen and Goslar, grew out of these fortresses, giving to Henry his noblest surname, "the Builder."

Henry also organized a militia along the eastern frontier, arranging that one man out of each nine should always be on guard in his new forts, in due turns, while the other eight tilled the land of their absent comrade. Then, when fully ready, Henry refused further tribute. At once, the Hungarians poured across the border; but they were defeated, and cut to pieces by the garrisons of the new towns.

201. Otto I (936–973), son of Henry, completed this work and **put an end forever to barbarian invasions into Germany.** In 955, after long quiet, the Hungarians appeared once more, in greater force than ever before. Terrified chroniclers of the time estimated the raiders at a hundred thousand horsemen. Augsburg, on the Lech river, detained them by holding out, under its warrior bishop, through a terrible siege, while Otto

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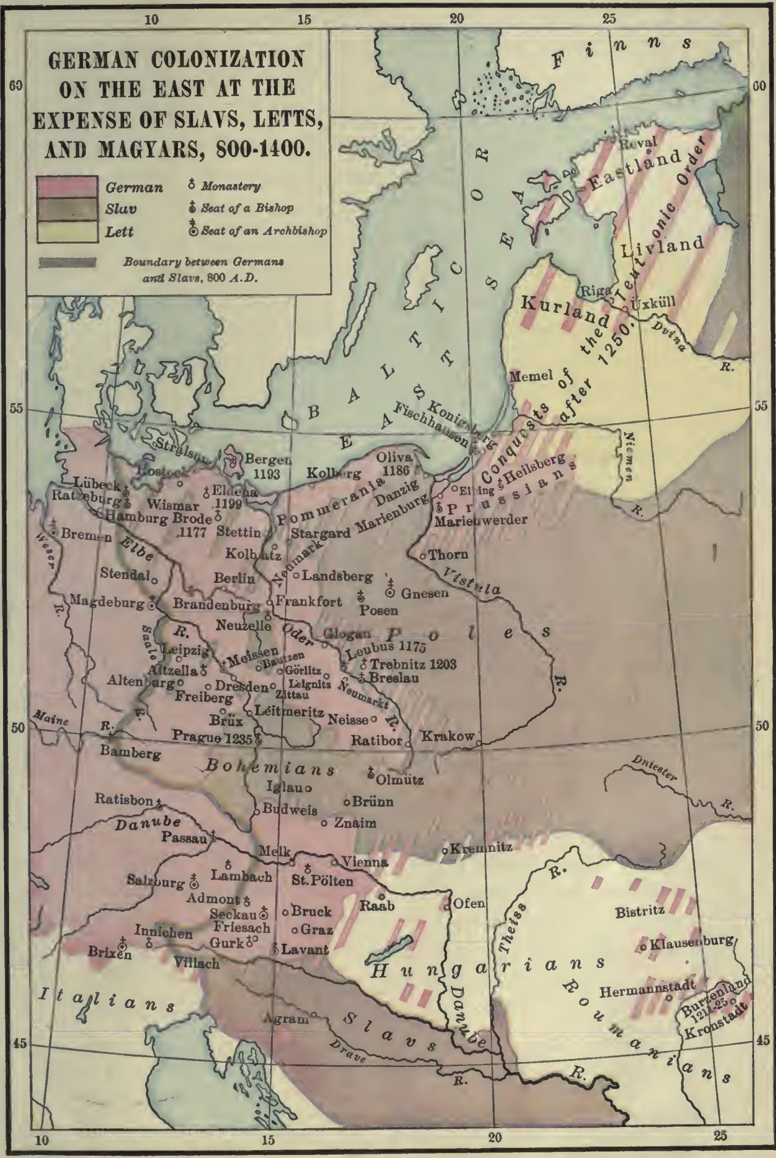
[1] In earlier times, the Teutonic peoples held their "markets" — meetings for exchanging goods — in open spaces on the borders between the two tribes that were trading. These border spaces were called "marks" ("marches"). Hence comes our word *market*, and also the word *march* (*mark state*) for a border state.



GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.

German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
10
15
20
25
60
55
50
45
Finns
BALTIC SEA
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Teutonic Order
Riga
Üxküll
Kurland
Dvina R.
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.
Memel
Königsberg
Fischhausen
Niemen R.
Heilsberg
Elbing
Prussians
Marienwerder
Oliva 1186
Danzig
Marienburg
Kolberg
Pommerania
Stralsund
Bergen 1193
Rostock
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Wismar
Eldena 1199
Hamburg
Brode 1177
Stettin
Stargard
Bremen
Weser
Elbe
Kolbatz
Neumark
Landsberg
Gnesen
Thorn
Vistula
Stendal
Berlin
Magdeburg
R.
Brandenburg
Frankfort
Posen
Neuzelle
Oder
Glogau
Poles
Saale R.
Leipzig
Meissen
Bautzen
Görlitz
Leubus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Breslau
Altzella
Altenburg
Dresden
Liegnitz
Zittau
Neumarkt
Freiberg
Maine R.
Brüx
Leitmeritz
Neisse
Prague 1235
Ratibor
Krakow
Bamberg
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Dniester R.
Ratisbon
Budweis
Brünn
Znaim
Danube
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Kremnitz
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Admont
Raab
Ofen
Seckau
Bruck
Bistritz
Friesach
Graz
Innichen
Gurk
Lavant
Klausenburg
Brixen
Villach
Hungarians
Theiss R.
Italians
Hermannstadt
Burzenland 1211-25
Kronstadt
Agram
Slavs
Drave R.
Danube R.
Roumanians

gathered troops. Volunteers from all Germany joined him on his march; and Saxons, Franconians, Suabians, and Bavarians all had a part in the final deliverance of Germany at the Battle of Lechfeld.

No quarter was given in the long chase across the borders; and the Hungarians never attacked Christendom again. Soon they themselves adopted Christianity and settled down, in modern Hungary, as one of the family of European nations.[1]

202. Then Germany invaded Slavic barbarism. Otto followed up his success firmly. Year by year, he forced farther back the Slavic peoples along his eastern borders, and established "marks" along that whole frontier. On the extreme southeast was the Eastmark, against the Hungarians, which was to grow into modern Austria; while another mark made the beginning of modern Prussia. Henry's campaigns, too, compelled the heathen Slavs to receive missionaries, and to permit monasteries to be built among them.

Then private enterprise took a hand. German nobles, eager for more land, began a colonizing movement which soon *extended Germany from the Elbe to the Oder*, and carried German civilization and swarms of German settlers among even the Slavs of the heathen Baltic coasts. *This was the most important expansion of the area of civilization for the thousand years between Greek and Roman times and the discovery of America.* It continued for some centuries, and finally doubled the area of Germany.[2]

203. Besides freeing Germany from invasion, and starting it on the road to a vast expansion, Otto also did much to unite its various peoples into one. To balance the power of the great dukes, he built up especially the authority and the dominions of bishops and abbots; and these great churchmen, as in France a little later (§ 193), supported the royal authority loyally. At this time Germany seemed much more consolidated than France — where the Capetians had not yet come to the throne — and more even than England, where the House of Alfred was still busied in reducing the Danelaw to submission.

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[1] This second period of barbarian invasions had closed a little earlier in France and England. This is a good point for the student to review the whole movement as one topic.

[2] Can the class see an important distinction between this eastward expansion and that under Charlemagne into Saxon lands?

204. Thus, in several ways, Otto I proved himself one of those rare rulers who really set their mark on the world's history. He had become a popular hero; and song and story loved to picture his long, wavy beard and his "hawk's eyes," which kept moving restlessly from side to side, "as if seeking prey." His romantic and ambitious temper was as restless as his eyes, and his strength in Germany now tempted him to a wider enterprise — on which his fame especially rests. This was the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West.

For Further Reading. — Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 12–27; or Emerton, 90–114.

II. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

205. For more than half a century (ever since the death of the last German Carolingian), **the Empire in the West had lapsed.** The idea, however, was still a living force. Otto's father, the cool and practical Henry, pondered grandly on a restoration; and Otto's own ardent soul had long been fired with the vision of taking up the imperial task of Charlemagne. The masses of the German people, too, dreamed of it. When Otto stood victor amidst the carnage of Lechfeld, his host, with common impulse, hailed him "Emperor of the Romans." In the near past, German kings had been Roman emperors, and any strong German ruler could not but feel it his supreme duty to restore the Empire, the symbol of universal order and peace.

206. The condition of Italy, too, furnished excuse for German intervention. Even more than other countries of the time, Italy had been shattered into fragments, *so that it had no central kingship whatever.* Colonies of Saracens from Africa had established themselves in the south, contesting that district with the Greek Empire and the Lombard dukedoms; and the rest of the peninsula was devastated by famine and by ferocious wars between petty states. Finally an imprisoned princess called for help to Otto, the hero of the North.

207. **Otto gladly caught at the opportunity.** In his first expedition, at Pavia, he crowned himself king of Italy, with the Iron Crown of the Lombards (§ 80), and married the lovely suppliant Adelheid, whose beauty and adventures had shed romance on the dark pages of Italian history. In a second expedition, at Rome, *in 962*, **he was consecrated emperor by the pope.**

208. **For the next three centuries, the history of Italy is bound up with that of Germany**, and every German king, as soon as he could march to Rome, was crowned emperor. *This connection brought to Germany the culture and art of the ancient world; but on the political side it was disastrous.* Otto's remaining years were spent in restoring brief order in Italy, and he lost the chance really to make Germany a nation. Otto, too, was merely the first of a long line of German kings, who led splendid German armies across the Alps, to melt away in fever and disease beneath the Italian sun. *German strength was frittered away in foreign squabbles.*

Quite as bad were the results to Italy. A German king, however much a "Roman emperor," could not enter Italy without a German army at his back. The southern land became a conquered province, ruled by foreigners whom the natives looked upon as uncouth northern barbarians.

Yet, even in Italy, many of the noblest and most generous spirits were passionate supporters of the German emperors, because they believed devoutly in the ideal of universal peace and justice under the wise providence of one supreme ruler. Some centuries after Otto, a great Italian thinker[1] declared one imperial government for all the world as necessary as one head for the human body, — comparing the various different states of Europe to "the hideous portent of a monster of many heads, biting and snapping at one another."

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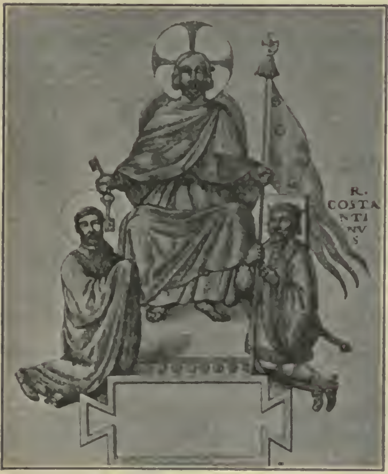
[1] Petrarch, § 331.

209. The restored empire took the name "the *Holy* Roman Empire *of the German people*." Two terms in this title suggest two ways in which this new empire differed from that of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne's empire had included practically all Latin Christendom. But new Christian states had now grown up, north, east, and west,—in England, Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary,—all beyond imperial control. *The new empire was far less universal* than Charlemagne's. It did not even include the French realm of Charlemagne; and Italy was held only in part, and that part only by arms. *The empire was distinctly German.*

And it was Holy. In some rather indefinite way, it claimed to partake of the nature of the universal church, and to share the headship of the world with the papacy.

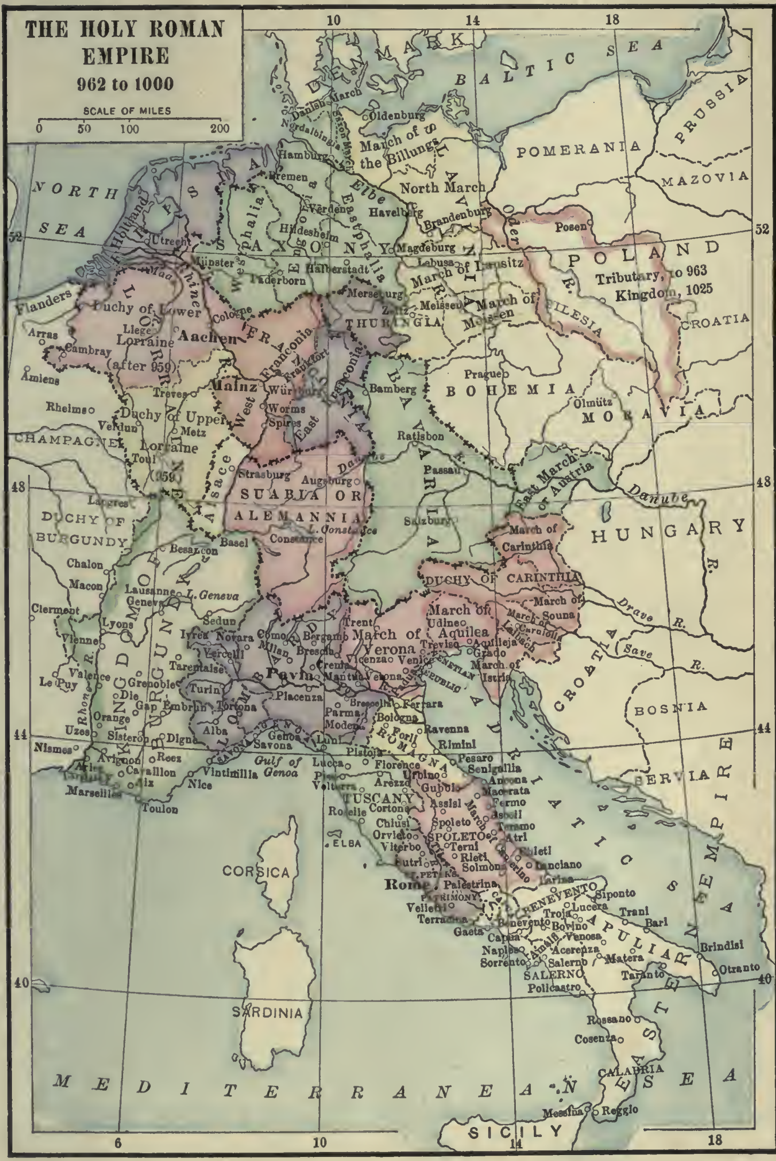


THE TEMPORAL AND THE SPIRITUAL POWER: a mosaic of the tenth century in the Church of St. John, Rome, representing God giving the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine.—From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire.*

210. Three theories arose as to this relation between popes and emperors.

First: *the pope and emperor were equal and independent heads of Christendom,*—one of the spiritual power, the other of the temporal power,—bound, however, to act in harmony. The trouble with this theory was that it would not work. The two heads did *not* act in harmony; and when disputes arose between them, they had no umpire.

Second: *the pope was independent in spiritual concerns; but,*



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
962 to 1000
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
10
14
18
6
52
48
44
40
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
Danish March
Nordalbingia
Oldenburg
Hamburg
March of the Billungs
SLAVIANIA
Bremen
Elbe
North March
Havelberg
Brandenburg
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
MAZOVIA
Oder R.
Posen
POLAND
Tributary, to 963
Kingdom, 1025
FRISIA
Holland
Utrecht
Westphalia
Eastphalia
SAXONY
Verden
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Lebusa
March of Lausitz
Münster
Paderborn
Halberstadt
Merseburg
Zeitz
Meissen
March of Meissen
SILESIA
CROATIA
Flanders
Duchy of Lower Lorraine (after 959)
LORRAINE
Liege
Aachen
Cologne
Arras
Cambray
Amiens
FRANCONIA
Frankfort
THURINGIA
BOHEMIA
Prague
Olmütz
MORAVIA
Treves
Mainz
Würzburg
West Franconia
East Franconia
Bamberg
Rheims
Verdun
Duchy of Upper Lorraine (959)
Metz
Worms
Spires
BAVARIA
Ratisbon
CHAMPAGNE
Toul
Alsace
Strasburg
Augsburg
Danube
Passau
East March of Austria
Danube
48
Langres
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
SUABIA OR ALEMANNIA
L. Constance
Constance
Basel
Salzburg
March of Carinthia
HUNGARY
Besançon
Chalon
Macon
DUCHY OF CARINTHIA
March of Souna
Drave R.
Lausanne
Geneva
L. Geneva
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
Clermont
Lyons
Sedun
Trent
March of Verona
March of Aquilea
Udine
March of Carniola
Laibach
CROATIA
Save R.
Vienne
Ivrea
Novara
Como
Milan
Bergamo
Brescia
Vercelli
Tarentaise
Treviso
Aquileja
Grado
Verona
Vicenza
Venice
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
March of Istria
Valence
Le Puy
Rhone R.
Grenoble
Die
Gap
Embrun
Turin
Tortona
Pavia
LOMBARDY
Cremona
Mantua
Placenza
Padua
Brescello
Ferrara
Bologna
Parma
Modena
Orange
Uzes
Sisteron
Digne
Alba
Genoa
Savona
Luni
Forli
ROMAGNA
Ravenna
Rimini
BOSNIA
Nismes
Avignon
Reez
Carpentras
Cavaillon
Aix
Arles
Marseilles
Toulon
Vintimillia
Nice
Gulf of Genoa
Lucca
Pistoja
Florence
Pisa
Volterra
Urbino
Arezzo
Gubbio
Pesaro
Senigallia
Ancona
Macerata
Fermo
Ascoli
Teramo
Atri
ADRIATIC SEA
SERVIA
TUSCANY
Roselle
Cortona
Chiusi
Orvieto
Viterbo
Assisi
Spoleto
SPOLETO
March of Camerino
Terni
Rieti
Solmona
Chieti
Lanciano
Larino
ELBA
CORSICA
Sutri
ST. PETER'S PATRIMONY
Rome
Palestrina
Velletri
Terracina
Gaeta
CAPUA
BENEVENTO
Benevento
Siponto
Lucera
Troja
Bovino
Trani
Bari
Capua
Naples
Sorrento
Amalfi
Venosa
Acerenza
Salerno
SALERNO
Policastro
APULIA
Matera
Taranto
Brindisi
Otranto
EASTERN EMPIRE
SARDINIA
Rossano
Cosenza
CALABRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Messina
Reggio
SICILY

in purely political matters, as a prince of the empire, he was a vassal of the emperor. This was the theory of the imperial party.

Third: as the more direct representative of God, *the pope was the emperor's superior, even in temporal matters.* This view was adopted by the greatest of the popes.

211. The church, at the moment, however, was unfit to assert this high claim. It, too, had suffered in the general decline of the ninth and tenth centuries that followed the second series of barbarian invasions. Learning and morals both fell away from the standard of Charlemagne's day. Monasteries let the rules of St. Benedict fall into disuse. The ferocious greed of feudalism had begun to infect even religion. Bishops and abbots, we have noticed, had been obliged to take up political and even military duties, and they possessed vast revenues. Sometimes they paid more attention to these matters than to their spiritual duties. Often, indeed, they *bought their offices* from a king just as great lay officers bought their places, and then *sold the lower church offices* under their control.

Even the headship of the church had suffered. The popes had become again little more than the bishops of Rome; and greedy rings of Roman nobles set up and deposed popes at will, as tools in their furious feudal quarrels. In nine years (896–904) there were nine popes, and each change resulted from some discreditable conflict. The papacy lost public reverence; Christendom seemed to have lost its head.

These evils were now to be reformed, partly through the intervention of great emperors, and partly through a glorious revival within the church.

212. This fruitful reform originated in the monastery of Cluny, which had been founded in 977, in Burgundy. Here the abbot restored the rules of St. Benedict,—with such success that soon good men everywhere, as they struggled against evil, turned to Cluny for advice and leadership.

Indeed Cluny went further than Benedict. The Benedictine rules had left each monastery a separate unit. *Now, a more effective organization was adopted.* New monasteries, and old ones reformed under the influence of missionaries from Cluny, were joined as daughter societies to the mother monastery. The abbot of Cluny appointed the heads of the daughter abbeys, and kept great influence over them, and from time to time called assemblies of delegates from all the monasteries of the order. The holy lives of the wide-spread brotherhood made them a tremendous instrument for good about them; and, before the year 1000, their admirable organization made them a dominant force in the government of the church at large.

A BAPTISMAL FONT FROM CLUNY.

213. For the reform of church government, the men of Cluny had three especial aims.

They warred upon simony. That is, they insisted that the buying and selling of church offices should stop. As a means thereto, they urged that every bishop should be elected by lower clergy of his diocese, and every abbot by the monks of his monastery, instead of being appointed by lords and kings.

They insisted that not only monks, but all clergy, should live a life of celibacy. Outside the monasteries, in the ninth century, the lower clergy usually married. Sometimes they tried to secure the wealth and offices of the church for their children. There has always been a tendency, however, to think of holiness as connected with celibacy; and now it was urged strongly that the clergy could not do their proper work unless they were set apart from all family cares and responsibilities.

Both these reforms were finally accomplished, mainly by great reforming popes, who adopted the Cluny program. And these popes themselves were in great measure the product of the third aim of the men of Cluny, who sought, above all else, *to purify the papacy and to restore it to the real headship of the Christian world.*[1]

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[1] Adams' *Civilization*, 239–244, and Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, 97–101, give good accounts of Cluny.

In this effort, their work came into touch with that of the reforming emperors. And so we take up again the story of the emperors, which we left in § 207. The footnote[1] on this page shows the succession of rulers.

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[1] Reference Table of German Kings

Election

(1) Conrad I (Franconian), 911–918

Election of a new line

(2) Henry I (Saxon), 919–936

(3) Otto I, 936–973 (Emperor, 962–973)

(All later kings in this table were also "Emperors.")

(4) Otto II, 973–983

(5) Otto III, 983–1002

Election of a new line

(6) Henry II (Saxon), 1002–1024

Election of a new line

(7) Conrad II (Franconian), 1024–1039

(8) Henry III, 1039–1056

(9) Henry IV, 1054–1106 { Rudolph, Hermann, Conrad, set up as claimants against Henry IV, from 1077 to 1093 }

(10) Henry V, 1106–1125

Election of a new line

(11) Lothair (Saxon), 1125–1137

Election of a new line

(12) Conrad III (Hohenstaufen), 1138–1152

Election of a new line

(13) Frederick I (Hohenstaufen), 1152–1190

(14) Henry VI, 1190–1197 (15) Philip, 1198–1203 (*deposed*)

Election of a new line

(16) Otto IV, 1198–1214 (*deposed*)

(17) Frederick II, 1214–1250

(18) Conrad IV, 1250–1254

"*The Great Interregnum*"

214. When **Otto I** restored the Empire, he confirmed the donations of Pippin and Charlemagne (§§ 76, 83); but he also **decreed that no pope should be consecrated until he took an oath of allegiance to the emperor.** The pope resisted this attempt to make him a vassal. To carry his point, Otto *deposed one pope and set up another, by force of arms.* He had rescued the papacy from domination by disorderly Roman nobles; and, in appointing a pope, he sought out a man of pure and noble life. Thus he began the reform of the papacy which was soon to lift it to a pinnacle of glory; but he had also begun a struggle between emperors and popes which was to last three hundred years and to destroy the real power of the empire.

215. **Four unimportant reigns** filled the sixty-seven years after Otto I (973–1039). *Otto II* spent his ten-years' rule in Italy. The danger to Germany from her king's imperial ambition became even plainer in the next reign. *Otto III* was half Italian by blood and wholly so by training. He was an enthusiastic but exceedingly unpractical boy, who became "king" at three, took the work of government into his own hands at sixteen, planned grandiosely to unite Latin and Greek Christendoms by arms, lived his few brief years at Rome in a court of Oriental pomp, and died at twenty-two, wandering helplessly about Italy as a fugitive from a petty uprising of the Roman populace.

During his rule, however, Otto III appointed two remarkable popes. The first, Gregory V, was a German — the first pope from outside Italy. The second, Gerbert, took the name Sylvester II. He was the first French pope. Aside from the great abilities of these two men, their appointment marks a step in the development of the papacy. If the popes were to be the spiritual head of all Western Europe, it was best they should not continue to come all from Italy.

Another fact about Gerbert throws a curious sidelight on the time. He had been a champion of Hugh Capet; and, just before the accession of that king, his enemies had driven Gerbert into exile in Spain. There he had gained a smattering of Saracenic knowledge; and, on his return to Europe, this unusual learning brought him under serious suspicion as a wizard, — a practicer of magic, aided by the devil!

Otto III, like Conrad I, died without an heir. The German nobles chose another Saxon lord (*Henry II*) for their king. And when he also died without leaving a son, they elected a Franconian (Conrad II). A glance at the table on page 195 will show that *there were six such changes for the first twelve kings.* We have noted the unbroken family succession among the Capetians as a chief reason for the growth of French unity. This different fate of the German kingly families was one reason for their failure to achieve German unity.

These last two kings, however, gave their energies to Germany, which had fallen into feudal anarchy. The five great duchies had broken up into many smaller units, — counties, marks, and new duchies; and the steady expansion on the east had added numerous other such districts. Henry II and Conrad began to bring these back from their feudal anarchy into dependence on the crown.

216. Thus Henry III (1039–1056), the third king after the Ottos, **came to the throne under favorable auspices.** He raised the German monarchy to its highest point. *Abroad*, by a series of great victories, he added Slavic Bohemia to the empire permanently — as well as Poland and Hungary for a time. *At home* he reformed both state and church. He enforced the "Truce of God" (§ 128), which had not before been introduced into Germany; and, for a time, even widened it into a "Peace of the Land," compelling all nobles to swear solemnly to give up private warfare. All this was before the Normans had conquered England, and before the Capetians had made any real advance in France.

Henry also encouraged the rising towns by many grants of privileges; and he allied himself to the party of Cluny in the church, putting down simony in Germany. True, he kept the appointment of the higher clergy in his own hands, but only for the public good. He never sold such offices.

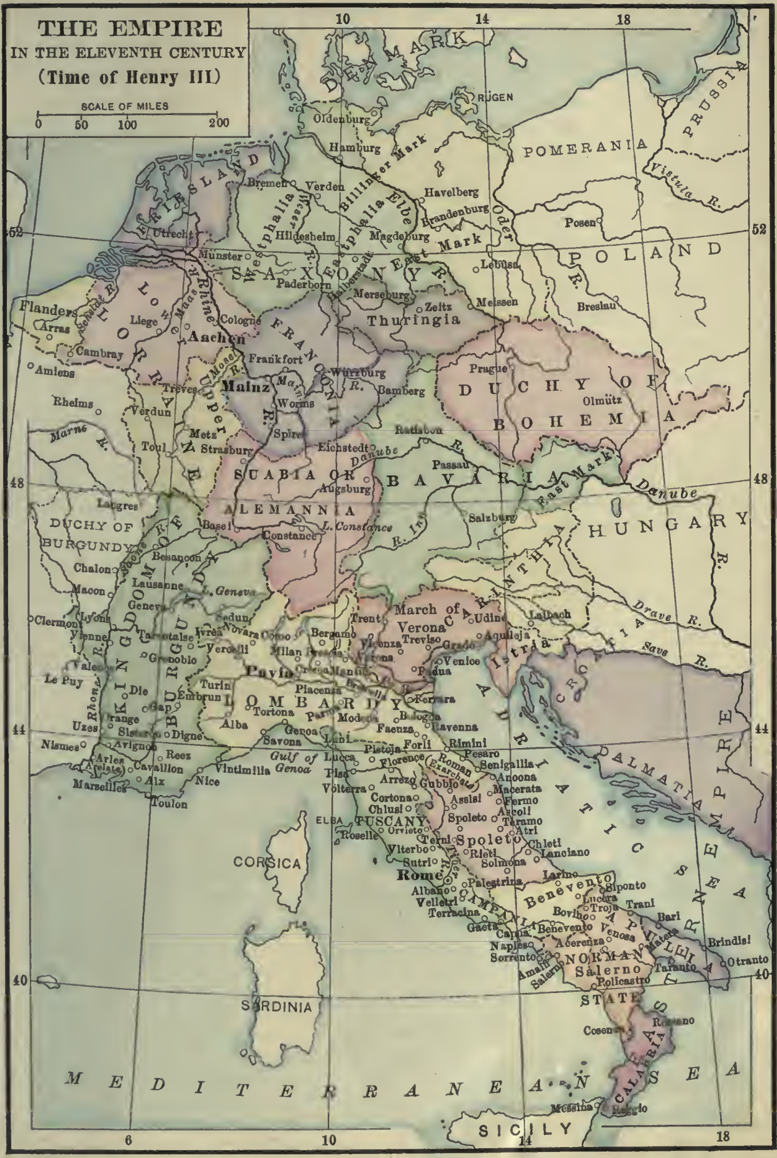
While Henry's two predecessors were busy in Germany, Italy had again fallen into extreme disorder. Three men claimed to be pope at one time. Henry compelled all these contestants to submit their claims to a gathering of bishops which he assembled. All three were deposed, and Henry appointed a new pope. Three times more he filled the papal throne by fresh appointments, so that he has been called "the Pope-maker," and at his death he left his infant son to the pope's guardianship. That son, *Henry IV*, spent his life in fierce conflict with the papacy, which in his day fell to the hands of *Hildebrand.*

217. Hildebrand was the son of a Tuscan peasant of German descent. He was brought up at Rome in a rich monastery where his uncle was abbot. Then the young monk became deeply interested in the ideas of the Cluny reformers, and he spent a year in the monastery of Cluny. His body was frail, but he had a fiery soul, indomitable energy, and great practical sagacity. His ability soon attracted attention, and in 1045, at the age of twenty-one, he became chaplain to the pope. Then, for more than twenty years, under five successive popes, he was the power behind the throne, shaping a growing and consistent papal policy.

218. As papal counselor, Hildebrand accomplished three important steps in the development of the papacy.

a. He formed a close alliance with a popular reform party that had appeared in Lombardy. This party was made up largely of the lower classes, and was led by popular agitators. Its opponents styled it "the party of the ragamuffins." Its purposes were social, religious, and patriotic. It opposed the wealth and corruption of the higher clergy, the dependence of the church upon lay lords, *and the dominance of Germany in Italy.* This last position made this party a natural ally of the popes against the emperors.

b. At the other end of the peninsula Hildebrand found other allies. Early in the eleventh century, bands of Norman adventurers began to seize the territory of the Saracens and of the Greek Empire in South Italy, and finally their leader, *Robert Guiscard* ("the Crafty"), had built up a powerful Norman state there. In 1059 Hildebrand negotiated a treaty with



THE EMPIRE
IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
(Time of Henry III)

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
10
14
18
6
52
48
44
40
DENMARK
RÜGEN
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
Vistula R.
Oldenburg
Hamburg
Billinger Mark
Bremen
Verden
Havelberg
Brandenburg
Oder
FRIESLAND
Utrecht
Westphalia
Weser
Eastphalia
Elbe
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
East Mark
Posen
POLAND
Munster
SAXONY
Paderborn
Halberstadt
Merseburg
R.
Lebusa
Zeitz
Meissen
Breslau
Flanders
Scheldt R.
LOWER LORRAINE
Maas R.
Rhine R.
Arras
Liege
Cologne
Aachen
FRANCONIA
Thuringia
Cambray
Amiens
Frankfort
Mosel R.
Main R.
Würzburg
Bamberg
Prague
DUCHY OF BOHEMIA
Olmütz
Rheims
Treves
Verdun
Mainz
Upper
Worms
Marne R.
Metz
Spire
Toul
Strasburg
Eichstedt
Danube
Ratisbon
Passau
SUABIA OR ALEMANNIA
Augsburg
BAVARIA
East Mark
Danube
Langres
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Basel
Constance
L. Constance
R. Inn
Salzburg
HUNGARY
Saône R.
Besançon
Chalon
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
CARINTHIA
Macon
Lausanne
L. Geneva
Geneva
Drave R.
Lyons
Sedun
Clermont
Trent
March of Verona
Udine
Laibach
Vienne
Tarentaise
Ivrea
Novara
Como
Bergamo
Vicenza
Treviso
Aquileja
CROATIA
Save R.
Vercelli
Milan
Brescia
Grado
Valence
Grenoble
Verona
Venice
Istria
Le Puy
Pavia
Cremona
Mantua
Padua
Turin
Placenza
Die
Embrun
LOMBARDY
Ferrara
Rhone R.
Gap
Tortona
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Orange
Alba
Ravenna
Uzes
Sisteron
Digne
Genoa
Faenza
Nismes
Avignon
Savona
Luni
Forli
Rimini
Reez
Pistoja
Arles
Gulf of Genoa
Lucca
Pesaro
Arelate
Cavaillon
Vintimilia
Florence
Roman Exarchate
Senigallia
Alx
Nice
Pisa
Ancona
Marseilles
Volterra
Arrezo
Gubbio
Macerata
Toulon
Cortona
Assisi
Fermo
Chiusi
Spoleto
Ascoli
ELBA
TUSCANY
Teramo
Orvieto
Atri
Roselle
Terni
Spoleto
Chieti
Viterbo
Rieti
Lanciano
Sutri
Tiber
Solmona
CORSICA
Rome
Palestrina
Larino
Siponto
Albano
Benevento
Lucera
Velletri
CAMPANIA
Troja
Trani
Terracina
Bovino
Bari
Gaeta
Capua
Benevento
Venosa
Matera
Brindisi
Naples
Acerenza
APULIA
Sorrento
NORMAN STATE
Otranto
Amalfi
Salerno
Salerno
Taranto
Policastro
SARDINIA
Cosenza
Rossano
CALABRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
EASTERN EMPIRE
Messina
Reggio
SICILY

him which secured stout aid for the papacy. The pope conferred upon Robert the title of Duke of Apulia, and in return, Robert became a vassal of the papacy for this fief.

c. Hildebrand persuaded a council of the church to adopt a decree regulating the method of electing popes (1059). .Thereafter the election was to be made, not by a gathering of the nobles and people of Rome, controlled by the emperors or by some noble just then in power, but by the seven "cardinal bishops" of Rome and its vicinity. These "cardinals" made up an advisory council about the popes. And so this method of election corresponded to that which the reformers wished for bishops and abbots (§ 213). This decree is the origin of the "College of Cardinals" (§ 150 *d*).

219. Hildebrand as Gregory VII. — Hildebrand might have been made pope on more than one occasion before he finally accepted the place. At last, in 1073, the people of Rome forced the election upon him. The crowds assembled at the funeral of the late pope raised the shout, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop"; and "St. Peter crowns Hildebrand as pope." The cardinals approved the movement, and Hildebrand reluctantly yielded. He took the name *Gregory VII*, and, with fresh vigor, began to make real his dream of a universal papal monarchy. The empire, he held, was subject to the papacy, as the body to the soul. The pope, the immediate representative of God, was to be the final arbiter between kings.

Gregory's own statement runs: "Human power invented the power of kings; divine pity established that of bishops. . . . He [the pope] may depose emperors. . . . He may absolve subjects from their allegiance to wicked men. . . . He himself may be judged by no one."

Gregory's life proved that his convictions were sincere and unselfish. They were shared, too, by the purest and ablest churchmen of the age. Nor was there anything new in them. The new thing was for a man to be found with the noble daring to try to live up to these ideas when they brought him into conflict with the sovereigns of the earth.

220. The strife between pope and emperor came to a head upon the question of "investitures." The emperor had appointed all bishops and abbots in his realms, and "invested" them with the staff and ring, the symbols of their spiritual office, as well as with the lands connected with those offices. This practice was not always connected with simony; but it made that evil much more common, and the reform party in the church regarded the two things as practically the same.

The real cause of the trouble was the twofold nature of bishops and abbots. They were spiritual officers, and, as such, it was not fit that they should be appointed by lay rulers. But they were at the same time temporal lords, and, as such, the emperors needed to keep control over them. Nearly half the land and resources of Germany were in the hands of great ecclesiastics. Plainly, no king could consent to yield their appointment to any power but himself. Just as plainly, no great and good pope, with the interests of religion at heart, could willingly see these clerical officers appointed by any lay power, with the disregard of spiritual interests that would often follow.

221. Story of the Struggle, to the Deaths of Gregory and of Henry IV. — In 1075 Gregory threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should thereafter receive their investiture from a lay ruler, and, likewise, every lay ruler who should venture to invest an ecclesiastic with his office. This was a declaration of war on the emperor, Henry IV, who was not likely to surrender willingly a power that all his great predecessors had exercised.

Henry was an able ruler, but with headstrong temper. At fifteen he had assumed the management of the kingdom (1065), and he had just come out victorious from a desperate contest with a feudal rebellion when the decree of Gregory regarding investitures summoned him to a mightier conflict.

The opening of the strife was sharp and rude. Henry continued to invest clerical lords and also to show favor to some whom Gregory had condemned for simony. Gregory summoned him to Rome, and threatened excommunication unless he gave up this policy. Henry replied, through a council of German bishops, by declaring Gregory guilty of infamous crimes and by pronouncing his deposition. Gregory's response was to declare the German bishops excommunicated, and Henry deposed.

Henry's letter to Gregory had been addressed, "Hildebrand, not pope but false monk"; and it had closed, "Descend and surrender the apostolic chair, which thou hast usurped. . . . I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all my bishops, do call to thee, 'Get thee down, get down to everlasting damnation.'"

Gregory's reply ran: "O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, . . . for the honor and security of thy church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry, the king, who has risen against thy church with unheard of insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oaths which they have taken and shall take to him; and I forbid any one to serve him as king."

Now Henry's enemies in Germany again took arms. The clergy fell away, — unable to stand before the terrors of the papal bull, — and in a few months Henry was helpless. A council of nobles was called, over which the pope was to preside, to decide the question of Henry's deposition. By swift submission, Henry saved his crown. He hurried into Italy, and, at *Canossa*, met the pope, already on his way across the Alps. The stern Gregory refused to see the suppliant, who stood barefoot, in a penitent's garb, through three days of extreme cold, amid the snow and rocks before the castle gate. Admitted finally to the pope's presence, after promising abject submission to his will, whatever it might be, Henry threw himself in tears at the feet of his conqueror, crying, "Spare me, Holy Father, spare me!" Gregory also was moved to tears. He raised Henry to his feet, gave him the kiss of peace, and promised him absolution.

But Gregory had pushed his victory too far, or else not far enough. The foes of Henry in Germany felt that the pope had deserted them, and the mass of the nation were angered by the humiliation of their king.[1] The hostile nobles did try to set up another king; but German patriotism rallied around Henry, and he easily kept the upper hand.

After some delay, since there was no change in the matter of investitures, Gregory issued another decree of deposition against Henry. But the opportunity was gone. The German bishops, returning to Henry's side, again declared Gregory deposed, and went through the form of electing another pope in his place. There followed a distressing tangle of wars. Finally, Gregory was driven from Rome, and soon after he died in the south of Italy (1085), among his Norman allies, exclaiming sadly, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." Still, Gregory was in large part victorious. He lives in history as one of the world's greatest men, — one who built an empire not by sword or cannon, but by intellect and moral earnestness.

The quarrel was soon renewed with the new pope, Urban II. Henry's sons were stirred up to rebel against their father; wars were waged incessantly; and in his old age the emperor met many reverses. For years he was a prisoner; and he died in 1106, broken-hearted, in the midst of defeat and shame. For five years his body lay in unconsecrated ground, before the church would remove the curse from his ashes.

222. The "Concordat of Worms." — Henry V had been an ally of the popes against his father, but as emperor he felt obliged to resist their claims as his father had done. Finally, at the city of Worms (1122), the long quarrel was settled by a reasonable compromise. Bishops were to be elected by the clergy and consecrated by the pope; but the emperor was to have a possible veto upon any election, inasmuch as the candidate was to receive from him the investiture of the episcopal lands, which were to be held as by a faithful vassal.

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[1] Germany has never altogether ceased to resent the disgrace. In 1872, in a conflict between the new German Empire and the papal party, Bismarck rallied the national feeling to the side of the government by his exclamation "Be sure we shall not go to Canossa!" (§ 819). This sentence is engraved upon Bismarck's monument at Harzburg.

This compromise seems to have been modeled upon one which had been made just before in England between Henry I (§ 166) and Anselm, his great Archbishop of Canterbury. The investiture struggle had been waged in all great Christian countries; but nowhere else had it been so bitter or so long as in Germany.

223. Results. — The struggle between empire and papacy was not over, by any means, with the Concordat of Worms. But one chapter was closed, and it is well to see what had been accomplished. Henry IV had outlived Gregory by a score of years, and, though conquered and humiliated, he had prevented the complete victory of Gregory's ideas. His son had forced the papacy to a compromise. Still, no emperor could ever again make and unmake popes as the Ottos and Henry III had done. The popes, on the other hand, did retain a powerful influence in making emperors, and their right even to depose kings had been powerfully asserted. To all men the papacy had become the final court of appeal and the chief source of justice, righteousness, and mercy.

Germany had been the chief loser. During the fifty years of incessant conflict between emperors and popes, in the long absence of the emperors from Germany, the German nobles had been growing more and more independent of royal authority.

Another political result was more wholesome. The pope turned to the city democracies of Italy for help against the emperor and the Italian nobles; and the emperor called upon the German towns for aid against the pope and the German nobles. In both countries, the towns gained strength rapidly. Out of the conflict between the two great monarchies came aid to the beginnings of popular liberty.

III. THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS

224. Frederick I (1152–1190). — The Franconian Henrys were soon followed (note on page 195) by the Hohenstaufen Fredericks, — still more brilliant men. The first important ruler of this line was *Frederick Barbarossa* (Red Beard), who has been called "the noblest embodiment of medieval kingship." He was foremost a German king, and the restoration of order in his northern realm was the most successful part of his work. But he was also a Roman emperor, and he strove mightily to save the waning empire.

This effort brought on a new period of struggle between popes and emperors, to last another century. This time, the immediate occasion of conflict was *a difference of policy regarding Italy.* The emperors were bent on consolidating the peninsula into one state with a strong central government. The popes feared that this would put an end to their independence.

225. Both parties now defined clearly their claims to headship. An artist of the time had painted a famous picture representing a preceding emperor, Lothair II, kneeling before Pope Innocent II for his coronation. The popes placed this painting in the great audience hall of their palace and inscribed beneath it: —

> "The king comes before the gates, first swearing due honor to the city. He is then made the vassal of the pope, and takes the crown which the latter *bestows.*"

During the negotiations with one of the popes (Adrian), Frederick objected vehemently to this humiliating inscription. The pope at length removed the picture, but he maintained the papal claim. "What were the Franks," he wrote to the emperor, "till [the pope] welcomed Pippin? What is the German king now till consecrated at Rome by Holy Hands? *The chair of Peter has given and can withdraw its gifts.*"

Frederick's written reply ran: "The empire is held by us, through the election of the princes, from God alone."

226. Frederick's imperial plans brought him also into conflict with the rising towns of northern Italy. To those cities the imperial ideas of the new king meant tyranny. To Frederick, the incessant and remorseless private wars of town with town, and the bloody faction-fights within the leading cities, seemed anarchy. He determined to reduce these turbulent communities to order, and to rule them through imperial lieutenants stationed in each city.

Time after time, Frederick led German armies across the Alps. Milan, the greatest city in the Po valley, was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were scattered in unwalled villages. Some years afterward, however, while Frederick was at Rome, a sudden pestilence of the Italian summer swept away his army. Twenty-five thousand men perished in a week, — "slain by the angel of the Lord," like the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, said the papal party. The cities seized their chance and flew to arms. They bound themselves together in "the Lombard League" (the first city-federation since Greek days), and allied themselves with the pope. At the *battle of Legnano, 1176*, the emperor was completely defeated, barely escaping with life.

Legnano is one of a few battles in almost four hundred years of incessant fighting that deserve commemoration. In two respects, it stands for the victory of a new age. (1) It was won by a citizen infantry against the feudal horsemen who had so long been irresistible in the field. (2) It secured the recognition of the freedom of the Lombard towns.

The Peace of Constance, signed soon after, was substantially dictated by the free cities. The towns, in words, acknowledged the imperial overlordship, and bound themselves to pay certain tribute; but they secured the recognition of their rights to fortify themselves, to raise their own troops, to wage war on their own account, even against each other, to coin money, and to regulate all their internal concerns. *Practically, they had become free republics.*

227. Frederick's Place in History. — Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. In Germany itself, his long reign was a period of remarkable prosperity. Forests were cleared to make farming villages, and villages grew into trading towns. Agriculture improved its methods, and land rose in value. The rougher side of feudal life in the castles began to give way to more refined manners, and a charming German literature appeared in the lays of the Minnesingers (§ 283).

When an old man, Frederick set out upon the Third Crusade (§ 249), and was drowned while bathing, after a hot day's march, in a little stream in Asia Minor. Of all the German kings, Barbarossa, even more than Charlemagne, is the popular hero with the German people; and legends long told how he was not dead, but sleeping a magic sleep, upright upon a golden throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain, crown on head and scepter in hand. At the appointed time, in his country's need, the ravens would cease circling about the mountain top; and, at this signal, Barbarossa would awake, to bring again the reign of peace and justice.

A Castle of Barbarossa at Kaiserswerth.

228. Guelf and Ghibelline. — The contest in Italy at this period gave rise to new party names. The Hohenstaufen family took their name from their ancestral castle perched on a crag in the Alps. But near this first seat of the family was their village of *Waiblingen,* by which name also they were sometimes known. The chief rival of the first Hohenstaufen emperor had been Henry the Lion, of Saxony, who was surnamed *Welf.* In German struggles these names became war cries, — *Hi Welfen! Hi Waiblingen!*

In Italy the German words were softened into *Guelf* and *Ghibelline,* and in this form they became real party names. A Ghibelline was of the imperial party: a Guelf was an adherent of the papacy. Long after this original significance had passed away, the names were still used by contending factions in

Italian towns. In general, the democratic factions were Guelfs; but often the terms had no meaning beyond that of family interest, — so that "as meaningless as the squabbles of Guelfs and Ghibellines" has become a byword.

229. Innocent III. — Barbarossa's son, Henry VI, married the heiress of the Norman kingdom in Sicily, and so brought South Italy for the first time into union with the Empire. At Henry's death, his son (afterward Frederick II) was a child of three years; and for almost a generation Guelf and Ghibelline claimants struggled for the crown. During this period of decadence for the Empire, more plainly than ever before, the sovereign power in Europe was the papacy, under the stern morality, tremendous energy, imperious character, and able administration of *Innocent III*.

Within the Empire, Innocent was favored by the political situation. He became feudal overlord and protector of the Tuscan towns, and he was guardian of Frederick, the child-king of Sicily. Thus he was safe from attack by Italy, north or south. At the same time, the conditions in Germany enabled him to make and unmake emperors. The election of the Emperor Philip (note on page 195) was disputed by a rival, Otto. Innocent claimed the right to decide the matter. He rejected Philip as "an obstinate persecutor of the church," and gave his award to Otto, because that prince was declared to be "devoted to the church." "*Him, therefore, we . . . summon to take the imperial crown.*" Then, when Otto took up the imperial claims against the papacy, Innocent declared him deposed, and secured the election of the young Frederick, grandson of Barbarossa.

In France and England, it is true, there now ruled mightier kings than any previous pope had had to deal with outside the Empire; but even these sovereigns were forced to obey the commands of Innocent's legates. Philip Augustus, the haughty and successful sovereign of France, was compelled to take back an innocent wife whom he had just put away; and John of England even surrendered his kingdom and received it back as a fief of the Holy See, promising annual tribute to Rome (§ 178). The kings of Portugal and Aragon, rising Christian states[1] in the Spanish peninsula, were Innocent's vassals; and he interfered at will in the government of the other kingdoms there, — Navarre, Castile, and Leon, — as well as in the new Slavonic kingdoms on the eastern frontier of Europe.

Innocent was also a moral reformer, and he led a successful movement for a revival within the church. He crushed the Albigensian movement, which rejected the church (§ 194); and he adopted and advanced the Friar reform (§ 230).

230. The Begging Friars. — The growing towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not at first fit into the older organization of the church. Neither the rural parish priests nor the monks took care of the religious needs of the crowded populations. The poorer inhabitants were miserable in body, too, beyond all words, — fever and plague stricken, perishing of want and filth and wretchedness such as no modern city knows.[2] Early in the thirteenth century, these conditions, together with the spread of heretical movements, called forth a general religious revival, with the rise of two new orders of religious workers, — the Franciscan and the Dominican brotherhoods.

The Franciscans (1209) took their name from their founder, *Francis of Assisi*, known later as *Saint Francis*. He was moved by a passionate pity for the ignorant, dying, despairing dregs of the population in the medieval Italian towns about him. A little group of eleven youths caught the inspiration of his lofty enthusiasm and self-renunciation. Francis walked to Rome and secured sanction for his plans from Innocent III, and at once the little band of "brothers" (*friars*) began their mission.

They went forth, two and two, to the poor and the outcasts, living from day to day in the midst of noisome wretchedness, to act as healers and preachers. They nursed lepers, ministered to the poor, and, with short, homely, fervent speech, preached to all the love of Christ and the call to turn from sin. They gave themselves utterly to serve their suffering fellows. Money they would not touch. Literally, they were barefooted beggars, with one garment, living from day to day upon chance alms.[1]

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[1] These states were being formed by warfare against the Moors in Spain.

[2] The best brief account is given in Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, 1–52.

They were not monks. The monk lived in a quiet cloister, and, however beneficial his services were to the world, his first care was for his own soul. The friar sought instead to save the souls and heal the bodies of others, and he went out into the world wherever he could find most suffering and sin.

The Dominicans (1215) grew out of the zeal of *St. Dominic* to convert the Albigenses from their heresy. Dominic was a powerful and fiery preacher, learned in all the theology of the age. Thus, while the Franciscans in origin were missionaries, to lighten the sufferings of the poor, the Dominicans were preachers to the more intellectual classes. The Franciscans (Grey Friars) were the gentler, the Dominicans (Black Friars) the sterner, in character.

The "begging friars" spread swiftly over all Europe. In 1221, only six years after the founding of the order, Dominicans reached England, passing at once to London and Oxford and other towns.

231. Frederick II. — The death of Innocent, in 1216, left the field clear, for the moment, for the young emperor, Frederick II, who was just coming to manhood. Frederick II has been called the last of the great medieval emperors and the first of the great modern kings — "*the most gifted of the sons of men, . . . a wonderful man in a wonderful age.*" Unlike his grandfather, Barbarossa, he was an Italian by birth and nature. In person, he was slight, bald, nearsighted. A Mohammedan historian wrote that as a slave he would not have brought a hundred drachmas. He was an enthusiastic patron of literature, a founder of one of the early universities (§ 276), and himself a scholar and an author, of no mean ability, in prose and in verse. He wrote charming songs, not in Latin, but in the new Italian tongue of everyday life, and was truly called the father of Italian poetry. He was deeply interested in the science of the Arabs. He ridiculed trial by ordeal and other medieval superstitions, and his own codes of law were far in advance of the barbarous ideas of the age. He was a modern, rather than a medieval, man, — a many-sided man, warrior, statesman, lawgiver, scholar, poet.

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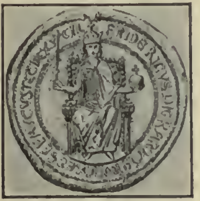
[1] Cf. the precept of Christ to his disciples, *Matthew* x. 9, 10.

At the same time, in his private life he was immoral, and sometimes in his public policy cruel and unscrupulous. With all his wonderful genius, he gave his life's energies to buttressing the hopelessly outgrown and tottering system of a universal empire. He left no positive result, but was only "the most dazzling of a long line of imperial failures."

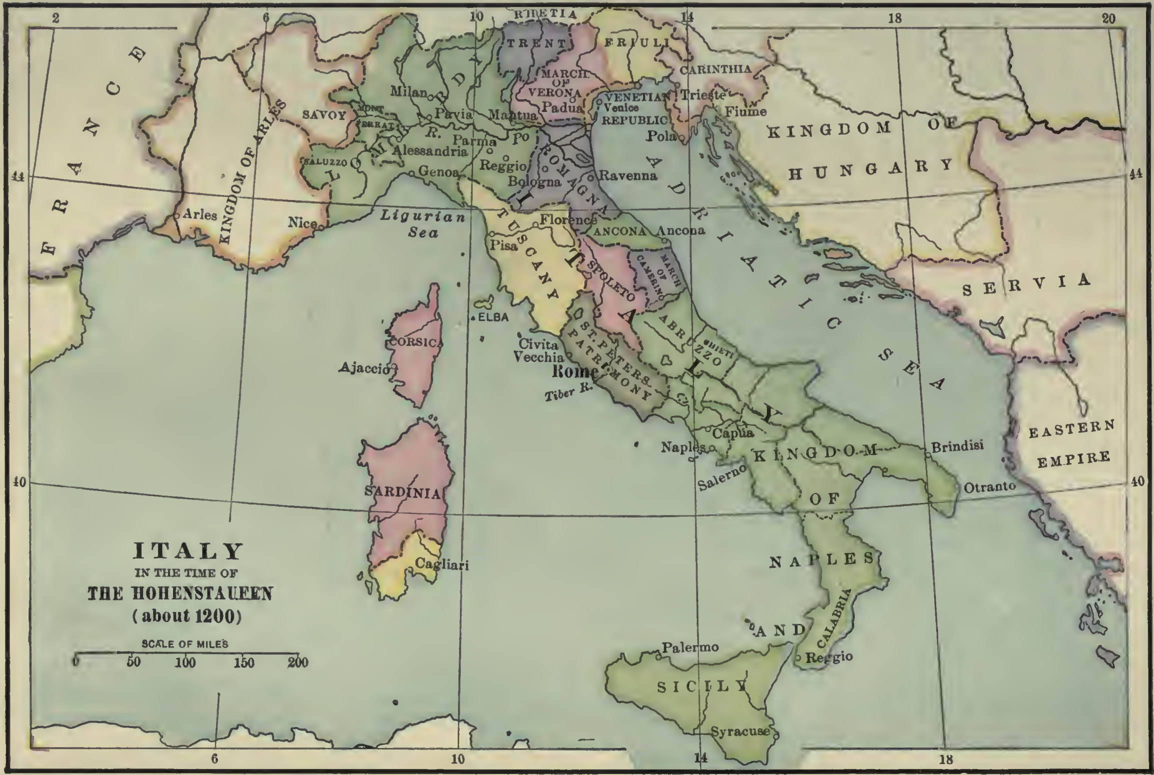


SEAL OF FREDERICK II.

232. Frederick and the Popes. — As emperor, Frederick was master of North Italy; and as king of Sicily, he was master of the South. Of course he wished to join the two parts of his realm. The chief obstacle to his complete success was the existence of the Papal States, stretching across Italy from sea to sea. The popes feared lest their temporal principality should be crushed between the two arms of the Hohenstaufen power, and the danger made them Frederick's relentless foes.

During much of his reign, the emperor was under sentence of excommunication and deposition. On one occasion during the struggle, when the papal throne became vacant, it was filled by the election of a man who had always been favorable to the imperial side. But Frederick did not deceive himself with false hopes. When he was congratulated, he replied, "I have only lost a friend; no pope can be a Ghibelline." Innocent IV, the new pope, proved, indeed, one of the most formidable opponents any emperor had encountered.

Frederick maintained the war during his life, but towards



ITALY
IN THE TIME OF
THE HOHENSTAUFEN
(about 1200)

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF ARLES
Arles
Nice
SAVOY
MONT FERRAT
SALUZZO
LOMBARDY
Milan
Pavia
R. Po
Parma
Alessandria
Genoa
Reggio
Bologna
Mantua
RHAETIA
TRENT
MARCH OF VERONA
Padua
FRIULI
CARINTHIA
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Pola
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
SERVIA
EASTERN EMPIRE
ROMAGNA
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
Ligurian Sea
TUSCANY
Florence
Pisa
ANCONA
Ancona
MARCH OF CAMERINO
SPOLETO
ABRUZZO
CHIETI
ST. PETER'S PATRIMONY
Civita Vecchia
Rome
Tiber R.
ITALY
ELBA
CORSICA
Ajaccio
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Capua
Naples
Salerno
KINGDOM OF NAPLES AND SICILY
Brindisi
Otranto
CALABRIA
Reggio
Palermo
Syracuse
2
6
10
14
18
20
44
40

the close with lessening chances of success. He spent his last years like a lion at bay, amid the fierce onslaughts of open enemies and the cruel treacheries of trusted friends; and his death (1250) was followed by quick and final ruin for his plans, and by the extinction of his family.

The death of Frederick's son, Conrad IV (1254), ushered in *a long interregnum for the Empire*, and marked **the separation of Germany from Italy**. To crush another of Frederick's sons, Manfred, in Sicily, the pope called in *Charles of Anjou*, brother of Louis IX of France, and gave him the Sicilian crown.

233. **Results to Italy.** — The popes had won. They had preserved their own predominance as princes in central Italy, and they had excluded the Germans. It is true they had not saved Italy from foreign domination. They had only called in one foreigner against another,[1] and as a result of their policy, Italy, for centuries to come, was to remain disunited and to be the battle ground of France, Spain, and Germany. They had assisted the rising Italian towns, however, in the revolt against despotism, and so had helped to prepare for the rich civic life of northern Italy in the next two centuries.

234. **Results to the Empire and to Germany.** — *The emperors had failed utterly.* Two hundred years later, an English chronicler wrote of the period following the death of Frederick II, "*The Empire in a manner ceased here.*" Certainly its character changed radically: (1) Italy was lost, as France had been four centuries earlier; and (2) even in theory the union between the spiritual and temporal headships of Christendom was dissolved. *The Empire really was no longer either "Holy" or "Roman": it remained only "German."*

From the thirteenth century the Empire is often spoken of as the "German Empire." The term is good as a description, — just as we speak of the "Greek Empire" at Constantinople, — but it is not a proper title in a strict sense. The only empire in history with the title

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[1] The calling in of the Angevins (house of Anjou) against the Hohenstaufen will remind the student of the calling in of the Franks five centuries before against the Lombards.

"German Empire," is the one created by Bismarck and King William in 1871.

In Germany also there was a striking change. The idea that had made the soul of the Empire was gone; but so, too, was the physical body of it, the German kingdom. The title King of Germany had long since disappeared in the scramble for the higher dignity of the imperial title.[1] As Freeman puts it, the kingly crown of Germany had been "crushed beneath the loftier imperial diadem." Or as another English historian says (Mr. Bryce), "The kingdom of Germany broke down beneath the weight of the Roman Empire."

For twenty years after the last Hohenstaufen (1254–1273), there was no emperor in Germany,[2] and no king. These years were the "Great Interregnum," the period of "*Fist-law.*" During this time *there was no pretense of central government.* The old kingdom had dissolved into a mass of petty fragments, some three hundred in number, — free cities, duchies, marks, counties, — each virtually an independent monarchy or city-republic. The chance to make a German nation was postponed six hundred years. In 1273 the name of Emperor was revived by the election of *Count Rudolph of Hapsburg:* but little more than the name remained (§§ 315 ff.).

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact drills (cf. *Ancient World*, 162, 295, for suggestions).
    a. Dates: 843, 962, 987, 1066; (class fill in the events). 1075–1254 (struggle between empire and papacy), 1122 (Concordat of

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[1] The German nobles, in the many elections that have been referred to, as in § 215, chose a "King of the Germans." But the successful candidate valued the election chiefly as a step toward the higher dignity, Emperor of the Romans. So, before 1200, men ceased to choose a "King of the Germans" at Aachen, and named instead a "King of the Romans," — a title that more directly suggested the higher office to follow.

[2] Two emperors were elected during this period, — a Spaniard and an Englishman (the brother of Henry III), — but neither of them actually appeared in Germany to enter upon the government.

Worms, which divides struggle of Empire and papacy into two chapters), 1176 (Legnano), 1215, 1265, 1295.

  b. *Fix other events in connection with the dates given above ;* such as *Lechfeld*, *Lombard League*, *Peace of Constance*, *French Estates General.*

  c. *Extend list of terms* for brief explanation: *Hugh Capet*, *Guelf*, *Canossa*, *mark states*, etc.

2. Review questions by the class. For example: give the two divisions of the struggle between empire and papacy; characterize each; and name leaders and chief events of each.
4. Catch-word reviews (cf. *Ancient World*, 183).
   a. Germany from Charles the Fat to 962.
   b. The Holy Roman Empire, to 1273.
5. Map review. Compare the maps on the Empire (including the one on the Partition of Verdun) for varying boundaries and for increase in number of political divisions.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Tout's *Empire and Papacy* are the two best one-volume accounts of this subject. Bright students may be encouraged to read in one or the other of them, and to bring to the class contributions from such reading. Henderson's *Short History of Germany* is excellent. The best biographies on the period are Sabatier's *St. Francis* (rather long), Morison's *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, and Vincent's *Age of Hildebrand.* Ogg's *Source Book* has some good material. For *required* class reading, the medieval empire is not a good topic.

Good notebook on crusades

CHAPTER XI

THE CRUSADES, 1100-1300

I. CAUSES AND CONDITIONS

235. In the last three chapters, we have followed the *separate* development of the leading countries of Europe for some four centuries, to about the year 1300, — pretty well through the active age of feudalism. During the last half of these four centuries, or from 1100 to 1300, *all Europe had been profoundly interested in a religious and military movement to recover the Holy Land from the Mohammedans.* This *common* movement of the various countries — the crusades — is the subject of the present chapter. First we need to note the conditions in the Oriental world when the crusades began.

236. The Mohammedans (§§ 58–67) still ruled from the Pyrenees to the Ganges. This wide dominion, it was true, was now broken up into many states, but the civilization of the Saracens had not yet begun to decline. They had utilized the old culture of Persia and of Greece. Their governments were as good as the Oriental world had ever known. Their roads and canals encouraged commerce and bound together distant regions. Their magnificent cities were built with a peculiar and beautiful architecture, characterized by the horseshoe arch, the dome, the turret, the graceful minaret, and a rich ornament of "arabesque."[1] Their manufactures were the finest in the world, both for beautiful design and for delicate workmanship. Their glass and pottery and metal work, their dyestuffs, their paper, their cloth manufactures, their preparations of leather, all represented industries almost or wholly unknown to the West. We still speak of "Toledo" blades, and "Morocco" leather, while "muslins" and "damasks" recall their superior

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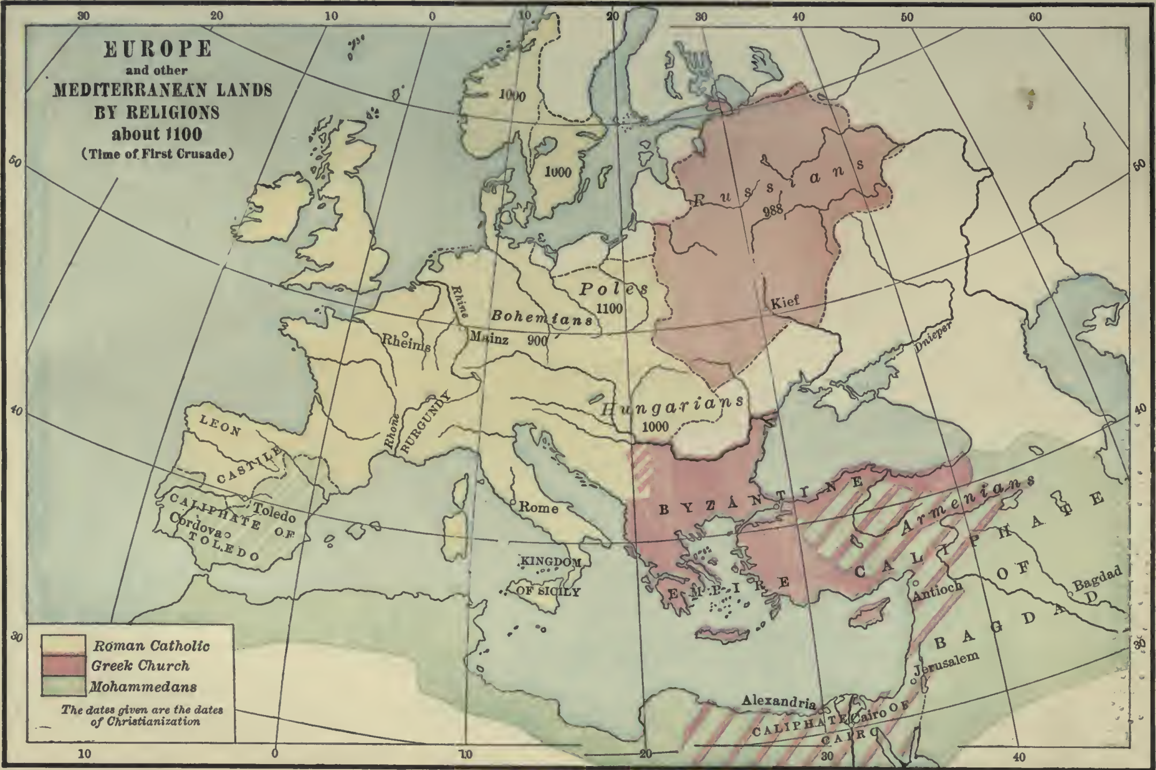
[1] Note the illustrations on pages 60, 215, 218.



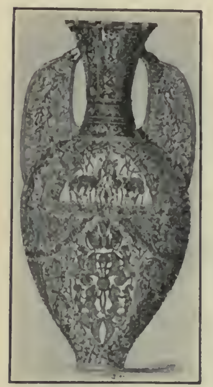
EUROPE
and other
MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
BY RELIGIONS
about 1100
(Time of First Crusade)

Roman Catholic
Greek Church
Mohammedans
The dates given are the dates of Christianization
Russians
988
Kief
Dnieper
Poles
1100
Bohemians
900
Mainz
Rhine
Rheims
Hungarians
1000
BURGUNDY
Rhone
LEON
CASTILE
CALIPHATE OF TOLEDO
Toledo
Cordova
Rome
KINGDOM OF SICILY
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Armenians
CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD
Bagdad
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
50
40
30
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
40
30

manufacturing processes at Mosul and Damascus. Their agriculture was scientific, with the use of irrigation and fertilizers; and by grafting they had produced many new varieties of fruit and flowers which adorned the lovely gardens in which they especially delighted. Europe owed to them its first knowledge of oranges, lemons, rice, sugar cane, and asparagus.

THE COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA.

In intellectual lines their superiority was no less marked. While Europe had only a few monastic schools to light its "Dark Ages," the Arabs had great universities, with libraries containing hundreds of thousands of manuscripts. In Persia and in Spain they had created a noble literature, both prose and poetry. Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, were subjects for special study. Much progress had been made in astronomy. The heavens still keep proof of their studies in its thick sprinkling of Arabic names, like *Aldebaran*, while many terms in our texts on astronomy (*azimuth*, *zenith*, *nadir*) bear like testimony. From India they brought the "Arabic" notation, while Europe was still struggling with clumsy Roman numerals. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name, and spherical trigonometry was their creation. And while Europe still treated disease from the viewpoint of an Indian "Medicine Man," the Saracens had established, on Greek foundations, a real science of medicine.



A Moorish Vase.

237. The Byzantine Empire. — Midway in character, as in geography, between Latin Europe and Mohammedan Asia, lay the Greek Empire, living on for centuries a quiet, orderly life. In material prosperity it was unexcelled anywhere in the world, and in intellectual activity it was surpassed only by the Saracens. Freeman, the English historian, spoke of it as: —

> "a government which with all its faults, for many centuries discharged its functions *better than any contemporary government in the world*. . . . Wise legislators, able administrators, valiant generals, profound scholars, acute theologians, were the natural product of the soil, century after century."[1]

The Empire was a civilized state, standing on the defensive against barbarian attack, and waging its wars mainly with Norse mercenaries. The emperors were often devoted scholars and able authors, as well as great rulers. Constantinople in magnificence and extent and comfort was unapproached by the rude towns of France and Germany; and its wealth, splendor, and comforts, — its paved and lighted streets, its schools and theaters, its orderly police system, its hospitals and parks, — were all amazing to the few visitors from the West. Such little trade as Western Europe possessed was

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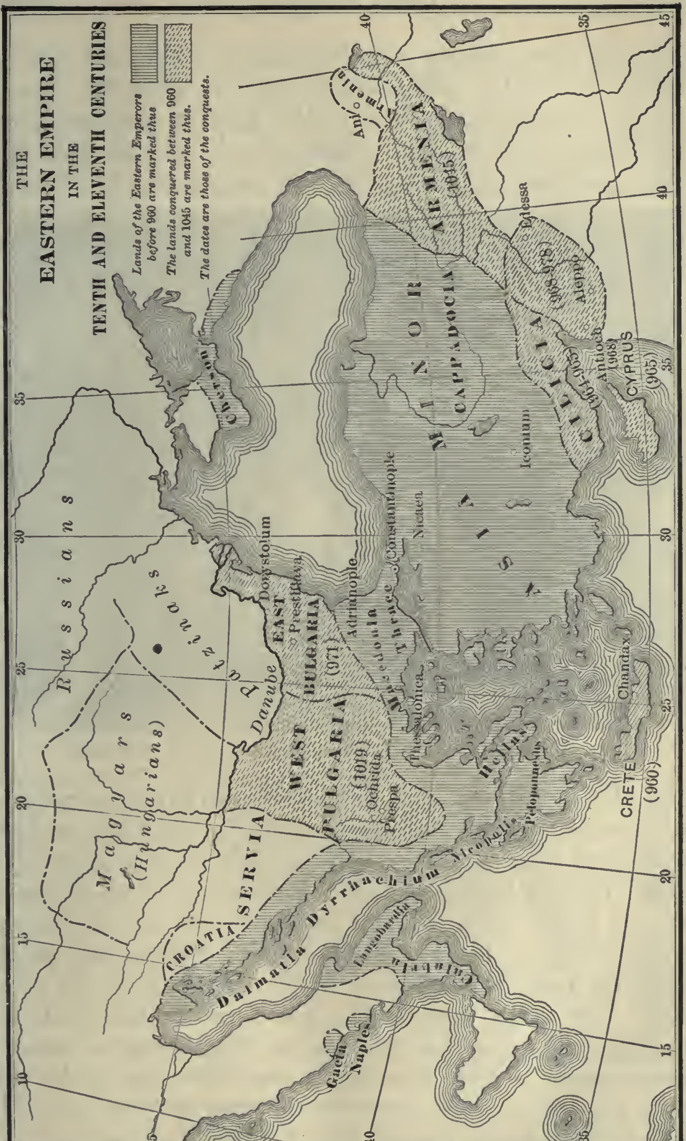
[1] There are good statements in Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, 151, 152; for detail, see 152–175. Students may consult also Oman's *Byzantine Empire*.



THE
EASTERN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Lands of the Eastern Emperors before 960 are marked thus
The lands conquered between 960 and 1045 are marked thus.
The dates are those of the conquests.
Russians
Patzinaks
Magyars (Hungarians)
Danube
Dorystolum
Preslava
EAST BULGARIA (971)
WEST BULGARIA (1019)
Ochrida
Prespa
SERVIA
CROATIA
Dalmatia
Dyrrhachium
Nicopolis
Macedonia
Thrace
Adrianople
Constantinople
Nicaea
Thessalonica
Hellas
Peloponnesus
CRETE (960)
Chandax
ASIA MINOR
CAPPADOCIA
Iconium
CILICIA (964-965)
Antioch (968)
CYPRUS (965)
Aleppo (968-978)
Edessa
ARMENIA (1045)
Ani
Cherson
Langobardia
Calabria
Naples
Gaeta
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

mainly in Greek hands; and the "Byzant," the coin of Constantinople, was the standard of coinage over Europe.

During most of its history, the Empire comprised the greater part of Asia Minor, many islands, and at least the coast regions of the Balkan peninsula in Europe. The inland parts of that peninsula were divided between two Slav peoples, the Servians and the Bulgarians, who, like the Russians, had drawn their Christianity and civilization from Constantinople.

"WINDOW OF THE FAVORITE" IN THE PALACE OF ALHAMBRA.

238. In the eleventh century, the *civilization of the Saracens* received a fatal blow, and the *existence of the Greek Empire* was endangered. **Political supremacy in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks**, a new Tartar people from beyond the Jaxartes. The Turks were to play somewhat the same part in the Saracenic world that the Teutons had played in the old Roman world, — with this tremendous difference, that even to the present day they have not assimilated civilization. The Arab culture survived long enough to be transplanted into

Europe during the crusades, but in its own home it was doomed thereafter to swift decay.

The Turks were at least mighty soldiers, and they *began a new era of Mohammedan conquest.* Almost at once the greater part of the Greek Empire fell into their hands. They overran Asia Minor, and established a number of principalities there. One of them, called the Empire of "Roum" (Rome), placed its capital at Nicea, only seventy miles from Constantinople. In terror, the Greek emperor turned to Western Christendom for aid; and his appeal was the signal for two centuries of war, Cross against Crescent.

239. The crusades were one more chapter in the age-long struggle between East and West, in which Marathon and Tours had been earlier episodes. *And the appearance of the Turks had given a new aspect to the strife.* It was no longer a conflict between two types of civilization — as the wars between Greek and Persian had been. It was a conflict between the only possible civilization[1] and a brutal barbarism.

240. The Abuse of Pilgrims by the Turks. — The Greek call for aid against the infidel would have produced little effect if Western Europe had not had deep grievances of its own against the Turk. *The crusades were a new form of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and the only kind any longer possible.*

Pilgrimages to holy shrines (§ 148) were a *leading feature* of medieval life.[2] Good men made them to satisfy religious enthusiasm; evil men, to secure forgiveness for crime; sick men, to heal bodily ills. *A pilgrimage was an act of worship.* Chief of all pilgrimages, of course, was that to the land where Christ had lived and to the tomb where His body had been laid. In particular, after the religious revival early in the eleventh century (§ 212), a steady stream of pilgrims from Europe visited Palestine, sometimes in bands of hundreds. In 1064 the Archbishop of Mainz led one company of seven thousand to the Holy Land. Only two thousand of this expedition ever found their way home again, — a fact that shows how dangerous these long pilgrimages were in that day, even before the Turks added to the peril.

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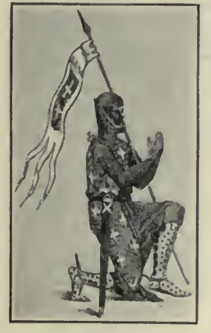
[1] In 1100 Western Europe was excelled in civilization by some of the lands which had just fallen to the Turk; but there was no longer any hope from those lands, — nor from Eastern Europe, about to fall.

[2] Read Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, 338–403, if accessible, on pilgrimages. And see also Robinson's *Readings* I, 312–340.

The Saracens had permitted Christian pilgrimages, and even encouraged them, as a means of revenue. But in 1076 the Turks captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, and at once began to persecute all Christians there. Tales of suffering and of wrongs filled Europe with shame and wrath, and prepared Latin Christendom to respond to the Greek emperor's appeal for aid. Each crusader marched to avenge pilgrims and at the same time to make a pilgrimage himself. He was "*an armed pilgrim*" to the holiest of shrines.



A Crusader. — From a thirteenth century manuscript now in the British Museum.

241. "God Wills It." — The messengers from Constantinople came to *Pope Urban*, as the head of Christendom, in 1095. Urban at once assumed the leadership, and at a great gathering of French nobles at *Clermont* preached a war of the Cross against the infidel. His eloquence[1] thrilled the multitude to a frenzy of enthusiasm, and they caught up his cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" A great expedition was arranged for the following spring, and all over Europe men were called upon to "take the cross"; that is, to pledge themselves to the expedition by fastening a red cross on the breast.

This gave us the name for the movement. These warriors of the cross (cross-bearers) are called crusaders; and the movement, the crusades. The political motive, to relieve the Greek Empire, sank almost out of mind. The crusaders seemed to think only of recovering the Holy Sepulcher.

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[1] See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 2; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 51.

242. There were, however, other motives, less noble, and less prominent in records. *Multitudes of nobles were influenced largely by greedy hopes of winning new principalities in Asia.* Indeed, the Greek emperor, in his letters to Western leaders, laid chief emphasis on this inducement, and even Pope Urban did not neglect it at Clermont. "Wrest the land from that wicked race," said he, "and possess it for yourselves."

France, in particular, felt this motive, because her population had been growing rapidly. She had just sent the Normans into England and Italy. In like manner she now poured her swarming military population into the East. The crusading armies were so dominantly French that the Greeks and Mohammedans came to use the name "Frank" for any inhabitant of Western Europe.

Many men, too, were moved in great measure *by military ardor and by the mere spirit of adventure*, — the desire to see the world; while others found in the crusades a chance *to escape punishment for crime.* Urban dwelt upon this inducement also, and urged those "who have been robbers" to "become soldiers of Christ." From the moment a man took the cross, the church promised him forgiveness for all past sins, and forbade all attacks, even by the law, upon his person or his property.[1]

None the less, the real cause of the crusades was religious zeal. The war was truly a "War of the Cross." These grosser motives only helped to rally recruits about a banner which a high enthusiasm had set up.

II. THE STORY

243. The crusades opened with a pathetic movement which shows the enthusiasm and the credulity of the age.[2] *Hordes of peasantry*, impatient of delay, without waiting for the army of nobles, *set off to rescue the Holy Land, under a preaching monk and a beggar knight*, **Peter the Hermit** *and* **Walter the**

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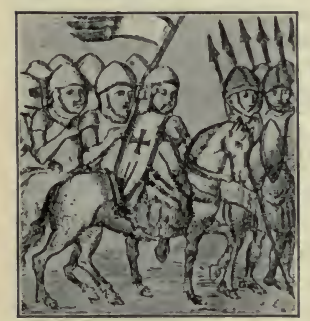
[1] For curious illustrations of these points, see *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, 2.

[2] Special report, to show a like lesson: the Children's crusade, if Gray's volume, *The Children's Crusade*, is accessible.

Penniless. These multitudes — ignorant, unorganized, almost unarmed — expected divine aid. Most of them perished miserably in the terrible journey through the Danube valley, by starvation and disease, and by the attacks of the Christian natives whose lands they were pillaging for food. The remnants, as soon as they reached Asia, were annihilated by the Turks.

244. The First Crusade. — In the spring of 1096 swarms of the real crusaders began to make their way through Europe to Constantinople, the appointed place of meeting. There they gathered, some three hundred thousand strong, according to the chroniclers, — one hundred thousand of them mailed horsemen, — the most formidable army Europe has ever sent against Asia. The Greek emperor, fearful lest these fierce allies might turn upon his own realm, hastened their departure into Asia. There they endured terrible suffering and loss, in march, skirmish, battle, and siege. The leaders quarreled savagely among themselves; but fortunately, the Mohammedans at this time were even more broken up into hostile camps. In July, 1099, the Christians stormed Jerusalem, amid hideous butchery and wild transports of religious enthusiasm.



CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH.

245. Some letters from the crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (§ 166). In 1098, from before Antioch, Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife," the following letter: —

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain, my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . Thence, continually pursuing the wicked Turks, we drove them as far as the great river Euphrates. . . . The bolder of them hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed a vast host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

"By God's grace we here endured many sufferings and countless evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Before the city of Antioch, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very like our winter in the West.

Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, present condition. This church was built by Constantine about the year 325 and was restored by the Crusaders in 1099. It is supposed to contain the place of the burial of Christ.

"When the emir of Antioch — that is, its prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes. These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses; for there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

246. The Latin States in Syria. — Two important *political* results were accomplished. (1) The Greek Empire recovered much of Asia Minor. (2) *The greater nobles among the crusaders divided the conquered Syrian districts among themselves and set up there four* "**Latin states,**" of which the chief was the "Kingdom of Jerusalem." The crusaders knew of no system of government except feudalism, and so each ruler divided his realm in feudal fashion among his retainers. On the soil of Asia, a complete feudal society sprang up, to continue the war against the Crescent.

247. Fighting Monks. — These Latin states found the core of their fighting force in a new institution, which combined the two opposite ideals of the age, — that of the monk and that of the knight. Three orders of *fighting monks*[1] arose.

The *Knights of St. John*, or *of the Hospital*, grew out of an organization to care for the sick and wounded. Soon the nurses became themselves warriors and knights. They took the monk's threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and added a fourth, binding themselves to perpetual warfare against the infidel. The *Templars* arose in like manner out of a society to succor distressed pilgrims, and the name came

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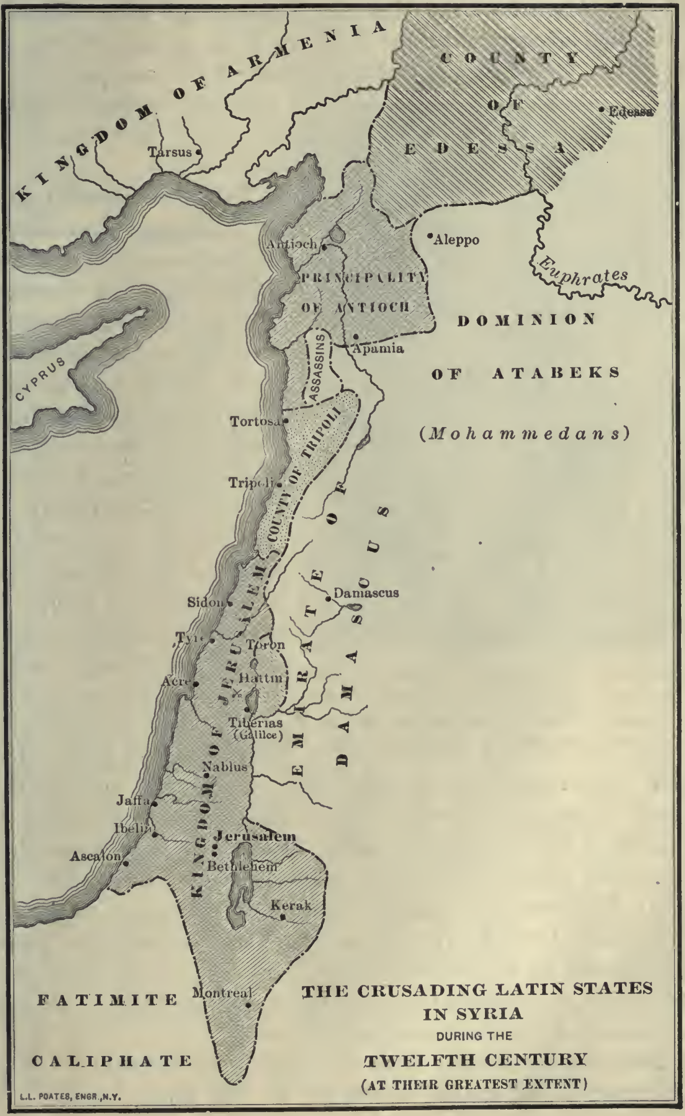
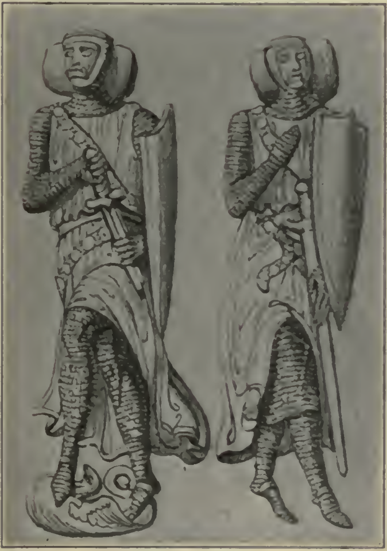
[1] Monasticism was so vital a part of medieval life that it gave birth to new forms to meet new needs. To meet the needs of the new towns, there grew up the Friar movement (§ 230), — a development of *missionary monks*; and the crusades produced these orders of *fighting monks.*


KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
Tarsus
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Aleppo
Euphrates
Antioch
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Apamia
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
DOMINION OF ATABEKS (Mohammedans)
Tortosa
Tripoli
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Toron
Hattin
Acre
Tiberias (Galilee)
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Nablus
Jaffa
Ibelin
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Kerak
Montreal
FATIMITE CALIPHATE
L.L. POATES, ENGR.,N.Y.

THE CRUSADING LATIN STATES
IN SYRIA
DURING THE
TWELFTH CENTURY
(AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT)

from the fact that the eight or nine knights who originally composed the organization dwelt in a house near Solomon's Temple. The *Teutonic Order* grew out of the hospitality of a German merchant toward his needy countrymen in Jerusalem.



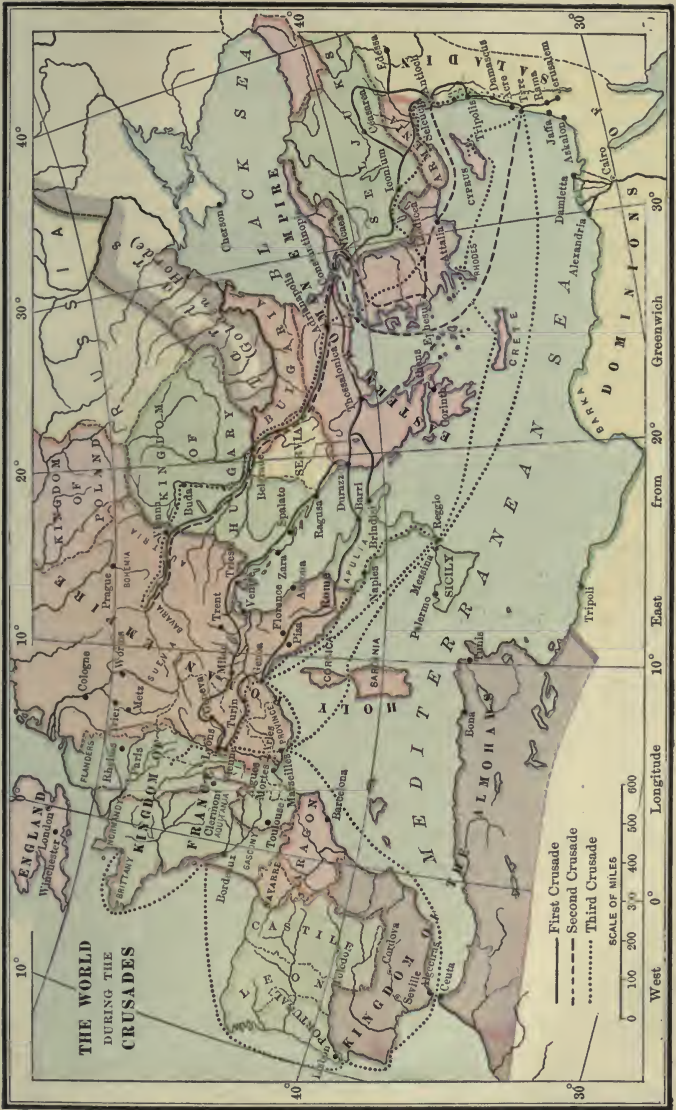
Effigies of Knights Templar, from funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The crossing of the legs in a funeral sculpture indicated a crusader.

248. The crusades were a continuous movement. From about 1100 to about 1300 there was constant fighting between Christian and Mohammedan in the East, and during all this time bands of nobles from various quarters kept going off to join the war. During the four years of the "First Crusade" the chroniclers estimated that the original army of 300,000 received reinforcements amounting in all to over a million men.

No doubt these figures were exaggerations. But the fact remains that Europe, which in the ninth century had been so defenseless against plundering bands of Norse or Saracens, had now grown strong enough to pour a ceaseless stream of mailed knights into Asia for two hundred years.

At eight particular times there were especially important movements of mighty armies into Asia. These expeditions are known as the eight crusades. But this numbering of a few great expeditions must not make us forget the continuous character of the movement as a whole.

249. The Second and Third Crusades. — For nearly fifty years the new Latin states, reinforced by the annual streams of



THE WORLD DURING THE CRUSADES

First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
West Longitude 0° East from Greenwich
10° 20° 30° 40°
ENGLAND
London
Winchester
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
FLANDERS
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Paris
Rheims
Clermont
AQUITANIA
GASCONY
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Aigues Mortes
Marseilles
Arles
PROVINCE
Lyons
Vienne
Treves
Metz
Cologne
Worms
SUEVIA
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
Prague
KINGDOM OF POLAND
AUSTRIA
Vienna
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Buda
Belgrade
SERVIA
BULGARIA
RUSSIA
CUMANS
Chersonese
BLACK SEA
Chersonesus
EMPIRE
Adrianople
Constantinople
Nicaea
Thessalonica
Athens
Corinth
Ephesus
Rhodes
CRETE
CYPRUS
Attalia
Laodicea
Iconium
SELJUKS
ARMENIA
Caesarea
Edessa
Antioch
Seleucia
Tripolis
Damascus
Acre
Tyre
Rama
Jerusalem
Jaffa
Askalon
Damietta
Cairo
Alexandria
BARKA
DOMINIONS
Tripoli
Tunis
Bona
ALMOHADES
Ceuta
Algeciras
Seville
Cordova
Toledo
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
LEON
CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Barcelona
KINGDOM
Genoa
Milan
Turin
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Ancona
Venice
Trieste
Trent
Zara
Spalato
Ragusa
Durazzo
Bari
Brindisi
APULIA
Reggio
Messina
Palermo
SICILY
SARDINIA
CORSICA
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

pilgrim-crusaders, kept the Mohammedan from the Holy Land. Finally, however, the enemy began to gain ground again, and in 1147 Europe was alarmed by the fall of Edessa, the foremost outpost of the Christian power in Syria. St. Bernard, a famous French abbot (§ 278), at once preached another great crusade. The Emperor Conrad III and King Louis VII of France were persuaded to lead the expedition. This *Second Crusade* failed miserably, from bad generalship and ignorance; but the crusaders left by it in Palestine enabled the Christian states there to make head, for a time, against the enemy.

Forty years later, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin[1] called Europe again to arms. The Christian states in Palestine had been reduced to a mere strip of coast; but now the great sovereigns of Western Europe — *Frederick Barbarossa* of Germany, *Philip II* of France, and *Richard* of England — united in a mighty effort for the recovery of the Holy Land. This *Third Crusade* is the best known and the most romantic of the whole series; but it failed, because of the death of Barbarossa (§ 227) and the jealousies between the French and English kings.

250. The Latin Empire at Constantinople. — The true crusading era closed with the Third Crusade. The failure of that movement, it is true, at once called forth another effort, but *the Fourth Crusade was diverted from its purpose into a commercial war upon a Christian state.* Venice furnished the ships for the expedition; and her rulers, jealous of Constantinople's monopoly of the eastern trade, persuaded the crusaders to attack the Greek Empire.

For a time that venerable empire disappeared, and the crusaders shared the booty among themselves. Venice took half the old imperial territory, mostly islands and coast regions. Various petty fragments were made into Frankish principalities, like the "Duchy of Athens."[1] And *a "Latin Empire" was set up at Constantinople (1204).*

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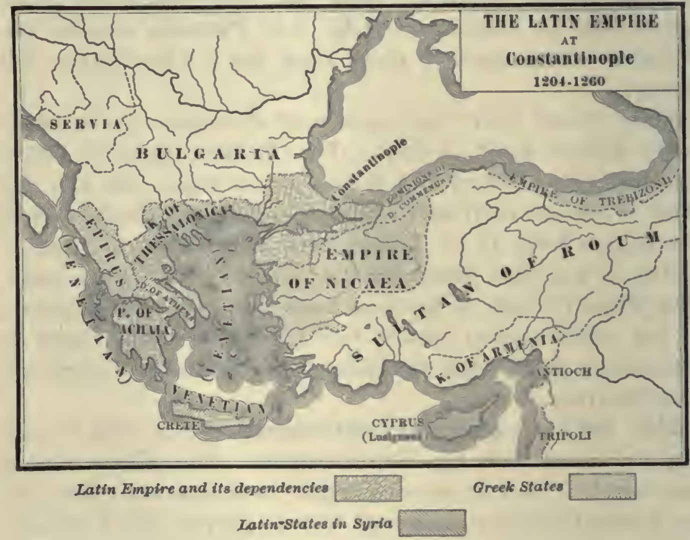
[1] Special report: character and work of Saladin. Lane-Poole's *Saladin* is a readable account.

Long wars followed between this Frank, or "Latin," state and the remnants of the Greek power. This, of course, still called itself "Roman,"—so that we read for a time of the wars of the "Latins" against the "Romans." Fifty years later, in 1261, the Greek Empire at Constantinople was restored. It was to endure two centuries more, but it never recovered its former vigor. The Fourth Crusade, in its greedy attack upon this ancient champion of Christendom in the East, was a crime against the cause of the crusades.


THE LATIN EMPIRE
AT
Constantinople
1204-1260
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Constantinople
K. OF THESSALONICA
EPIRUS
VENETIAN
D. OF ATHENS
P. OF ACHAIA
VENETIAN
CRETE
EMPIRE OF NICAEA
DOMINIONS OF D. COMMENUS
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
SULTAN OF ROUM
K. OF ARMENIA
ANTIOCH
CYPRUS (Lusignan)
TRIPOLI
Latin Empire and its dependencies
Greek States
Latin-States in Syria

251. The later crusades are of minor consequence. Their military operations were carried on largely in Egypt, which had become a chief center of Mohammedan power. After a terrible loss of life in the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, the Emperor Frederick II recovered Jerusalem by peaceful negotiation (1230), but it was soon lost again to the Turks. Then, in 1249, Louis IX of France organized the Seventh Crusade. This attempt came to nothing; and the crusading spirit expired with another expedition, twenty years later, in which Louis died at Tunis.

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[1] It was the brilliant court of these *medieval* "Dukes of Athens" that Chaucer and Shakspere had in mind in their references to *ancient* Athenian history. Cf. "Duke Theseus," in a *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Before 1300, the last territory of the Latins in Syria had fallen finally to the Turks, and thereafter men who still wished to fight for the Cross went to aid the Christian princes in Spain against the Moors, or warred against the heathen on the northeast of Europe. The Teutonic Order took up the conquest and settlement of heathen Prussia, so laying the foundation for the greatness of a future German state (map after page 248). The Knights of St. John withdrew to Rhodes, where in constant warfare, for two hundred years more, they formed the outpost of Christendom against Mohammedanism.

252. The Tartar Invasions. — Toward the close of the crusading age, Europe was threatened for a time by a greater peril than the Turks. About 1200, a great military leader appeared among the *heathen* Tartars of Asia. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords) he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian and Hunnish invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs, marked by enormous pyramids of blackened corpses.

He conquered China, northern India, and Persia, while his son invaded Europe. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia, but, ten years later, the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province; Poland and Hungary were ravaged and conquered. Half of Europe became Tartar, and these new Huns even crossed the Danube. In vain did Emperor Frederick II appeal for aid to the rest of Christendom. A German army inflicted a slight check upon the invaders; but again *Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor.* Soon afterward the vast Tartar realm fell into fragments, and the pressing danger passed away.

Parts of Asia have hardly yet recovered from the ravages of the conquest. The whole subsequent development of Russia has felt its baleful influence; and for three centuries a Tartar state, the Golden Horde, maintained itself in Southern Russia. The escape of Western Europe, through no great merit of its own, is one of the supremely fortunate events in history.

253. The crusades ceased because they themselves had helped to create a new age. The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100. Great questions at home of general interest to all Christendom, — like the investiture conflict, — had filled men's minds; and each country had its special deep interests — like the development of parliament and of courts in England. Trade had grown vastly, and society was not composed so exclusively of fighters. Men had begun to believe less in the saving value of pilgrimages to distant shrines; and they had learned to think more of their duties to the world about them.

This last is well shown in a story told by Joinville in his *Life of St. Louis* (§ 143). Joinville came of a family of famous crusaders. He had accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade, and had persisted in continuing it after all the other counselors of the king had advised return. But when Louis made his second expedition, Joinville stoutly refused to go at all. Louis urged him to join, — "Whereto I replied that while I was serving God and the king beyond sea before, the officers of the king [Louis] had ruined myself and impoverished my people; and that if I wished now to please God I should remain here to defend my people; *for if I risked myself for the Cross, when I saw clearly that it would be for the damage of my people, I should bring down upon me the wrath of God*, who gave his life to save His people. . . . And I considered that those committed a deadly sin who advised him to that voyage."

III. RESULTS

254. Intellectual Results. — The crusades failed to recover the Holy Land, but they did check the advance of the Turks into Eastern Europe, and their *indirect* results to Western

Europe were vastly more important than the recovery of Palestine could have been. They brought new energies into play, and opened up new worlds of thought. The intellectual horizon widened. Men gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners, and new standards of conduct. Even among the Arabs they had found men brave, just, honorable, and religious.

The crusaders brought back at once some new gains in science, art, architecture, and medical knowledge; and their romantic adventures furnished heroic subjects for the pen of poet and story-teller — so that literary activity was stimulated, and many histories of the crusades were written in monasteries. But, best of all, *Europeans had learned that there was more to learn*, and that even the despised infidel could teach them. There was a new stir in the intellectual atmosphere, and the way was prepared for the wonderful intellectual uprising of the following century (chapter xix).

255. Commercial Results. — As long as the Latin states in Syria lasted (nearly two hundred years), they were practically military *colonies, dependent upon Europe for weapons, horses, and supplies of food.* These things had to be transported by sea; and, after the Second Crusade, the crusaders themselves usually journeyed by ship. *This stimulated shipbuilding, and led to an increased production of many commodities for these new markets.*

Even more important was the reappearance in the West of long-forgotten Oriental products. Europeans now learned to use sugar cane, spices, dates, buckwheat, sesame, saffron, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, and various drugs and dyes, and, among new objects of manufacture, cottons, silks, rugs, calicoes, muslins, damasks, satins, velvets, delicate glassware, the cross-bow, the windmill.

Many of these things became almost necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously.

In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods, spices became of immense importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning; and at this time Europe adopted the Arabic numerals.

256. Money replaces Barter.[1] — All these commercial transactions, as well as the fitting out of the crusades themselves, called for *money*. The system of barter and of exchange of services, by which Europe had lived for some centuries, was outgrown. Until this time the Jews had been the only money-lenders. Christians had regarded all lending for interest (usury) as sinful. Bankers now appeared, and more money was coined than in preceding centuries.

257. The crusades undermined feudalism. After the appearance of money, the relations between tenant and landlord no longer needed to rest upon exchange of *services* for land. Thus the economic basis of feudalism (§ 118) was destroyed. The presence of money, too, enabled the kings to collect national revenues, and so to maintain disciplined and regular standing armies, more efficient than the old feudal array.

But the crusades struck more direct blows than these. They swept away multitudes of the feudal lords themselves. Hundreds of thousands of barons and knights squandered their possessions in preparing for the expedition, and then left their bones in Palestine. This cleared the ground. It made it easier for the monarchies, on one hand, and the city democracies on the other hand, to take possession of Europe.

258. And the crusades helped these two new systems to grow up, to take the place vacated by dying feudalism. To get money wherewith to equip their followers for the crusades, the great barons mortgaged their possessions to the kings, and sometimes the smaller barons sold theirs outright. Both classes sold charters of rights to the rising towns on their domains.

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[1] Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, II, 74–77; Adams, *Civilization*, 297.

Thus *the kings consolidated their dominions, and got rid of dangerous rivals;* and at the same time *the towns rose to political power.* Until the twelfth century there had been only two "estates," or political classes, in European society, — clergy and nobles. Now the townsmen appeared as a "third estate."[1] This "third estate" wanted order; and the kings could help to secure it. The kings wanted money; and the third estate could supply it. *So these two elements allied themselves* against the weakened remnants of the feudal system, and soon reduced feudalism to little more than a form. *It was succeeded, as a political system, by the free cities* (§§ 259 ff.) *and by the "new monarchies"* (§§ 287 ff.). A new nobility soon appeared, with the *title* and *honors* of the old, but without its power. The new nobles were dependent on the monarch, instead of being his rivals.

For Further Reading. — Three contemporary accounts are printed in the volume, *Chronicles of the Crusades.* Joinville's account in his *St. Louis* — one of the three narratives in that volume — is especially excellent. Further source material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I and II, and Archer's *Crusade of Richard I* in the series, "English History by Contemporary Writers."

Modern accounts: Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades* (probably the best account in English; especially good for the "Kingdom of Jerusalem"); Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 175–197, 295–304; Cox, *The Crusades;* Gray, *The Children's Crusade;* Gilman, *The Saracens;* Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xi; Adams, *Civilization*, ch. xi; Pears, *Fall of Constantinople;* Oman, *Byzantine Empire;* Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 157–194; Lane-Poole, *Saladin;* Perry, *St. Louis*, 154–195, 284–296. See also footnote references above.

In fiction: Scott's *Talisman.*

Special Reports. — 1. The Third Crusade. 2. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 3. The warfare of the crusaders (see Oman's *History of the Art of War*).

Exercise. — Catchword review of the crusades.

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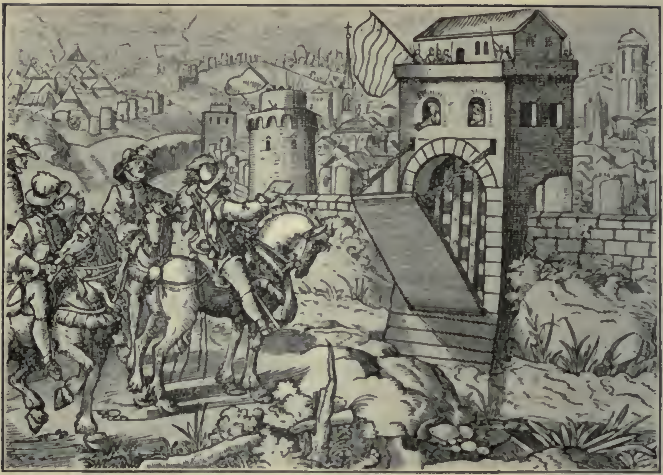
[1] The peasantry did not yet count politically, but even they were benefited by the new conditions: the fact that they might be tempted to run away to the towns (which were always glad to afford them refuge) helped to secure them better treatment from their lords.



SIEGE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN: the summons to surrender. — From a sixteenth century copper engraving.

CHAPTER XII

RISE OF THE TOWNS

259. The most important single result of the crusades was the impulse they gave to the growth of towns. *For nearly six hundred years*, before 1100, the three figures in European life had been *the tonsured priest*, *the mailed horseman*, and *the field laborer*, stunted with toil and hard fare. In the twelfth century, towns again became a large part of the life of Europe. Then, alongside priest, noble, and peasant, **there stood forth the sturdy, resolute, self-confident townsman, or burgher.**

260. **Feudalism and the towns were foes** by nature. Feudalism had arisen out of war, and lived to fight. The towns grew out of trade. They could, and did, fight stubbornly, when forced to do so; but they lived for industry. The noble tried to confound the townsman with the serf, treated him always with haughty contempt, and usually robbed him when the chance offered.

In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the continent; but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The town of Boston was holding a great fair.[1] Citizens, of course, guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentleman (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

Ruins of a Rhine Castle, above a modern town.

True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been promised protection, proved strong enough to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in a horrible panorama, without attempt at punishment. The towns could shut out the "robber knights" by walls and guards. But from their castle crags the knights swooped down upon any unwary townsman who ventured too near, and even on armed caravans of traders on the highway, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons until sometimes their limbs rotted away — so that to "rot a peasant" became a German by-word.

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[1] Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions, — since the villages and small towns had either no shops or small ones with few goods. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe, — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths. The town took toll for these booths, and usually itself paid king or noble a license fee for security.

Yet it was the "peasant" townsmen, not the knightly fighter, *who was to make our modern world what it has become.*

261. Beginnings. — *In Italy and southern France*, the old Roman towns had lived along, with shrunken population, subject to neighboring lords. Under the new impulse to trade, by 1200, these regions were once more dotted with prosperous self-governing cities, which modeled their institutions, in part at least, on those they had brought down from Roman times. *Elsewhere,* the towns were mainly new growths — from peasant villages or grim fortresses, under the influence of trade.

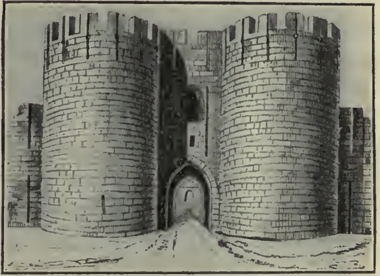
Most medieval towns were small, by our modern ideas. True, Milan, in Italy, counted 300,000 people; and some German towns claimed 50,000. But few places had more than from 3000 to 6000. Until the year 1500, England had only two towns with more than 12,000 — London and Bristol.

262. At first each inhabitant of a town remained directly dependent upon the feudal lord on whose domain the town was. **The first great advance toward freedom lay in changing this *individual* dependence into a *collective* dependence** of the citizen body as one whole. That is, the town secured the right to have its elected officers bargain with the lord regarding dues and services to be paid by the town, instead of each helpless citizen being left to settle for himself at the lord's mercy. The gain was immense — somewhat like that of the trade-union of to-day, compared with the position of a single workman bargaining with a great employer.

263. Two Centuries of Revolt. — By 1100, towns had begun to demand this privilege, and to secure written charters from the lords, expressly guaranteeing it. Sometimes they got it easily, by payments of money; sometimes they won it by blood. *The two centuries from 1100 to 1300 are the period of "the revolt of the towns."*

In 1194 Norwich, in England, paid Richard the Lion-Hearted about $ 10,000 in our values for "having the city in their own hands." In particular, the charter promised (1) that citizens should not be summoned to any law court outside the gates; (2) that they might elect their own Provost (mayor); and (3) that, in place of dues collected by royal officials, they might pay the king each year from the town treasury £ 108.

On the continent, more commonly, a town rose in arms five or six or a dozen times, and suffered terrible martyrdom, before gaining such success. The smaller nobles, in particular, fought savagely to keep all their feudal privileges. In the long conflict, cities were burned and ravaged; and countless heroic leaders of the townsmen swung in chains from the nobles' gallows, or dragged out a more lingering death in dungeons.



Gate of Aigues Mortes, a French town which won a liberal charter in 1246.

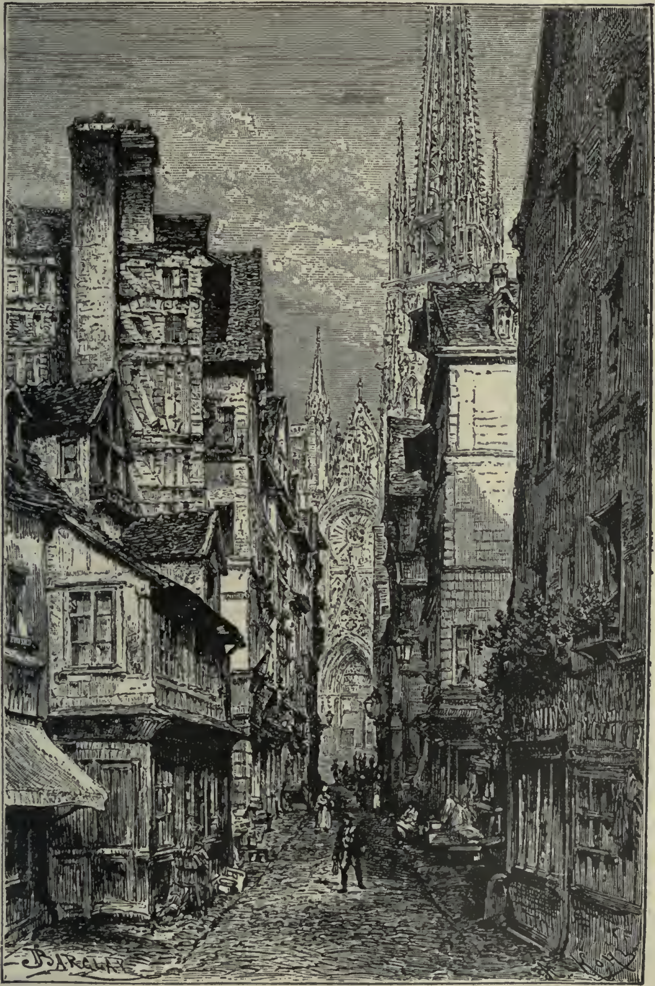
Nor did one victory for a town end the matter. The first charter was usually brief and vague — and so became the occasion for later struggles to obtain more precise and extensive grants. Many a medieval town guarded carefully several successive charters in its ironbound town chest.

The great lords felt less jealous of the towns' liberties; and kings sometimes gave charters willingly, to encourage the growth of towns on their domains, partly to secure increased revenues, partly to build up a check upon the feudal lords. Then we have noted that, in the long conflict between emperors and popes, both parties sold liberties freely to rising towns. And during the crusades, great numbers of lords sold charters recklessly, to get funds for their expeditions; while the towns found even more advantage in the destruction of countless noble families in those movements. So, in one way or another, by 1300, by stubborn heroism and by the wealth which their industry had heaped up, the towns had won.

264. Town life showed new wants, new comforts, new occupations. Thatched hovels, with dirt floors, gave way to comfortable and even stately burghers' homes. Universal misery and squalor among the industrial classes were replaced, for a large part of the population, by happy comfort; and there followed a lavish expenditure for town halls and cathedrals and for civic feasts and shows.

Still, the medieval European city fell far behind the ancient Greek or Roman city or the contemporary Arabian city. There were no street lights at night, no city water supply, no sewerage, no street-cleaning, no paving. The necessity of inclosing the town within lofty stone walls crowded it into small space, so that streets were always narrow and dark. Dead animals rotted in these streets, and on one occasion in the fifteenth century a German emperor, warmly welcomed in a loyal city, was almost swallowed up, horse and rider, in the bottomless filth, as he entered the city-gate. Frankfort, in 1387, found it necessary to forbid the building of pigsties in the public streets; and Ulm a little later was troubled by swine running loose.

Within doors, too, the material prosperity was not for all. Says Dr. Jessopp, "The sediment of the town population was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair." There was no adequate police system, and street fights were constant. At night, no well-to-do citizen stirred abroad without his armor and his guard of



OLD STREET IN ROUEN, present condition. The Cathedral is visible at the opening of the street into the square. Probably the appearance of the street has changed little since the fourteenth century.

stout apprentice lads; and he was always compelled to fortify and guard his house.

The citizen, too, however safe from feudal tyranny, lived in bondage to countless minute and annoying, but necessary, town regulations. When the great bell in the town belfry or watchtower rang the "curfew" at night, he must "cover his fire" and put out all lights, — a precaution against conflagration which was particularly necessary because of the closely crowded, narrow streets, and the absence of fire companies and police. He could plant in his garden no more than a specified number of trees. His clothing, and his wife's ornaments must be no richer than those prescribed for his particular station in society. Above all, he must serve his oft-recurring turn as "watch" in the belfry tower, on the walls, at the gates, or in the streets at night.

265. Gilds. — The people of a town, except the unskilled laborers, were grouped in *gilds*, as in old Roman times (§ 29). The idea of the gild was that all men in the same kind of work in a given district ought to unite, to help one another and to arrange matters in which they were all interested. Each medieval town had its *merchant gild* and its many *craft gilds*. These latter were unions of artisans, — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, bow-makers, drapers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English city of some two or three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty. Even the homes of a gild were grouped together. One street was the street of the armorers; another, of the goldsmiths; and on on.

Each craft gild contained three classes of members, — masters, journeymen, and apprentices. *The master* owned a shop, — probably part of the house where his family lived, — and employed one or more journeymen, besides a band of apprentices.

Strictly, *apprentices* were not members of the gild, except in prospect, but they were governed by its rules. They were boys or youths bound out by their parents for a term of years to learn the trade. They lived in the master's house, ate at his table, and he furnished their clothing and taught them "all he knew."

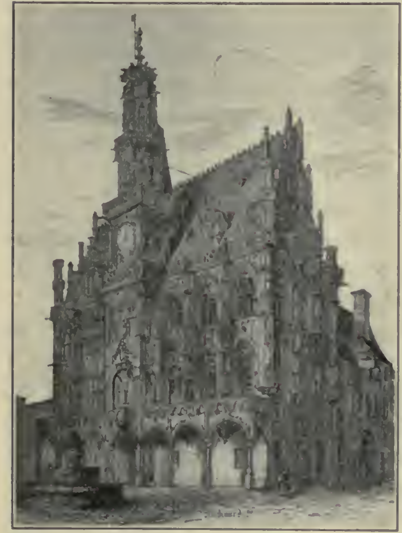
On the expiration of the term of service (three, seven, or ten years), the apprentice became *a free journeyman*, working for wages. For the next few years he traveled from place to place, practising his trade in various cities, to see the world and to perfect himself in his "mystery," as the secrets of the trade were called.

If he could save the small amount of money needed, he finally set up a shop of his own and became a master. As a master, he continued to work with his own hands, living among his dependents with a more or less paternal care over them.

The modern separation between capital and labor had not yet begun, so far as the skilled trades were concerned. Manufacturing was still carried on wholly by hand labor; and the tools of the artisan were like those simple instruments that had been used in ancient Egypt or Chaldea.

The gild was not organized, as the modern trade-union is, to regulate the relations of workmen to employers. It was a *brotherhood*, containing both workmen and employers. Its purposes were (1) to prevent competition (and so all who practised the trade were forced to enter the gild and abide by its rules); (2) to prevent monopoly of materials or of opportunity by any of its members (and so each "brother" had a right to share in any purchase by another, and no one could sell except at appointed times and places); (3) to keep up the price (which was fixed by the gild); and (4) *to maintain a high standard of goods* (and so the gild punished severely all adulterations, the mixing of poor wool with good, and the giving short weight). *Thus the gild aimed to protect both producer and consumer.*

The gild was also a fraternal insurance society: it provided assistance for a needy member, attended to the burial of a deceased member, and, if he died poor, paid pensions to his wife and children and the dowry for his daughter's marriage. Moreover, the gild had social features. Indeed, many a gild originated as a social club for men engaged in the same trade, and throughout the Middle Ages the gild feasts were the chief social event in the lives of the gild members.



Medieval Town Hall, Oudenarde.

266. A mighty *political* change, also, followed the rise of towns. The townsmen became a "third estate" in government. We must not, however, think of them yet as "the people" of a nation, in the modern sense. They were only one more "class" risen from the unreckoned mass, to stand beside the smaller but higher classes, priests and knights. *Society continued for centuries to be organized in classes*, not as one people; and the new "third estate" looked down upon the mass of unskilled workmen and farm peasants with the same bigoted and cruel contempt with which it was itself regarded by the nobles.[1] So far as the burghers fought for popular liberty, they did so unconsciously. They *thought* only of their own liberties; and their spirit was as narrow and jealous as that of any feudal lord.

Even within a city, political rights, like material comforts, were only for a part of the inhabitants, — the traders and the skilled artisans. Unskilled laborers had no share in the government of the city.

Moreover, the merchants and the artisans were mutually jealous; and for two centuries (1200–1400), in city after city, the aristocratic merchant gild struggled in ferocious civil war to shut out the more democratic craft gilds from the city government. At Magdeburg in 1302 the democratic party, securing the upper hand, burned ten aristocratic aldermen at the stake at one time.

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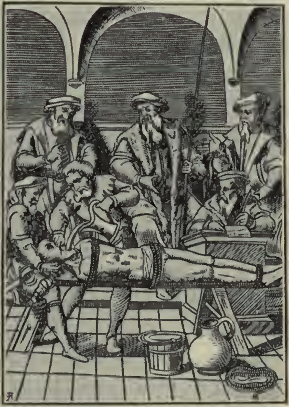
[1] See an excellent statement in Adams' *Civilization*, 305-307.

267. English towns grew up later than those on the continent. They found the royal authority more firmly established; and so, like the English nobles, they never possessed the extreme independence common elsewhere in Europe.

Each town, however, built its walls and armed and trained its citizen-militia to defend them. It elected its own officers, and prescribed their powers. Royal officers could not enter its gates without permission from the town authorities, and they could exercise no *direct* control within its walls. The towns-folk paid a tax to the government, and they furnished troops, upon occasion; but both tax and troops they levied in their own way. Offenses committed within the town were tried in the mayor's court, and were punished by ducking in the pond, by fines, flogging, mutilation, beheading, or by hanging in chains on the town gallows at the city gate.[1] The town passed ordinances on many matters now regulated by the nation. They did not fix their own weights and measures, or coin



TORTURE BY WATER, a method used in medieval towns. See footnote. This particular form of torture to compel confession survived to recent times in the Spanish Philippines, and was adopted by American soldiers there in the barbarous warfare with the natives.

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[1] On the continent the city authorities sometimes exposed criminals in iron cages, pulled away the flesh of blasphemers with red-hot tongs, and boiled forgers in oil, pouring in cold water, from time to time, that death might not come quickly.

their own money, as continental towns commonly did; but the English town magistrates supervised all industry, and, in particular, they looked after the making and sale of food stuffs — bread, meal, ale, wine, meat, fish — fixing quality, time and place of sale, and price. It was their special duty to guard against a season of scarcity by collecting grain in the town's warehouses. This custom, too, prevailed on the continent. In 1540, at Nuremberg, the Emperor Charles V (§ 326) was given bread to taste, made from wheat that was said to have been kept in the town granary 118 years.

Each English town, too, fixed and collected its own tariffs on goods brought through its gates; and the *Cinque Ports* (a league of five towns on the Channel) waged war on their own account with French and Flemish towns. It was customary, too, for one town to make special treaties with others regarding trading privileges. Southampton had formal treaties with seventy other English towns; and, within twenty years, London sent three hundred letters on such matters to the officials of ninety different towns.

268. Italy showed the greatest degree of town independence (§ 226). But, before 1350, most of the cities there had sunk under the rule of "tyrants," who found their opportunity in the incessant wars between town and town. Florence, with her stirring democracy, kept her freedom until after 1400; and, indeed, she kept the forms of freedom, under her *Medici*[1] rulers, for nearly a century more. And *Venice*, under her aristocratic government, built up a mighty maritime empire, like that of ancient Carthage or of Athens, and stood forth as one of the chief Powers in Europe.

269. In France the southern towns were for a time almost as independent as those in Italy, and many of those in the north secured greater liberties than were known in England. However, when the French kings were finally victorious over feudalism, they perfected the consolidation of the realm by

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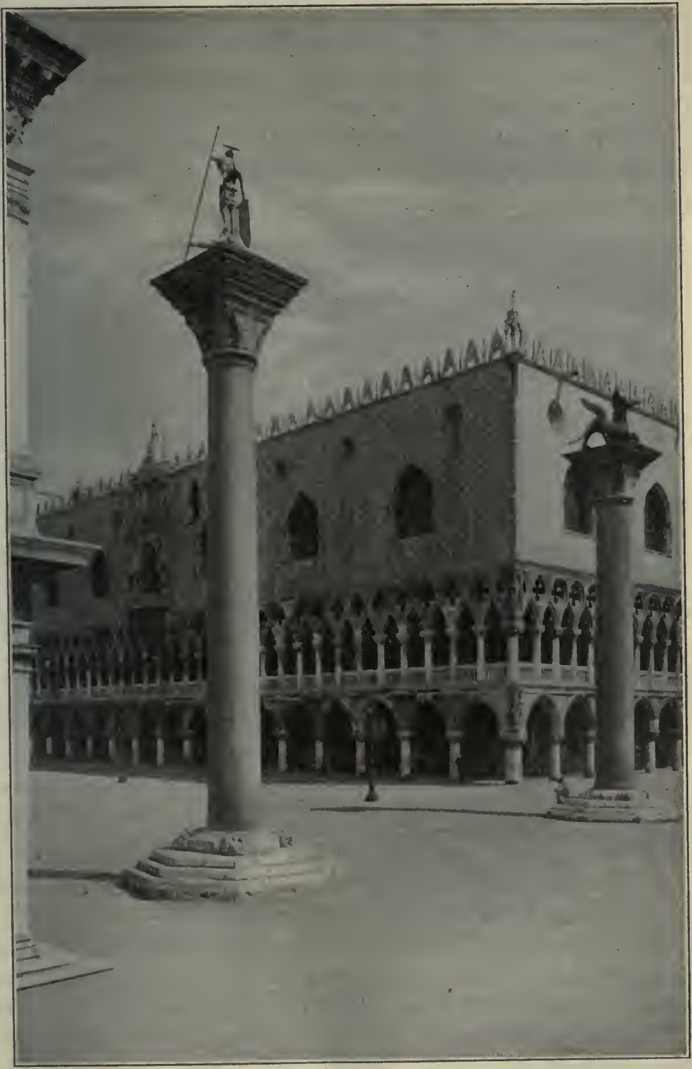
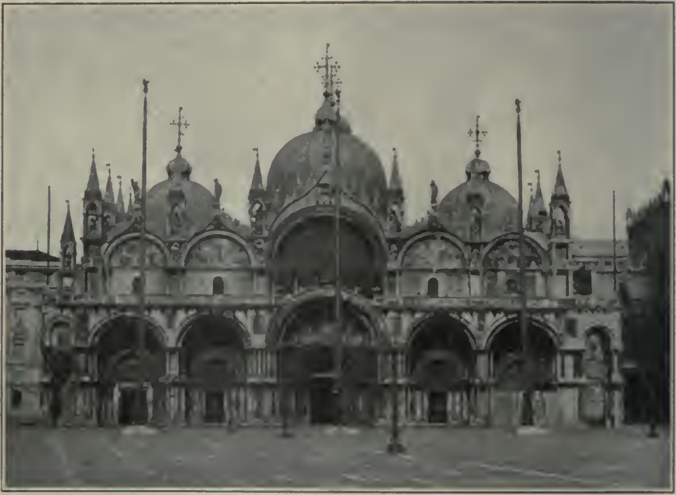
[1] Special reports: the Medici rule in Florence; famous Florentines from 1250 to 1500; Venice from 1000 to 1500.



THE DUCAL PALACE, VENICE, facing the Square of St. Mark's.

bringing the towns completely under their authority. Thus, before 1400, after a shorter life than elsewhere in Europe, the early liberties of French towns had wholly disappeared, and they were ruled by royal officers.

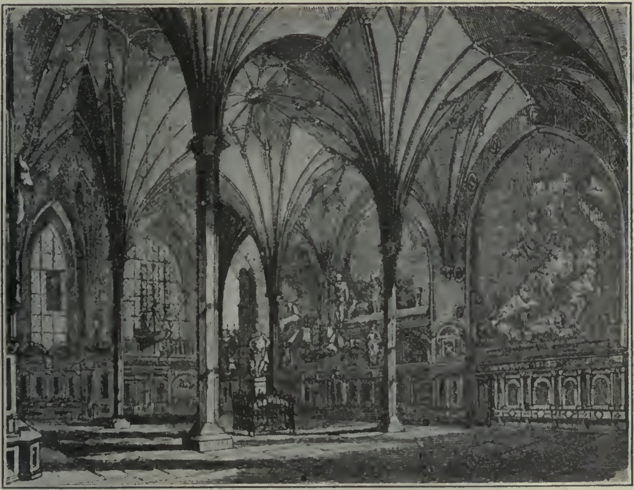
270. In Germany, after 1250 (§ 234), many towns secured liberal charters directly from the emperors, and became known as "free cities of the Empire." Like the German principalities, they were really sovereign states. Most of them belonged to one of two great leagues: —



ST. MARK'S, VENICE, from a photograph; perhaps the most famous example of "Byzantine architecture," which was based upon the Romanesque, and modified by Gothic and Saracenic influences. Note the use of domes and minarets. See also the *Ducal Palace* on page 245.

The Confederacy of the Rhine numbered some fifty of the leading towns of *southern* Germany. It was organized for defense against the nobles, and for a time it seemed likely to secure a position equal to that of the great princes. This brilliant promise was ruined by a victory of the princes over the League at the battle of *Döffingen* (1388), but many of the separate towns retained their independence into the nineteenth century.

The Hanseatic League ("Hansa," — an old German word for "union") was composed of eighty *northern* German towns. It grew up about 1300, out of earlier unions of small groups of cities; and it was organized, not for political purposes, like the Lombard and the Rhine Leagues, but to protect trade against pirates and robbers, and to secure greater advantages in foreign countries than single cities could secure for themselves.

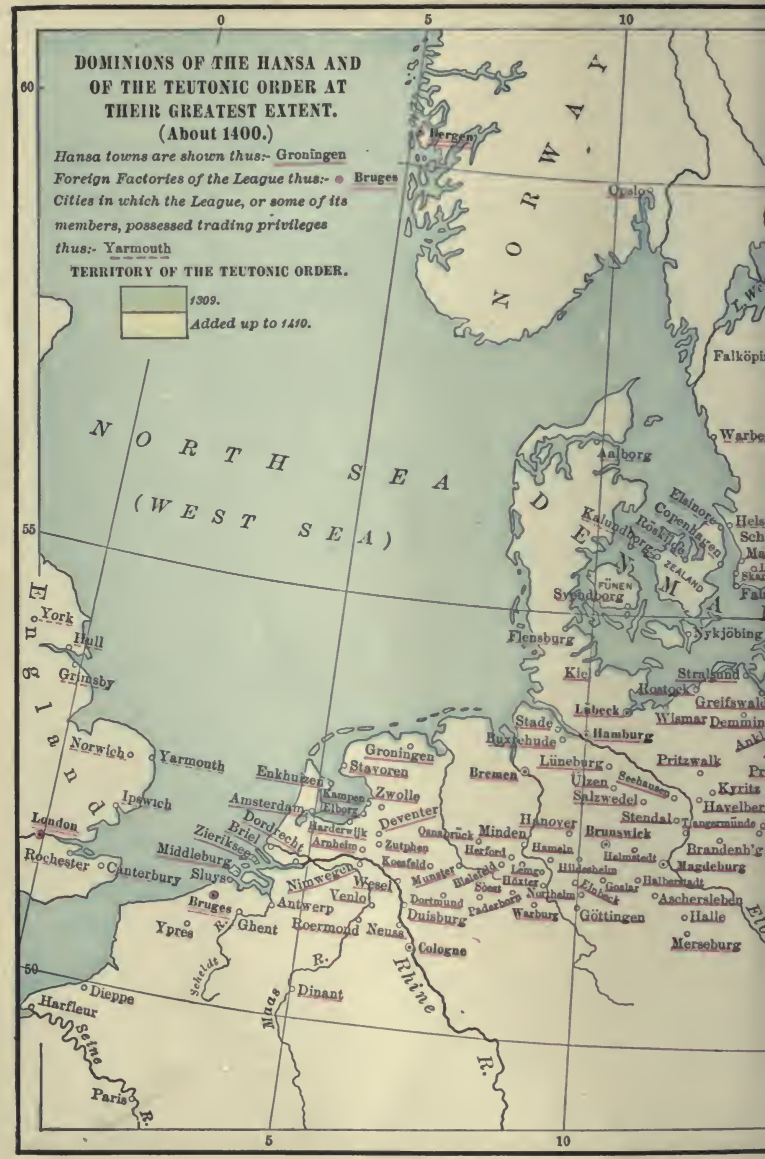


Interior of Hall of Merchant Princes at Dantzig. Originally a Hall of the Teutonic Knights (about 1300). — From Lübke.

It established colonies, or "factories," in foreign cities, as in London, Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and Wisby. Each such colony had its own government and its own soldiery, independent of those of the other parts of the city in which it was imbedded. The Hanseatic settlement in London was known as the *Steelyard.* The importance of the Hansa in English trade is indicated by the fact that the coin (pound) of the "Easterlings" (from the East, or Baltic, Sea), became the "pound sterling" in English currency; and the trustworthy character of their wares is shown by the meaning of the word "sterling" in our language.

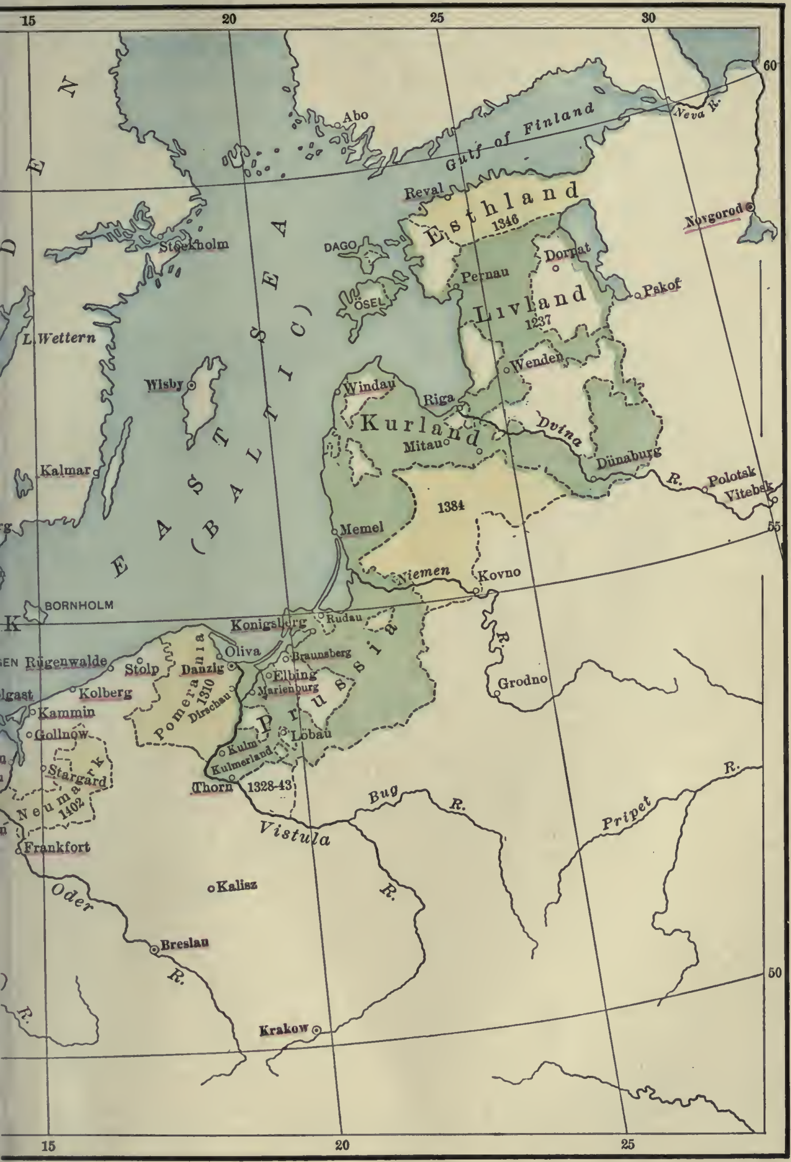
CA D'ORO, a Venetian Palace built in the thirteenth century.

By war, or threats of war, the Hansa won trading privileges from the kings of England and other northern countries. In 1370 Waldemar of Denmark was compelled after long strife to sign the *Peace of Stralsund*, which provided that future Danish kings must have the sanction of the League before they mounted the throne. For a century the League was one



DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT. (About 1400.)

Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- ● Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
0
5
10
60
55
50
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
NORWAY
Bergen
Oslo
Falköpi
Warbe
DENMARK
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Röskilde
Kalundborg
ZEALAND
FÜNEN
Svendborg
Nykjöbing
Hels
Sch
Ma
Skan
Fal
Flensburg
Kiel
Stralsund
Rostock
Greifswald
Wismar
Demmin
Lübeck
Stade
Hamburg
Buxtehude
Ankl
Groningen
Stavoren
Bremen
Lüneburg
Ülzen
Seehausen
Salzwedel
Pritzwalk
Kyritz
Havelberg
Pr
Enkhuizen
Kampen
Zwolle
Elborg
Amsterdam
Deventer
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Zutphen
Dordrecht
Briel
Zieriksee
Middleburg
Sluys
Bruges
Ypres
Ghent
Antwerp
Nimwegen
Wesel
Venlo
Roermond
Neuss
Cologne
Duisburg
Dortmund
Munster
Koesfeld
Osnabrück
Minden
Herford
Bielefeld
Lemgo
Soest
Paderborn
Höxter
Northeim
Warburg
Hanover
Hameln
Hildesheim
Brunswick
Helmstedt
Stendal
Tangermünde
Brandenb'g
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Goslar
Elnbeck
Göttingen
Aschersleben
Halle
Merseburg
Elbe
England
York
Hull
Grimsby
Norwich
Yarmouth
Ipswich
London
Rochester
Canterbury
Dieppe
Harfleur
Seine
Paris
R.
Scheldt
R.
Maas
Dinant
R.
Rhine
R.


15
20
25
30
60
55
50
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Neva R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
ÖSEL
Pernau
Dorpat
Livland
1237
Pskof
L. Wettern
Wisby
Wenden
Windau
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina
Dünaburg
R.
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Kalmar
1384
Memel
Niemen
Kovno
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Oliva
Braunsberg
Rügenwalde
Stolp
Danzig
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Elbing
Marienburg
Prussia
Kolberg
Kammin
Gollnow
Löbau
Kulm
Kulmerland
Stargard
Neumark
1402
Thorn
1328-43
Grodno
Bug
R.
Vistula
R.
Pripet
R.
Frankfort
Oder
Kalisz
Breslau
R.
Krakow
R.
SEA (BALTIC)
15
20
25

of the Great Powers of Europe. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas and over nearly every counting house from London to Novgorod. The League owned fisheries and mines; and in their trading posts there met, for exchange, furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic coasts, metals of Saxony, wines of the Rhine, wool and tin of England, cloths of Holland, and the more distant products of the South and East.

As the other northern countries developed, the Hansa lost its preëminence and its special privileges. Some of its cities, however, remained sovereign states until late in the nineteenth century; and three of them — Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck — entered the present German Empire, when it was formed in 1871, on equal terms with the other confederating states.

271. City Leagues. — For a time, in the thirteenth century, it must have seemed possible that Europe would give up its feudal life for city life, and become an enlarged copy of ancient Greece. The Lombard League defeated the great Barbarossa. The Confederacy of the Rhine claimed equality with the princes of the Empire. In southern France the cities predominated over feudalism. In the rising Christian states in Spain, the towns were among the freest in Europe, and were bound together in a Holy League to resist feudal encroachment. Even in England, an early beginning of such a league was to be seen in the alliance of the Cinque Ports (§ 267). In distant Russia, great cities, like Novgorod, Vladimir, Kief, and Moscow, had grown up, where the ringing of the town bell called thousands of citizens to arms, to prescribe terms to princes. And the Hanseatic League was beginning to dominate the coasts and waters of the northern seas.

Most of these unions, however, were short-lived. The cities did not become the *sole* political force, like cities in Ancient Greece. This was well. Medieval cities, like Greek cities, could not of themselves alone afford a *permanant* basis for order and liberty. It was a good thing that Europe did not pass too rapidly into the city stage, but moved instead toward that larger *national* life which ancient Greece never reached.[1]

FOR FURTHER READING. — Source material: town charters and gild rules are given in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, No. 1. Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 57, gives some twelfth century charters.

Modern accounts: brief statements of great value are to be found in Adams, *Civilization*, 290–310; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 57–95; Green, *English People*, I, 206–225; Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, I, 197–214; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, I, 181–202; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns;* Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 520–540. On gilds, — Robinson's *Readings*, I, 409–412.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Mystery plays as presented by the gilds. 2. The Hansa and the herring fishery. 3. Fairs in the Middle Ages (see Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 75–79, or Cutts' *Scenes and Characters in the Middle Ages*, 506–508).

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[1] *Ancient World*, § 268.

CHAPTER XIII

LEARNING AND ART IN THE FEUDAL AGE

I. SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

272. The "Dark Ages" of Europe covered six centuries, from the Teutonic invasions to the Crusades. We have noted that the old Roman schools and learning vanished during the invasions of the fifth century. There was a brief gleam of promise in the time of Charlemagne, and some remarkable English and Irish schools[1] flourished just before him, and again, a little later, in the day of Alfred. But these were points of light in a vast gloom. On the whole, from 500 to 1100, the only schools were those connected with monasteries or cathedrals, and these aimed only to fit for the duties of the clergy. Much of the time, even this important task was performed poorly. King Alfred was not the only reformer who complained of priests who could not read the services they mumbled by rote (§ 107).

The best Cathedral schools claimed to teach the "seven liberal arts" of the ancient classical education (§ 18). They did teach students to talk a barbarous medieval sort of Latin, and gave some practice in *writing it* and in *reasoning*. This instruction was a shrunken survival of the Roman **trivium,** *Language, Rhetoric, and Logic.* Even slimmer was the pretense to teach the Roman **quadrivium** of sciences. As a great American scholar has summed it up (Dr. Dana Munro, *Middle Ages*), — "In *arithmetic* the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in *music,* what was necessary for the church services;

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[1] These schools offer an excellent topic for a special report by a bright student, especially if he has access to Zimmern's *Irish Culture.*

in *geometry*, a few of the simplest problems; in *astronomy*, enough to calculate the date of Easter."

There was *no study of nature*, and there were almost no textbooks. There was no inquiry and no criticism or discussion. The teacher dictated (in Latin) dry summaries, word by word. Students wrote these down and committed them to memory for recitation. Such schools could not *advance* learning; but they did *keep alive some desire for it.*

273. About 1100, Europe began to stir from its long torpor of the intellect. *The new towns set up lay schools*, to train for business and trades. These schools taught reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and geography; and they *taught*, not in Latin, but *in the "vernacular"* (the speech of the people). That is, they sought to bring education to greater numbers and to fit it to the needs of daily life.

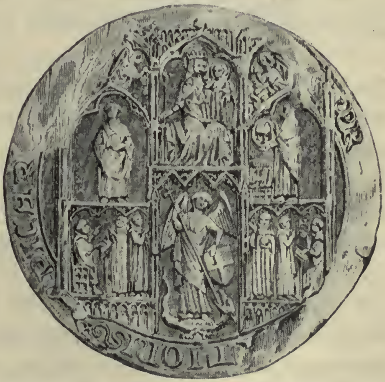
At first, the *church schools* made little change in their courses, but their spirit improved. The teachers began to draw some real scholarship from Arabian universities at Cordova and Alexandria and from the Greek learning that still lingered at Constantinople; *and here and there they ventured to add lectures on new subjects*, — theology, medicine, law.

Soon the crusades added tremendously to the intellectual awakening; and **the result of all these impulses was the medieval university.**

274. One of the earliest universities, and the most famous of them all, **was the University of Paris.** The Cathedral of Notre Dame there had been famous for its school for fifty years; but that school began to grow into a university when *Peter Abelard* taught there, *about 1115.*

Abelard was from a noble family in Brittany, but he chose the life of a churchman rather than that of a knight. He was an attractive youth, with a brilliant and restless mind, and the gift of simple and graceful speech. He came to the Paris school as a student; but his teachers soon declared him their master in learning and in eloquence, and at twenty-two he began to lecture to eager crowds on theology and philosophy and the principles of right living. A cruel disappointment in love, and the jealous hatred of intellectual rivals, drove him from Paris. Thousands of students followed him, however, from place to place; and when he sought solitude for a time, as a hermit, they covered the desert about him with their tents and reed huts, and heaped their offerings before his retreat.

Such an experience proved that Europe was hungry for knowledge, if only it knew where to seek for it. The impulse Abelard had given to the school at Paris was not lost. Other teachers flocked thither, to satisfy the remaining students whom his fame had drawn together; and soon a new body of teachers in theology and philosophy, as well as in the seven "arts," grew up about the Cathedral school, *but wholly separate from it.* Before 1150, several hundred "masters" were offering instruction in the "Latin Quarter" of Paris. At first each taught students who came to him in his *own dwelling*, collecting his fees from them as best he could; but about 1150, the masters organized, so as to confer degrees and to establish common rules. *This marks the beginning of a definite "University of Paris,"* with a recognized "faculty." Before long, the university began to have buildings and lecture halls.



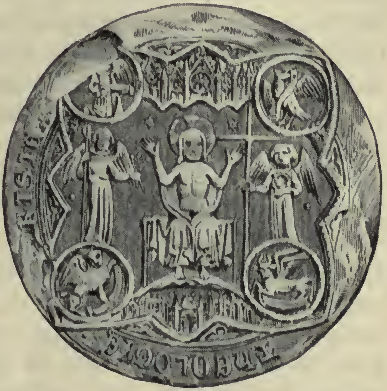
Seal of the Picardy Nation of the University of Paris, fourteenth century.

The students ranged from boys of fourteen to gray-bearded men, and they came from all parts of Europe. Those from one country grouped themselves together for mutual protection and companionship; and each such group became known as a "nation." A "nation," however, sometimes included students from several adjoining countries, — like the "English nation," which contained men from all the north of Europe. There were four "nations" at Paris, each with several subdivisions. The government of the university as a whole was in the hands of the faculty; but there was some self-government by the students. The nations and subdivisions elected "deans" and "proctors" to look after discipline. The university was a "Republic of Letters."

When the teachers organized, *they copied the form of the gilds* (§ 265). The professors, or "doctors," were "masters." They licensed the more advanced students, after the completion of the course in "arts," as "bachelors in arts," authorized to teach the younger students in those courses from which they themselves had graduated. These bachelors corresponded to the journeymen of the trade gilds, while the more elementary students corresponded to apprentices. The forms of public examination, and of graduation from one of these three stages to another, were copied, too, from gild customs. Some of them survive in our universities to-day.

For nearly a century, the government of the University of Paris remained just this voluntary association of teachers and students, independent of the civil government and of the church. But many quarrels arose between students and townsfolk (the first "town and gown" rows, such as are described for a later period in *Tom Brown at Oxford*); and, in the year 1200, five students were killed in one of these fights. The faculty stood by the students, and threatened to remove the university. To prevent that disaster to the city, King Philip Augustus gave the university its first charter, making it a "corporation," — that is, a *person* in the eye of the law, — able to own property, and in this case, with extreme rights of self-government. The students were to be tried and punished for crimes only by university authorities, not by courts of city or king.

275. Other Universities. — "University" did not at first imply instruction in all forms of knowledge, as it has come to do. The term, as it was used in early charters, meant only "all of you"; and it became the common legal name for a "corporation" of teachers and students. A university always had a course in "arts," based on the old *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and the majority of students went no further than this. But graduates of this course were offered one or more professional courses,—law, medicine, or theology.



SEAL OF THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AT PARIS, fourteenth century.

Paris, we have seen, specialized in **theology** (which included philosophy). The *University of Salerno*, in southern Italy, grew out of a monastery school, through the prominence that *Constantine the African* gave there to the study of **medicine** about 1100. Constantine was an African Greek, who had studied in Arabian universities; and his school received charters of privileges from Robert Guiscard (§ 218). The five-years' medical course required a preparation of three years in "arts."

About the same time, at Bologna, Irnerius, a teacher of **Roman law**, drew students from all Europe. In 1158 Frederick Barbarossa confirmed this *University of Bologna* in the rights it had come to enjoy. "We owe," said Barbarossa's charter, "protection to all our subjects, but especially to those whose knowledge enlightens the world." Bologna was soon known as "the Mother of Laws." Thus it has been said that the needs of the body gave rise to Salerno, the needs of men in society created Bologna, and the eternal needs of the soul originated Paris.

276. State Universities. — The next great step was taken in 1224, when the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, as King of Sicily, *created* by charter the *University of Naples, to combine all* *branches of instruction*, "in order that those who hunger for knowledge may find *within the kingdom* the food for which they yearn, and not be forced to go into exile to beg the bread of learning in strange lands." *The University of Naples was the first university* ***created*** *by a government.* It was also distinctly a "state university." The government appointed the professors, endowed chairs, and issued degrees in the different professions. The professors were free from taxes and from military service, and had many other privileges copied from those of the clergy and from those of the teachers in old Roman universities. Like privileges were secured soon by all university professors.

277. Summary. — The story of the University of Paris may stand for that of most other *early* universities. They did not come into existence at a precise moment. They were *voluntary* associations of teachers and students. They usually grew out of some church school, but they became lay schools, with the form of gilds. Slowly they took to themselves, by custom, many special privileges; and later these were confirmed to them by charters from kings or popes. Later still, enlightened rulers began to *create* new universities, as Frederick II did that of Naples, — until, before 1400, some *fifty universities dotted Western Europe.* Some single institutions claimed to have twelve, or even twenty, thousand students.

For a long time, a university had little in the way of buildings. Thus it could move easily; and, by threats of doing so, it compelled its town to put up with much student turbulence and crime. The great University of Padua did grow out of a secession from Bologna; and a like secession from Paris to Oxford in England first made that place a real university town.

When the university did not move, the individual students very commonly did. All medieval life was more *fluid* than we can easily comprehend. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen, were always on the move; but *the poor scholar was the typical wanderer* of them all, often begging his bread on his travels. Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Bologna, to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher — and to see the world by the way; and often they traveled in considerable bands, with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement. Public stage coaches are said to have grown up to meet the needs of student travel.

Thus, before 1300, another figure had come into European life. Alongside peasant, knight, priest, and townsman, there moved now the student (or learned "doctor") in cap and gown. The lay lawyers in England (§ 183) in Edward the First's day came from this new class. Of all five, the townsman and the university man were the men of the coming day.

II. THE SCHOOLMEN

278. The University of Paris had *begun* in a spirit of fearless inquiry. Alone among the scholars of his time, Abelard dared to call man's reason the test of truth — even in the matter of church doctrines. He did not himself doubt those doctrines, so far as we know; but devout churchmen were alarmed at his method of teaching, which *invited* doubt. His chief opponent was *St. Bernard*, head of the famous monastery of Clairvaux. Not reason, he urged, but faith and love enable man to understand the ways of God. Man might not use his reason to ask whether or not a doctrine of the church was true, but, at most, only to understand *how* it was true, — to *confirm* the teachings of the church, but never to *question* them. This view prevailed. A church council condemned Abelard as a heretic, and his books were burned.

Bernard was a far better man than Abelard, and one of the most charming and lovely characters in history. His abilities and his holy life gave him an influence greater than that of any king or emperor of his day, living as he did between the time of Hildebrand and Innocent III. But his victory over Abelard cast the rising universities into chains. Teachers thereafter did not appeal to reason as a guide in *any* matter, but always to authority, — in human matters as in religion. Some garbled parts of the science of Aristotle (a Greek of the fourth century B.C.) had been recovered through Arabian translations from the Greek, and they soon came to be regarded with superstitious reverence by all learned men. "Thus saith Aristotle" was as final an argument in science as "Thus saith the church" in religion.

The universities were captured wholly by this reverence for authority. They yielded to the spirit of the Middle Ages; and the intellectual rebirth of Europe was delayed two centuries more, — to come at last from outside their walls.

279. The universities took refuge in a method of reasoning called *scholasticism* (the method of the *schools*). It was the method we use in geometry, — *deducing* a truth from given premises or axioms. But this method is utterly barren, by itself, except in mathematics. It ignores observation and experiment and investigation, and it has never discovered a new truth in nature or in man. The schoolmen did not use it in mathematics. They could not use it in science. And so they turned in upon their own minds, and, from premises that had no relation to real things, they built up vast systems of *speculation*, amazingly constructed, but valueless for practical life.

At the same time, scholasticism had its good side. It was an admirable system of mental gymnastics. The schoolmen developed wonderful acuteness in drawing nice *verbal* distinctions. They have been sometimes ridiculed unjustly for *childishness* in discussing such questions as, How many spirits can dance at one time on the point of a needle. But in this discussion they were trying to decide the nature of space, — a question very far from childish. Their real fault was that they concerned themselves with such problems rather than with something that would have helped the world about them.

About the year 1600, Francis Bacon (an English thinker) referred to the "degenerate learning" that "did reign among the Schoolmen

. . . For if the wit of men . . . work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and bringeth forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

280. The three great Schoolmen of the thirteenth century were *Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino,* and *Duns the Scot.*

Albert (Albertus Magnus, died 1280) was a German Dominican who had studied at Bologna and at Paris. He mingled with his studies enough of curious speculation upon the properties of stones, plants, and animals to be accused of the "black art," but he taught positively that the blood of a stag would soften a diamond, without ever trying an experiment upon the matter.

Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) was an Italian Dominican, and a pupil of Albertus Magnus. He studied at Naples and Paris, and afterward lectured at Paris to immense audiences. He became known as "the angelic doctor." His great work summing up Christian theology is the most complete of all such published systems and is still looked upon as a standard authority.

Duns Scotus (died 1308) was among the last of the great Schoolmen. He was so popular that an able disciple was proud to be called "a Duns." When a better intellectual method arose, after the revival of Greek learning, the term became one of contempt. It survives in "dunce."

281. A Forerunner of the Scientific Method. — Some little science crept into Europe by 1200 from the Arabs, especially in astronomy and chemistry. But the astronomy was mostly astrology, — a system of telling fortunes by the stars. And chemistry was little more than a search for the "philosopher's stone" which should change common metals into gold, or for the elixir of life, a drink that should make a man immortal. And both astrologers and chemists, whether honest or quacks, were generally believed to have sold their souls to the devil in return for forbidden knowledge.

The thirteenth century, however, saw one attempt to study nature in a scientific way. *Roger Bacon*,[1] an English Franciscan (died 1294), is sometimes called a Schoolman, but he spent his life in pointing out the lacks of the scholastic method and in trying to make clear the principles of true science. His "Great Work" was a cyclopedia of thirteenth-century knowledge in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

He was a devoted student, working under difficulties incredible to us. Fourteen years he spent in prison, for his opinions. More than once he sought all over Europe for years for a copy of a book, when a modern scholar would need only to send a note to the nearest bookseller. He learned of the ocean east of China, and speculated convincingly upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic (§ 343). He knew much about chemical explosives, and is believed to have invented gunpowder. He is thought also to have used lenses as a telescope. Probably he foresaw the possibility of using steam as a motive power. Certainly he prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed," without the help of horses or sails, and also that man would learn to navigate the air.

But Bacon lived at least a century too soon, and he found no disciples. In 1258 Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, visited Bacon and wrote as follows to a friend in Italy: —

> Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright. *This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil.* A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the se-

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[1] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century friar, must not be confused with Francis Bacon, his more famous but no more deserving countryman, of three centuries later.

crets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, *who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.*

For Further Reading. — (1) *On Universities:* Sources: *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, No. 3) and Ogg's *Source Book* (351–359) contain much interesting information concerning "the Medieval Student." Robinson's *Readings*, I, 438–461 has valuable matter on medieval learning. Modern accounts: Laurie's *Rise of Universities;* McCabe's *Abelard;* Jessopp's *Friars* (ch. vi, "The Building up of a University"); Mullinger's *Cambridge* (chs. i–iii); and Storrs' *Bernard.*

III. LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

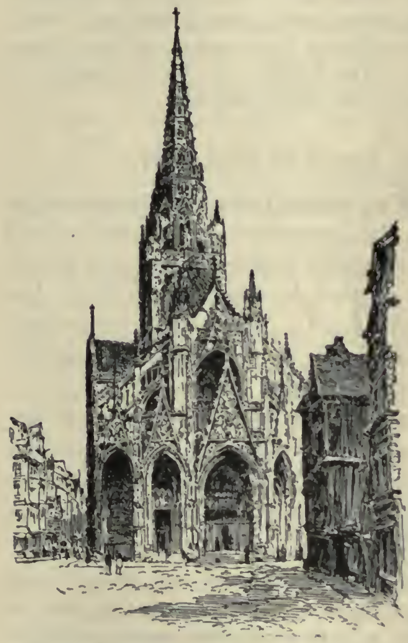
282. Until 1200, practically all writing in Western Europe was in Latin, and was therefore the possession of a small class. Knowledge belonged so exclusively to the clergy that a man had only to show ability to read in order to establish his right to "benefit of clergy" (§ 151). The only writers were monks, and the writings consisted almost exclusively of the lives of saints and of barren chronicles.

The chroniclers cared more about the acquisition of the wonder-working bones of some saint by a monastery, or the election of a new abbot, than about a great war or the coronation of a new monarch, while the deeper forces in a people's life they seem not to have thought of at all.

The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* has this entry for the important year of 1066 in England: "In this year King Edward died, and Earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom and held it forty weeks and one day. And in this year William came and won England. And in this year Christ Church was burned. And in this year a comet appeared."

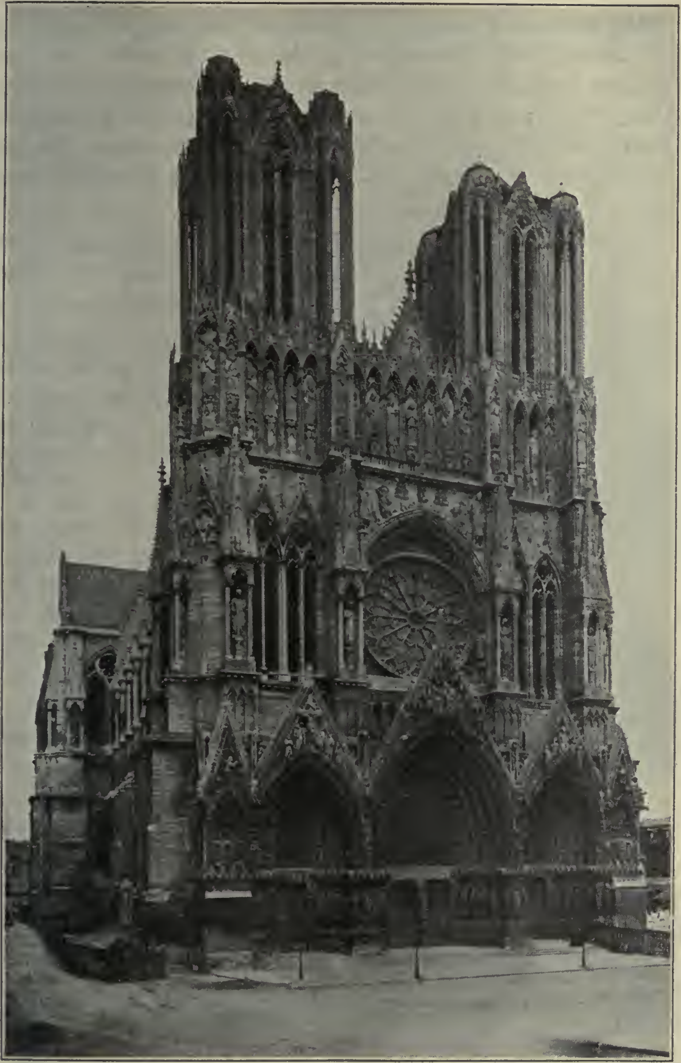
283. Rise of Vernacular Literatures. — Latin continued long to be the chief language of *science and philosophy. But,* **about 1200,** *poets and story-tellers began to use the speech of the common people.* This had been done all along by the minstrels, who, as wandering adventurers or as retainers of some lord, formed a characteristic part of medieval life. But now there arose in various lands a popular poetry of a high order.

Spanish ballad poets chanted the Song of the Cid (the national hero in the conflict with the Moors). In the language of northern France, the *trouveurs* celebrated the adventures of Charlemagne and Roland or of King Arthur and his Table Round. In the softer language of the south of France the *troubadours* sang of love, as did the *minnesingers* in Germany. Similar songs were written in the dialect of southern Italy at the Sicilian court of Frederick II (§ 231). In the north, the *Scandinavian poets* wove the ancient Norse ballads into a mighty epic, the *Heimskringla*, — as the Germans also had done with their early legends, in the *Nibelungen Lied.*



CHURCH OF SAINT-MACLOU AT ROUEN, fifteenth century.

England was backward, because of the new language imposed for a while by her Norman conquerors. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, it is true, which began in Alfred's day, did not quite die out until the close of Stephen's reign, and soon afterward rude popular songs celebrated the deeds of Earl Simon; but not until the fourteenth century did poetry of a high order awaken in that island. Finally, toward the close of the century, in the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer, "the Father of English Poetry," fused the Saxon and the Norman French into a literary English, while at almost the same time Wyclif (§ 295) *translated the Bible* into the speech of the people.



Rheims Cathedral. This beautiful building was badly damaged by German shells in 1914.

284. Medieval Painting.—Classical art had been as completely lost through the early Middle Ages as classical learning. *Medieval painting* existed only as the handmaid of religion. Monks "illuminated" missals and other religious books,—painting with tiny brushes in brilliant colors on parchment,—and they designed gay page borders and initial letters, sometimes with beauty and delicacy.

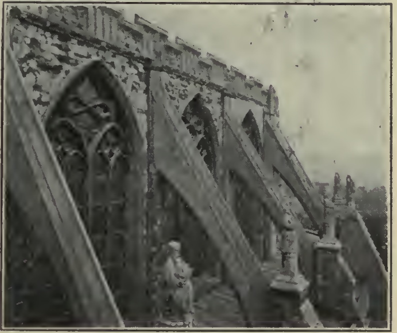
On a larger scale, the only paintings were rude altar pieces, representing stiff Madonnas and saints, in unnatural colors. The painters knew little of perspective; and even the flowing draperies which they used freely could not hide their ignorance of how to draw the human body.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, from the southeast; built 1200–1250. The spire rises 404 feet from the ground.

285. Architecture, too, *until the twelfth century*, was relatively poor and rude. The style was the *Romanesque*, based upon old Roman remains and characterized by the *round arch.* But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romanesque gave way to a new French style, called *Gothic;* **and architecture**, especially in churches and cathedrals, **reached one of its greatest periods.**

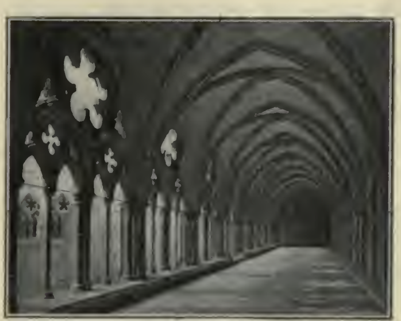
At bottom, *the change lay in a better way of carrying the weight of the huge stone roof.* The early architects had done this by massive walls; but they dared not weaken these by cutting out large windows, and the buildings were dark and gloomy. The architect of the twelfth century was a better engineer, and he invented two new devices to carry the roof. (1) He *gathered* *its weight at certain points* — by using *converging* arches — instead of leaving the weight, as before, distributed equally along the whole length of the wall. And he rested these arches, at the points of convergence, on *groups of mighty pillars.* (2) To help these pillars bear the immense burden, he added *arched props* (flying buttresses) *against the outside of the wall* at the critical points. These met the *side thrust* of the roof's weight, and left only the direct vertical burden for the pillars.

The massive wall and round arch can be seen in the illustration of Norman architecture on page 153. The view of the Salisbury cloisters (page 266) will show in a very simple case how the roof was borne by converging arches resting on pillars. A more complicated illustration of this feature appears in the gildhall of the Dantzig merchants on page 247.



PART OF THE UPPER WALL OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL, showing flying buttresses. (See also Bath Abbey, in the background of the cut on page 21.)

As a consequence of these changes in engineering, Gothic architecture took on a wholly new appearance. It changed the old round arch into a lighter, more varied, and more graceful *pointed arch.* It used the old Greek *columns* with greater freedom and variety, — since the columns now did the work of walls to so great a degree. Rounded ceilings gave way to *loftier and curiously vaulted ceilings,* where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another in ingenious ways. The *tower* replaced the Roman dome; and heaven-pointing *spires* were added, borrowed perhaps from the Saracens. The weight of the roof was so well cared for that it was safe now to pierce the walls with row on row and group after group of *tall windows,* giving the building an effect of lightness and complexity. New chances for ornament, too, were found in the *tracery* (openings in the stonework about doors and windows to reduce the weight), in the *moldings* of the many window frames, and in the use of *stained glass* — since there could now be windows enough to admit the necessary light even through darkened glass. Externally, the *flying buttresses* themselves were made into a strikingly beautiful architectural feature; and the niches about the portals were filled with *countless sculptured forms of saints.*[1] The total result was a new architecture, so different from the older styles as to permit no comparison. Gothic architecture is the most perfect product of the Middle Ages, and a Gothic Cathedral is one of the world's wonders to-day. Such buildings were the finest expression of the highest life of the time. They were "religious aspirations in stone."



SALISBURY CLOISTERS. Note the intersecting ribs of the vaulted ceiling (§ 285).

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[1] The *general effect* of these rough sculptures is imposing, especially at a little distance; but a close inspection reveals a vast inferiority between them and the marble-sculptured forms of athletes in which ancient art had delighted. The medieval workman, however, made up, in a measure, for his lack of skill in sculpture and for the poorer material that he worked in (stone, not marble) by giving full play to a rude humor — as when perhaps he carved a monkey on a monk's back, clinging to his ears, or when he formed the quaint gargoyles through which the gutters of cathedral roofs discharged rain water.

PART II

FROM THE CRUSADES TO LUTHER

(THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE, 1300–1520)

286. The Periods. — The five centuries from Charlemagne to 1300 we have treated as "the Age of Feudalism." The period falls naturally into two great parts.

From 814 to 1100 (to the opening of the Crusades) is a continuation of the "Dark Ages," which had seemed broken by the work of Charlemagne. The matters of moment in these gloomy three hundred years are the grim feudal system, the medieval church, the serf system of labor, the destructive strife between empire and papacy, and at the close, the Norman Conquest of England.

From 1100 to 1300 we find ourselves in a new atmosphere. It is convenient to call these two hundred years "the Age of the Crusades." But quite as much they were the age of the rise of towns and trade gilds, and of universities, of literature in the language of the different peoples, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into a kingdom, and of the rise of parliament and of national courts in England. True, Germany fell back into feudal turbulence; and the universities were captured by the barren spirit of scholasticism. Still, *the year 1100 is the threshold over which we pass from centuries of gloom to centuries of fruitful progress.*

Part II deals with two centuries of yet more rapid advance, which carry us well out of the Middle Ages into Modern life. Like the year 1100, *the year 1300 also is a milestone of progress.* In the two following centuries Europe, politically, passes from feudalism to modern *national states,* and intellectually finds a *rebirth* (Renaissance).

SEALS OF EDWARD III OF ENGLAND before and after the assumption of the arms of France (§ 288). On the seal to the right may by noticed the royal fleur-de-lis of France.

CHAPTER XIV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

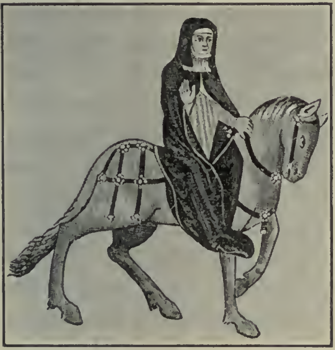
(DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES)

We left the story of England in § 188 with the accession of Edward III in 1327, and the story of France, in § 196, with the rule of Philip the Fair, which closed in 1314. *For the next hundred and thirty years, the stories of the two countries are intertwined.*

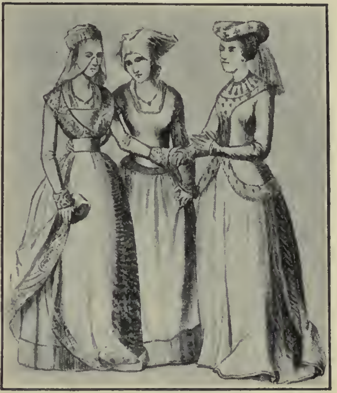
I. FIRST PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

287. Opening of the Struggle. — When Edward III came to the throne (1327) most of England's old possessions in France were gone; but he was still Duke of Aquitaine — and, in name, a vassal of the French king for that province. Like Edward I, the third Edward strove strenuously — but vainly — to unite Scotland to England by arms; and the French king, continuing the old policy of Philip Augustus (§ 194), toward his too powerful vassal, gave aid to Scotland. Therefore, in 1338, Edward gladly seized the excuse to declare war on France. This was the beginning of the "Hundred Years' War," which lasted, with two truces, until 1453.

288. To strengthen his position Edward set up a fanciful claim to the French crown;[1] and from that time until the nineteenth century, each English king kept also the title "King of France." **But at bottom the war was commercial in purpose.** England wanted markets for her products. In particular, her merchants wanted to *sell their wool* in the Flemish manufacturing



English Lady on Horseback. — From a fourteenth century manuscript in the British Museum.



French Dress in the Fourteenth Century: 1. Middle class; 2. Lower class; 3. Noble lady.

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[1] The following table gives the Capetian kings for this period, with dates of accession. See § 191 for the earlier Capetians.

Louis X	1314	Charles VI	1380
Philip V	1316	Charles VII	1422
Charles IV	1322	*Louis XI*	1461
Philip VI (Valois)	1328	Charles VIII	1483
John	1350	Louis XII	1498
Charles V (the Wise)	1364	*Francis I*	1515–1547

The first three were sons of Philip IV, and left no sons. The French nobles then chose Charles' cousin, Philip of Valois, for king. The mother of Edward III was a daughter of Philip the Fair. French law, however, did not recognize inheritance of the crown through females. And if it had, then, through other princesses, there were French nobles with better claims than Edward. Edward did not put forward his claim until after war had begun.

towns, and to *buy the famous Bordeaux wines* of Aquitaine. In that day every country shackled foreign merchants with restrictions and tolls; and the easiest way to get access to French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

289. The war was waged on French soil. The English gained brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, and brought home much plunder. "No woman," says an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *featherbeds*, and utensils, from French cities." England was prosperous, too, in the early period of the war. The people felt none of its direct ravages — except for occasional raids by Norman pirates on the coast — and for many years they bore cheerfuly the cost of campaigns abroad.

290. The two great victories of this first period of the war were Crécy and Poitiers.

In 1346 Edward led an army through the north of France, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, and turning the country into a blackened desert, to within sight of the walls of Paris, — in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days. Philip VI (less capable than most Capetians but a brave prince) gathered the feudal forces of France in an immense host to crush the invader. Edward retreated toward the coast, but was overtaken at Crécy by five times his numbers. The French might easily have annihilated his little army by shutting them off from supplies; but king and nobles thought only of instant vengeance on the invader, and charged at once, with headlong but blind valor.

Edward had drawn up his troops, less than sixteen thousand in all, on the slope of a hill, with a ditch in front to check the charge of horsemen. Behind the ditch stood the English bowmen, the main force of the army; and Edward even dismounted his few hundred men-at-arms to fight on foot among them and so strengthen their lines against a charge. This force, which was to meet the French onset, was placed under the command of the king's oldest son, the young Edward, known better as "*the Black Prince*," while King Edward, with a reserve, took stand higher up the hill.

The first charge of the French nobles seemed for a moment about to swallow up the little English army, and the young Edward sent to his father for reinforcement. But the king from his higher ground could see that all was going well. "Is my son dead, or unhorsed, or wounded? Then go back, and bid them not send to me again so long as he lives. Let the boy win his spurs, for, if God so please, I will that the honor of the day be his."

The honor really belonged to the English yeomen, — the men of the six-foot long-bow and heavy, yard-long shafts winged with feathers from gray-goose wings. The English free peasants were trained from childhood to draw "a mighty bow" — as English ballads called the national weapon — by "laying the body to it," when main strength, unskilled, could not have bent it. The archer shot nearly a quarter of a mile (four hundred yards), and drove his arrows through all ordinary iron armor; or, if the knight were clothed in "armor of proof" from Milan, he took deadly aim, at closer quarters, at openings for eyes and mouth, or at any exposed joint. Confident in their skill, the bowmen coolly faced the ponderously charging mass, pouring in their arrows, says a French chronicler, "wherever they saw the thickest press," and letting few French knights reach the English lines.[1]

The battle began toward evening. At dusk, the gallantest chivalry in Europe were in flight, leaving dead on the field twice the whole number of the English army. *The invincibility of the feudal horseman was gone.* Ten years later, the Black Prince, in sole command this time, repeated the victory at *Poitiers* against *seven times* the English numbers.

One chronicler of the day says that gunpowder was used at Crécy. The English, he reports, had several small "bombards" "which, with fire, and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses!*" Cannon certainly came into use about this time; but the first ones were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the gunpowder was full of impurities and very weak. Cannon were of little use for a century more. Then they began to be used to batter down the walls of castles and cities. It was longer still before firearms replaced the long-bow for infantry.

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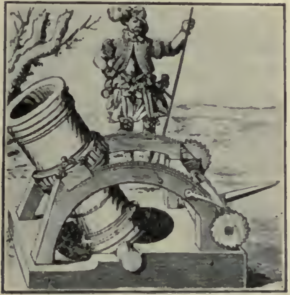
[1] Ogg's *Source Book,* No. 76, gives Froissart's description of Crécy.

291. Calais and Peace. — Victories like Crécy foretold a vast revolution in society, but they had little effect on the war at the time. Edward gained little French territory by them; and, before the end of his reign, the French had recovered all that he did gain except a few places on the coast. He used the interval that Crécy brought him, it is true, to besiege and capture *Calais*, an important port on the Channel; and *this city remained in English hands for two centuries*, — an open door at any moment for the invasion of France.



A "BOMBARD." — From a sixteenth century German woodcut.

At Poitiers, John, the king of France, was captured. This event brought a short peace. King John paid an enormous ransom and surrendered all suzerainty over Aquitaine. Edward, in turn, gave up all claim to any other part of France, except Aquitaine and Calais. *This Peace of Bretigny closed the first period of the war (1360).*

292. The Second Period of the War. — In 1369 a dispute concerning Aquitaine found both parties eager to renew the war. The French king now was Charles V (*The Wise*), and the victories all belonged to the French side. Place after place fell to them, until, at the end, in 1380, *England kept only two towns, — Bordeaux and Calais.*

II. ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT DURING THE WAR

293. The Black Death. — French success in the second period of the war had been due not alone to Charles the Wise, but even more to new conditions in England. The happy prosperity of the first part of Edward's reign had received a terrible shock from the *Black Death*. This was the most famous of all the plagues of history. It had been devastating the continent for some years, — moving west from Asia, — and it is believed to have carried off at least a third of the population of Europe. In the year after Crécy, it reached England, and almost at a blow it certainly swept away a third of the people there. One bright fact shines out from the universal misery — the splendid devotion of the village priests. They might easily have kept themselves safest; but everywhere, through their self-sacrificing care of their dying parishioners, they suffered most. In some counties, more than two-thirds the parishes were left without clergy.

294. Serfs and Villeins become Free Yeomen. — Except for the devoted village priests, the loss fell most heavily on the working classes; *but it soon helped those who remained to rise out of serfdom. The lack of laborers was so great that wages doubled, and therefore a higher standard of living became common.*

True, parliament tried, in the interest of the landlords, to keep down the laborers by foolish and tyrannical laws, — forbidding them to leave the parish where they lived or to take more wages than had been customary in the past, and ordering them under cruel penalties to serve any one who offered them such wages.[1] But when a landlord was anxious to harvest a standing crop, he did not dare to try to take advantage of such laws. Instead, to keep his old serfs from running away to other landlords, he made more and more favorable terms with them, and *gradually allowed them to exchange all their personal services for a fixed rent in money.*

In the latter part of Edward's long reign, however, the peasants were stirred by bitter discontent. The change from serfdom to freedom had begun even before the Black Death. That event hastened it; but still it was spread over a century. This seems swift, to a student ages later; but to the suffering laborers of that century — father, son, grandson, great-grandson — it was terribly slow. Each gain made them doubly impatient with the burdens that remained. They felt, too, many cases of bitter hardship and tyranny, — where a lord, by legal trickery or by downright violence, forced half-freed villeins back again to serfdom.

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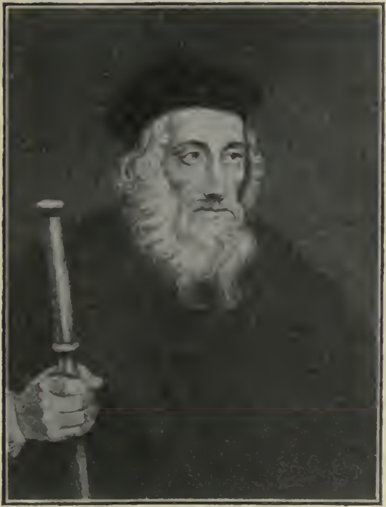
[1] The *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, 5) gives the famous *Statute of Laborers.*

295. Wyclif and John Ball — Another set of causes added to this discontent. The growing wealth of the church, and the worldliness of the great churchmen, were becoming a common scandal. The famous and gentle Chaucer, a court poet, indulged in keen raillery toward these faults.[1] More serious men saw them as plainly, and could not dismiss them with a jest.

At the University of Oxford, a clergyman, *John Wyclif*, one of the most famous lecturers there, preached vigorously against the luxury of the rich and abuses in the church, and at length passed on to attack some of the church doctrines. He has been called "the Morning Star of the Reformation." He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (§ 148), and he insisted that even ignorant men might know the will of God, through the Bible, without the aid of a priest. Accordingly, with his companions, he



JOHN WYCLIF.

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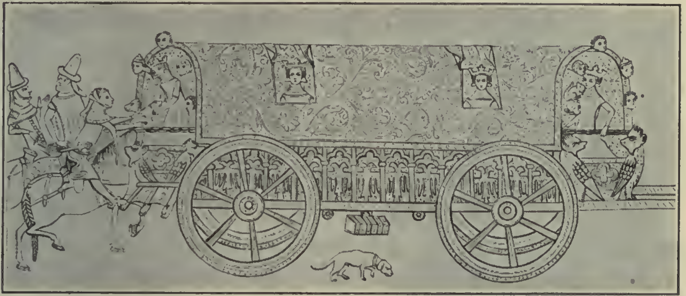
[1] Illustrations may be found in the descriptions of the monk, the prioress, the friar, and the pardoner, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

made the first complete translation of the Bible into English; and his disciples made many copies (with the pen, since printing was not yet known) and distributed them throughout the land.

These disciples, who wandered through England, called themselves "poor preachers." Their enemies called them "mad priests" or "Lollards" (babblers). Some of them exaggerated their master's teachings against wealth, and called for the abolition of all rank and property. *John Ball*, one of the "mad preachers," attacked the privileges of the gentry in rude rhymes that rang through England from shore to shore, —



An English Carriage of the Fourteenth Century. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life;* from a fourteenth century psalter. This carriage is represented as drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such a carriage was a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

"This priest," says Froissart, a contemporary chronicler, "used oftentimes to go and preach when the people in the villages were coming out from mass; and he would make them gather about him, and would say thus: 'Good people, things go not well in England, nor will, till everything be in common and there no more be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, . . . but they are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs, while we shiver in rags; they have wine, and spices, and fair bread; and we, oat cake and straw, and water to drink; they dwell in fine houses, and we have the pain and travail, the rain and the wind in the fields. From our labor they keep their state. Yet we are their bondmen; and unless we serve them readily, we are beaten.' And so the people would murmur one with the other in the fields, and in the ways as they met together, affirming that John Ball spoke truth."

296. The general confusion was increased by weakness in the government. Edward's hand lost its firm control, in old age, with much sickness and family trouble, and he died in 1377. His eldest son, the Black Prince, had died before him; and he was succeeded by his grandson.[1] That prince, Richard II, was a mere boy, and the government was distracted by dissensions among his counselors.

297. The Peasant Rising of 1381. — While England was in this state of confusion and discontent, parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing with unfair weight on the poor. This proved a match to set the realm ablaze. With amazing sudden-

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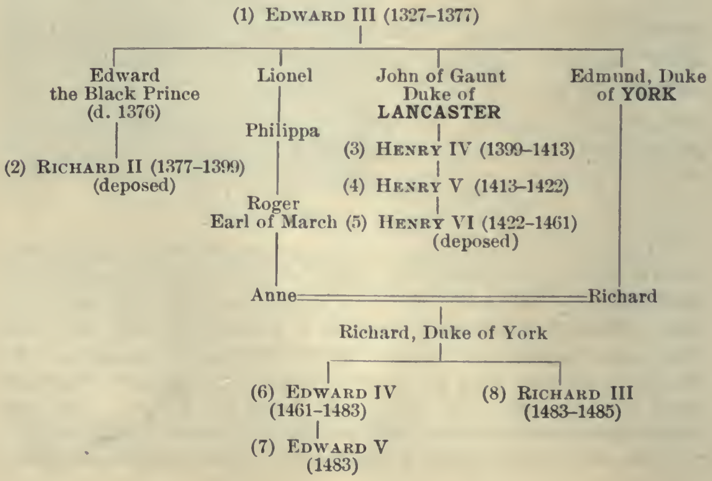
[1] The following table will show the succession of English kings for the rest of this chapter; also the conflicting claims that will call for attention in § 304. For Edward III, refer back to the table on page 178.


(1) EDWARD III (1327–1377)
Edward the Black Prince (d. 1376)
Lionel
John of Gaunt Duke of LANCASTER
Edmund, Duke of YORK
Philippa
(2) RICHARD II (1377–1399) (deposed)
(3) HENRY IV (1399–1413)
(4) HENRY V (1413–1422)
Roger Earl of March
(5) HENRY VI (1422–1461) (deposed)
Anne
Richard
Richard, Duke of York
(6) EDWARD IV (1461–1483)
(8) RICHARD III (1483–1485)
(7) EDWARD V (1483)

ness, the peasantry rose in arms. From all sides they marched upon London, and in a few days the king and kingdom were in their hands.

Their special demand was that all labor rents should be exchanged for fixed money rents. The strangest thing about the rising was the self-restraint shown by the peasants. The various bands sacked some buildings of the gentry class, — destroying especially the "manor rolls," or the written evidence of services due from villeins on an estate, — and they put to death a few lawyers and nobles. But women and children were not injured, and there was no attempt at general pillage and murder, such as usually mark servile insurrections and such as characterized the frightful risings of the peasantry in France a little earlier. The French "Jacquerie"[1] was an outburst of brute rage, upon the part of hopeless creatures, goaded past endurance, and seeking only to glut their vengeance. The English peasants stood upon a higher plane of comfort and of civilization, and their revolt was marked by the moderation of men who had a reasonable program for reform.

Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince.

Unfortunately, the peasants lacked the organization needful to secure the results of their temporary success. Their chief leader, *Wat the Tyler*, was murdered treacherously in a conference under a flag of truce as we would say. "Kill!" shouted the great mass of Tyler's followers; "they have murdered our captain!" But the young Richard rode forward fearlessly to their front. "What need ye, my masters!" he called; "I am your king and captain." "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasant army, "us and our lands; and that we be never more named serfs." "I grant it," replied the boy; and he persuaded them to go home by such pledges and by promise of free pardon. For days, a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises.

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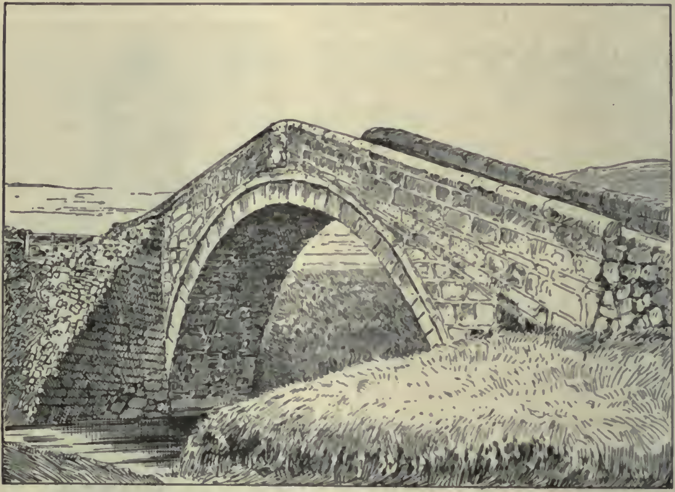
[1] From the name *Jacques*, used generally for French peasants, as "Pat" is used for an Irishman. Probably our phrase, "a country Jake," has this origin. Conan Doyle's *White Company* gives a vivid picture of the French Jacquerie.



A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life.*

But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, bearing to each one a copy of the king's treacherous charter, the property classes rallied and took a bloody vengeance. Parliament declared, indeed, that Richard's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due them — without their consent. Quite willing, Richard marched triumphantly through England at the head of forty thousand men, stamping out all hope of another rising by ruthless execution of old leaders. Seven thousand men were put to death in cold blood. The men of Essex met him with copies of his charters, declaring that they were free Englishmen. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide; and not your old bondage, but a worse."

We do not know the names of most of the patriot leaders who suffered for the cause of liberty, but history has preserved the story of one of them. Early in the rising, the peasants of St. Albans (in Essex) had wrung charters from the monastery which had previously owned their town — in so legal a way that now even the royal courts could not ignore them. The leader of the St. Albans villagers, *Grindecobbe*, was condemned to death, however, for his part in the rising, and was then offered his life if he would persuade his townsmen to give up the charters. Grindecobbe turned to his fellows only to bid them take no thought for him but to hold firm their rights. "I shall die for the freedom we have won, counting myself happy to end my life by such a martyrdom. Do then as if I had been killed in battle yesterday."

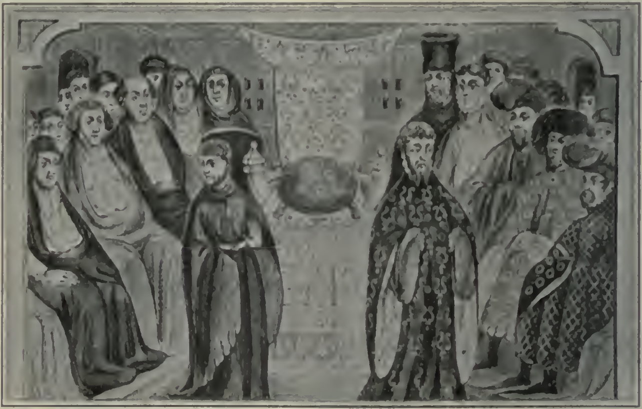
The steadfastness of such forgotten heroes was not in vain. In a short time the movement toward the emancipation of villeins began again with fresh force; and, *by* 1450, *villeinage had passed away from England forever.*

298. The growth of parliament during the Hundred Years' War was almost as important as the rise of the peasants out of bondage. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask parliament for many grants of money. Parliament supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers for itself. These gains may be classed under nine heads.

(1) It became an established principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply." That is, the king must consent to such new laws as parliament wanted *before* it gave him money to carry on his government.

(2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the same forms that have been used in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries.

(3) When Richard II was old enough to take the government into his own hands, he tried to rule without parliament. He put to death, or drove into exile, leading nobles whose opposition he feared; and then, surrounding parliament with his troops, he compelled it to grant him a tax for life, with other absolute powers. Soon England rose against him, *and the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin* (Henry of Lancaster) *in his place.*



PARLIAMENT OF 1399, which deposed Richard II. — From a contemporary manuscript.

Richard II was the last Plantagenet king. The note on page 276 gives the Lancastrian reigns and those of the family that followed.

Richard's reign began with bloody treachery toward the English peasants, and it ended when he attempted equal treachery toward the nobles and middle classes. Shakspere has won undeserved sympathy for the tyrant by the pathetic lines put into his mouth at deposition, when Richard declares his willingness to give

> "My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
> My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown . . .
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

But we must understand that this deposition by parliament is one of the chief landmarks in the growth of English (and American) freedom. *The next kings owed their title to parliament, and were dependent upon it.*

(4) The new king, Henry IV, frankly recognized his dependence on parliament. Under him the lower House (House of Commons; § 185) made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it (a practice that has been common to all English-speaking legislatures ever since), and that the royal officers must report to it the way in which they expended money (1407).

(5) The Commons secured the right to judge of the election of their own members.

(6) They compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to parliament.

(7) Freedom of speech in parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

(8) On three different occasions during Henry's reign, parliament passed acts fixing the succession to the throne.

(9) So far, when parliament had wanted a new law, it only *petitioned* the king to enact one of a given kind. When the king had consented, and parliament had adjourned, the royal officers, in putting the law into form, often inserted words which really defeated parliament's purpose. But now, under Henry V (1414), parliament began to pass "bills," which the king had to accept or reject, and the wording of which he could not change without reference back to parliament.

299. The "Liberties of Englishmen." — Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of English liberty as a precious inheritance. With right they believed it superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. As a French historian says (Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 436), "In the middle of the fifteenth century, the English people had in Magna Carta a declaration of their rights, in the jury a guarantee for their safety as individuals, and in parliament a guarantee for national liberty." No man in time of peace could be arrested except by order of a magistrate (not simply on the king's order). When arrested, he was entitled to speedy trial. And he could be condemned only by twelve men of his own neighborhood. Parliament voted taxes and superintended their expenditure, settled the succession to the throne, impeached offensive officers, and, upon occasion, deposed a king; and no law could be made or changed without its consent.

Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, wrote a book, *In Praise of the Laws of England*, for the instruction of Henry's son. The volume explains the English kingship in these words: —

"A king of England at his pleasure cannot make any alteration in the laws of the land without the consent of his subjects, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions. . . . Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of the kingdom you are to inherit, because it will afford both to you and to your subjects the greatest security and satisfaction. . . . [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws. For this end *he has the delegation of power from the people*, and he has no just claims to any other power."

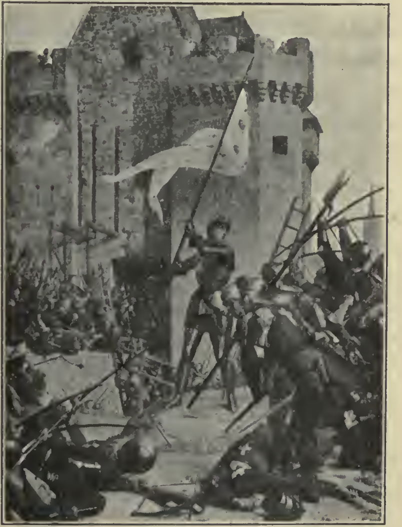
III. FRANCE: CLOSE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

300. Third Period of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1415, after a generation of peace with France, Henry V renewed the Hundred Years' War. He had no clear excuse; but he was fired by ambition, and he saw an opportunity in the disorder of France under an insane king (Charles VI).

Henry was brilliantly successful. At *Agincourt* he won a victory which recalled the day of Crécy; and his infant son (afterward Henry VI) was crowned *King of France* at Paris, with the assent of a great body of French nobles.

But the English triumph was brief. Through the long struggle with a foreigner, *the French people were coming to feel themselves one nation;* and an unschooled peasant girl, **Joan of Arc**, inspired with this new patriotism, freed her country.

Joan saw "visions," and thought that divine voices called her to her task. With great difficulty she won her way to the French Dauphin (the title of the heir to the throne), and secured from him a small body of troops with which she promised to relieve Orleans. The English had nearly reduced that place to surrender, and it was the last French stronghold in the northern half of the kingdom. Joan's victory was marvelous — and, her followers believed, miraculous. The French people rose in one mass to follow the "Holy Maid of Orleans," and swept away the invaders. Victory followed victory, until the English lost all France except Calais. Then the war died out, because England became involved in civil wars at home.



Joan of Arc at the Relief of Orleans.

Meantime, however, Joan fell into English hands, and was tried and burned as a witch, — one of the darkest stains in all the bloody pages of medieval history. Joan's gentle firmness and purity, and her steadfast endurance even in the flames, confounded her persecutors. "We are lost," exclaimed one of them; "we have burned a saint!" The superstitious cruelty of the English, terrified by Joan's victories, deserves no more reproach than the baseness with which the French king and court deserted her, jealous of her popularity, without an effort to save her. But history has placed her foremost among all French heroes. Says a famous French historian, — French patriotism "blossomed in Joan of Arc, and sanctified itself with the perfume of a miracle."[1]

301. The French Kingship. — Charles VII, in spite of his detestable desertion of Joan of Arc, proved a great king. He restored order with a firm hand. Bands of "free lances" (mercenary soldiers) had been living on the country for generations and had earned the name "flayers" from their methods of torture to discover valuables. All such bands were now driven from France; and prosperity came back swiftly to the exhausted peasantry and the towns.

During the long war, and after it, while breaking up the "flayers," Charles had maintained a standing army. This force he was careful to keep when these troubles were over. He had also a train of artillery, which now made him able easily to batter the castle of any feudal rebel about his ears. During the war, too, the kings had raised taxes arbitrarily, of necessity. They continued to do so, now that the national necessity had passed. The Estates General (§ 196) lost all chance to become a real power, and the monarchs grew absolute.

The nobles of France made one last desperate attempt to check this royal despotism when **Louis XI** came to the throne, but were quickly crushed. The young Louis won his victories mainly by cunning. Through his reign, he chose his chief advisors and ministers from men of low position, who could not gain by turning against him; and before his death feudalism had ceased to be a political danger even more completely than in England. *Louis XI* ranks alongside *Philip Augustus, Louis IX, Philip the Fair, and Charles the Wise*, in numbering the kings who built up the French monarchy.

302. The Growth of France Completed. — France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after vast destruction of property, after terrible periods of suffering, with territory consolidated, with a new patriotism binding her people together, and with her kings stronger than ever.

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[1] Special report on Joan of Arc. Lowell's *Joan of Arc*, Lang's *The Maid of France*, or Clemens' (Mark Twain's) *Joan of Arc* (a novel).

In § 194 we traced the growth of French territory to the opening of this war. The closing campaigns (after the victories of Joan), made the French king finally master of Aquitaine (the southwest quarter of France); and, soon after the war ended, the growth of France was completed by the addition of Provence and of the Dukedom of Burgundy.

The Dukedom of Burgundy was one of the petty states that arose after the partition of Verdun (§ 94). Little by little, for some centuries a line of able and unscrupulous dukes had been joining province to province and city to city, — some, the fiefs of France, some, fiefs of the Empire, — until, by 1450, Burgundy was one of the "powers" of Europe. During the Wars of the Roses in England, Duke *Charles the Bold* was working zealously to weld his groups of provinces (map after page 182) into a kingdom, and to persuade the Emperor to change his title to that of king. Louis XI of France intrigued craftily but secretly against him; but Charles seemed on the point of success when (1477) he was defeated and slain by the Swiss peasants, whom he was trying to force into his state.[1]

Charles left a daughter, but no male heir; and Louis seized the dukedom as a fief which had "escheated" to the crown (§ 125). The rich Flemish towns, it is true, escaped him (§ 323); but he found compensation by grasping Provence, to which Charles of Burgundy had made some claim.[2]

303. Louis XI left France the richest, most orderly, and most united country in Europe. The next two kings were less able rulers, and so France did not just at first step into the leadership of Europe that belonged to her. But with *Francis I* (1515–1547) she, at times, plainly held that place. That reign carries France into the next great Part of our history (Part III, page 325).

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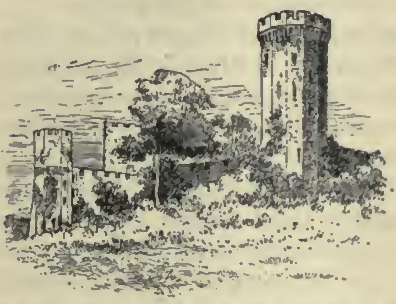
[1] Read this story in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*.

[2] Review the growth of France, with maps after page 182.

IV. ENGLAND AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1454–1485

304. The Wars of the Roses.[1] — We said (§ 300) that England withdrew from the French war because of war within her own realm. In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old. His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles; and when Henry was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns,[2] whose industries called for settled government; and, encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York came forward to claim the crown. Thus began the Wars of the Roses,[3] to last from 1454 to 1471.



GUY'S TOWER. — The Keep of Warwick Castle. The Earl of Warwick (the King-maker) was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses.

York was descended from a son of Edward III older than the one through whom the Lancastrians derived their claim to the throne;[4] and the war, the most ruthless and bloody in English history, was largely a selfish contest between great nobles. At the same time the chief significance of the struggle lay in the fact that the Lancastrian strength was in the feudal nobility of the north of England, while York was supported by the new middle class of the towns in the south.

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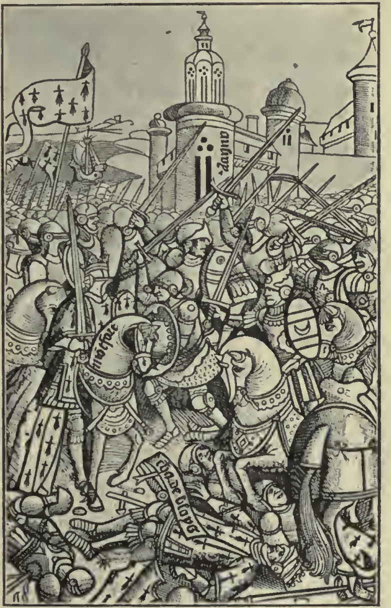
[1] Stevenson's *Black Arrow* is an admirable story for a boy, and Bulwer's *Last of the Barons* is the most famous novel dealing with the age.

[2] Special topic: Cade's Rebellion. (The student must get the view of recent scholars and not be content with the slanders of the old writers.)

[3] The Yorkists assumed a white rose as their badge; the Lancastrians, a red rose. Students may be asked to find the scene in which Shakspere represents the choice of these symbols.

[4] Footnote on page 276.

305. Finally, York and the cause of the towns conquered. *The three Yorkish reigns* are shown in the footnote on page 276. Edward IV was a selfish and rather careless despot. His son, Edward V, was a child and was never crowned. It is believed that the regent, his uncle, murdered him. The murderer became king as Richard III. He was an atrocious tyrant, and was soon overthrown by a popular rising. **Henry Tudor**, a distant connection of the Lancastrians, led this rising, and became king as *Henry VII.*



A Medieval Battle. — From a sixteenth century woodcut.

306. A "New Monarchy." — The losses in the long civil war had fallen mainly on the feudal classes. The old nobility was almost swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. The new kings created new nobles (but kept them dependent on the crown), and *set to work skillfully to crush the scant remains of feudal independence.* For instance, a law of Henry VII wisely forbade nobles to maintain armed bands of retainers — whose presence was a source always of disorder and a threat to peace. A few of the surviving *old* nobles at first disregarded this law. On a visit to one of these, — the great Earl of Oxford, — the king found an array of such armed retainers drawn up to salute him. Oxford had been one of Henry's earliest supporters for the throne; but now Henry frowned darkly: "I thank you for your good hospitality, Sir Earl; but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." And Oxford was called before the king's court and ruined by a fine of £15,000,—some half million dollars in the values of to-day.

The first plain result of this crushing of feudalism was a *general* loss of liberty. Without great nobles for leaders, the towns and the country gentry were not yet strong enough to challenge the royal power. *So parliament lost authority.* During the wars, it had not been possible to hold true parliaments; and when war was over, the kings had been so enriched by confiscations of the property of opposing nobles that they did not need new taxes in ordinary times, and so could get along without calling parliaments.

Another new device helped the monarch to maintain this superiority. During the wars, a king had had to depend, not on parliamentary supplies, but on free-will gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. After the war, Edward IV continued to ask benevolences from leading men as he met them in traveling through the kingdom. Richard III had tried to secure popular favor by promising to surrender this evil custom; but he soon practised it in a more extortionate form than ever. And now Henry VII reduced it to a system of regular supply. He asked, no longer merely in person, *but by letter.* His minister, Morton, sent out demands to rich men over all England. To some he said that their luxurious manner of living showed that they were easily able to supply their king; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid their sovereign's necessities. Thus every man of consequence in the realm found himself impaled, it was said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork."[1]

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[1] Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (two-pronged instruments) at the table. They had come into use in Italy a little earlier. Cf. § 140.

Thus England entered the sixteenth century under the Tudor kings with a "New Monarchy." Henry VII and his son Henry VIII (§ 373) were more absolute than any preceding English kings. Still they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional forms, and so did not challenge popular opposition. They called parliament rarely, — and only to use it as a tool. Parliament did not play as large a part again for more than a hundred years as it had in the century before the Wars of the Roses. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, *saved the forms of constitutional government.* This was a mighty service. At a later time, as we shall see, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parlimentary government more complete and valuable than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *History of the English People* or his *Short History*, or Gardiner's *Student's History* (note on page 143) continue to be the most desirable of all general narratives for England, and Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* for France. On **the Hundred Years' War**, the student will enjoy the contemporary story of Froissart, especially in Lanier's *Boy's Froissart*. On the **Battle of Crécy**, in particular, Robinson's *Readings*, I, 466–470 (sources), and Oman's *Art of War*, 603–615. On **the Black Death**, Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, ch. iv. The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, no. 5, gives documents for England in the age of Wyclif and the Peasant Rising.

CHAPTER XV

THE PAPACY IN THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

307. The Revolt of France and England. — We saw (chapter x) how the thirteenth century conflict between popes and emperors left the popes victorious. The victory, however, was not long-lived. Almost at once new forces appeared to challenge their overlordship. In France and England the new national patriotism had already begun to rebel against papal authority in temporal matters. Neither people nor kings questioned the authority of the pope in spiritual matters; but they did demand that the *government* of the land should be free from papal supervision. To this feeling, the Emperor Frederick II had tried to appeal in letters to the kings: "My house is on fire. Hurry, bring water, lest the fire spread to your house too!" Soon after Frederick's fall, France and England did take up in earnest the struggle against papal claims.

The conflict was hastened by the Hundred Years' War. The kings needed money, and were trying to introduce systems of national taxation in the place of the unsatisfactory feudal revenues. The clergy had been exempt from feudal services; but they owned so much of the wealth of the two countries that the kings insisted upon their paying their share of the new taxes. *Pope Boniface VIII* (1296) issued a bull forbidding any prince to impose taxes on the clergy without papal consent, and threatening excommunication against all clergy who paid.

308. But when the English clergy, trusting in this papal decree, refused to pay taxes, Edward I outlawed them. To outlaw a man was to put him outside the protection of the law: he could not bring suit to recover property or damages, and offenses against him were not "crimes." It became plain at once that, in comparison with this practical "excommunication" by the state, the old clerical excommunication was stage thunder. The clergy generally paid; and, a little later, a compromise was made whereby they were permitted to tax themselves.

309. **France was the scene of a sharper contest.** As it progressed, Boniface set forth the old claims of papal supremacy over princes. "Whoever resists this power," said one of his bulls, "resists the ordination of God . . Indeed we declare . . . that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." But Philip IV treated these claims with contempt, and the Estates General (1302), *even the clerical Estate*, denied the pope any control over the state, and pledged their lives to defend the "ancient liberties of the French nation." Philip *forbade the payment of any revenues from his realm to the pope*, and arrested the papal legate. Boniface threatened to depose the king. A few days later, a company of French soldiers made Boniface prisoner; and the chagrin of the old man at the insult probably hastened his death (1303).

310. **The "Babylonian Captivity."** — Philip secured the election of a French pope, who removed the papal capital from Rome to Avignon, in southern France. Here the popes remained for seventy years (1309–1377), in "the Babylonian Captivity of the church."

Of course the papacy lost public respect. It was no longer an impartial umpire. Politically it had sunk into a mere tool of the French kings, and the enemies of France could not be expected to show it reverence. The English parliaments of Edward III passed statutes (*Provisors* and *Praemunire*) to limit papal control over church appointments in England and to prevent appeals from the courts of English bishops to the papal court. Even in Germany, distracted as it was, in 1338, a Diet (a sort of parliament) formally denied that the

"French popes" had any part in the choice of their ruler. In Italy the Papal States themselves fell into anarchy and revolution, and there was danger that the popes might lose their principality altogether.

311. The Great Schism. — In 1377, to save the papal territory, Gregory XI visited Rome. This act brought on a greater disaster even than the exile itself. Gregory died while at Rome. The cardinals were obliged at once to choose a successor. They were Frenchmen (as all high church offices had been given to Frenchmen during the scandal of the Captivity); but even French cardinals did not dare disregard the savage threats of the people of Rome, demanding an Italian pope. They chose Urban VI, who established himself in the old papal seat at Rome. But, a few months later, the cardinals assembled again, declared that the choice of Urban was void because made under compulsion, and elected a French pope, Clement VII, who promptly returned to Avignon.

Urban and Clement excommunicated each other, each devoting to the devil all the supporters of the other. Which pope should good Christians obey? The answer was determined mainly by political considerations. France obeyed Clement; England and Germany obeyed Urban. Two such heads for Christendom were worse than no head at all.

312. The Hussite Heresy. — This sad condition of the papacy brought with it danger to the church itself. The Wyclif movement took place toward the close of the exile at Avignon. That movement has been described (§ 295). The church in England had declared Wyclif a heretic; but he was protected during his life by one of King Edward's sons. Soon after Wyclif's death, however, the Lancastrian monarchs began to persecute the Lollards. In 1401, for the first time, an Englishman was burned for heresy. The Lollards finally disappeared as a sect, but their influence lasted, in underground ways, until the beginning of the great Protestant movement a century later.

Meantime, the seeds of the heresy had been scattered in a distant part of Europe. Richard II of England married a princess of Bohemia, and some of her attendants carried the teachings of Wyclif to the Bohemian University of Prague. About 1400, *John Hus*, a professor at Prague, became a leader in a radical "reform" much after Wyclif's example, and the movement spread rapidly over much of Bohemia.

313. The Council of Constance. — Thus the religious situation of Christendom was desperate. Great and good men everywhere, especially in the powerful universities, began to call for a General Council as the only means to restore unity of church government and doctrine. Neither pope favored the plan; but at last the cardinals called a Council at Pisa. This body (1409) declared both popes deposed, and chose a new one. The result was *three popes*, for the Council was not really universal in character, and it acted with unwise haste, and so failed to secure obedience.

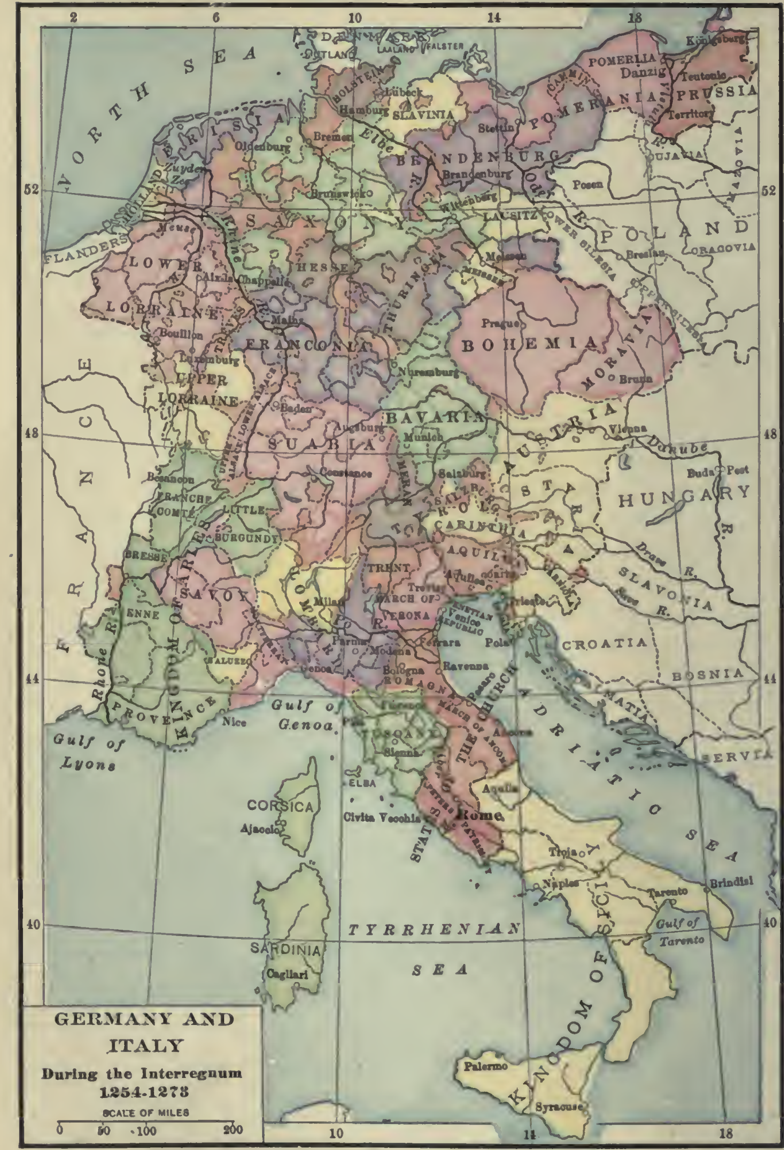
Soon after, however, one of the popes, under pressure from the German emperor, called the *Council of Constance* (1414). Five thousand delegates were present (besides vast numbers of visitors and attendants), and all Latin Christendom was represented. With recesses, the Council sat four years. In the matter of church government, it acted with wisdom and caution. One pope was brought to resign; the others were deposed; and unity was restored under a new pope, Martin V.

Then the Council turned its attention to the troubles in Bohemia. John Hus was present under a "safe conduct" from the emperor. His teachings were declared hersey; but neither persuasion nor threats could move him to recant. "It is better for me to die," he said, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by deserting the truth." Despite the emperor's solemn pledge for his safety, Hus was burned at the stake, and his ashes were scattered in the Rhine (1415). Wyclif's doctrines, too, were condemned; and, to make thorough work, his ashes were disinterred from their resting place and scattered on the river Swift.

The Council was made up of earnest reformers, — good men, who believed that in this work they were serving God and saving the souls of future generations of men from eternal torment. But their vigorous measures did not wholly succeed. Hus became a national hero to Bohemia. That country rose in arms against the church. A crusade was preached against the heretics, but years of war failed to crush them wholly.

314. The Last Popes of the Middle Ages. — The unity of the papacy was restored, and much of its spiritual authority, but not its power over kings. Nicholas V (1447) showed himself a learned scholar, eager to advance learning, as well as a pure and gentle man. Pius II (1455) strove to arouse a new crusade against the Turks, who had just captured Constantinople; but his complete failure proved (in his own words) that Europe "looked on pope and emperor alike as names in a story." Some of the succeeding popes were busied mainly as Italian princes, building up their temporal principality by intrigue and craft such as was common at that day in Italian politics.

Of this class, the most notorious was Alexander Borgia (Pope Alexander VI, 1492–1503), whose name (with that of his son, Caesar Borgia) has become a byword for wickedness. A scholarly Catholic historian (Pastor, *History of the Popes*) gives his approval to this quotation regarding Borgia: "The reign of this pope . . . was *a serious disaster*, on account of his worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery; on account of his nepotism [favoritism to relatives]; and lastly on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life . . . which brought the papacy into utter discredit." It was conditions like these that made Luther possible a few years later.


NORTH SEA
DENMARK
JUTLAND
LAALAND
FALSTER
HOLSTEIN
Lübeck
Hamburg
SLAVINIA
Bremen
Elbe
Oldenburg
FRISIA
Zuyder Zee
HOLLAND
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Stettin
POMERANIA
POMERLIA
Danzig
CAMMIN
Königsberg
Teutonic Territory
PRUSSIA
CUJAVIA
MASOVIA
Posen
Oder R.
Brunswick
Wittenberg
LAUSITZ
SAXONY
Rhine
Meuse
FLANDERS
LOWER LORRAINE
Aix la Chappelle
HESSE
THURINGIA
Meissen
MEISSEN
LOWER SILESIA
UPPER SILESIA
POLAND
Breslau
CRACOVIA
Mainz
TREVES
Bouillon
Luxemburg
FRANCONIA
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Brunn
Nuremburg
UPPER LORRAINE
LOWER ALSACE
UPPER ALSACE
Baden
Augsburg
BAVARIA
Munich
SUABIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Danube
Buda
Pest
Constance
Salzburg
SALZBURG
STYRIA
HUNGARY
Besançon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
LITTLE BURGUNDY
TYROL
CARINTHIA
BRESSE
KINGDOM OF ARLES
SAVOY
TRENT
AQUILEIA
Aquileia
Goritz
Trieste
Drave R.
SLAVONIA
Save R.
FRANCE
VIENNE
Rhone R.
Milan
LOMBARDY
MARCH OF VERONA
Treviso
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Venice
Pola
ISTRIA
CROATIA
Po R.
MONTFERRAT
SALUZZO
Parma
Modena
Ferrara
Ravenna
Genoa
Bologna
ROMAGNA
BOSNIA
PROVENCE
Nice
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Lyons
Pisa
Florence
TUSCANY
Sienna
MARCH OF ANCONA
Pesaro
Ancona
THE CHURCH
DALMATIA
SERVIA
ADRIATIC SEA
ELBA
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Civita Vecchia
STATES OF
Rome
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Aquila
Troja
Naples
Taranto
Brindisi
Gulf of Taranto
KINGDOM OF SICILY
SARDINIA
Cagliari
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Palermo
Syracuse
2
6
10
14
18
52
48
44
40

GERMANY AND ITALY

During the Interregnum 1254-1273

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY FROM 1273 TO 1520

315. Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273–1290. — The Holy Roman Empire never recovered from the failure of the Hohenstaufen (§ 234). The anarchy of the "Fist-Law period" (1254–1273) was slightly checked in 1273, however, by the election of *Rudolph of Hapsburg* as emperor. Rudolph was a petty count of a rude district in the Alps, and the princes chose him because they did not fear his power. The king of Bohemia refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Rudolph attacked Bohemia, and *seized from it the duchy of Austria, which has ever since been the chief seat of the Hapsburgs.* He completely abandoned the Italian policy of the earlier emperors, and throughout his reign he displayed much zeal in widening the boundaries of his personal domain. "Sit firm on thy throne, O Lord," once prayed the Bishop of Basel, "or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off." Rudolph gave much energy also to the restoration of order, so far as that task lay within his power. Along the Rhine alone, he demolished over one hundred and forty robber castles, and he once hung twenty-nine robber knights at one execution.

316. The Electoral College. — At Rudolph's death the Electors refused to give the imperial crown to his son; and the next fifty-five years saw five rulers, *each of a different house from his predecessor.*

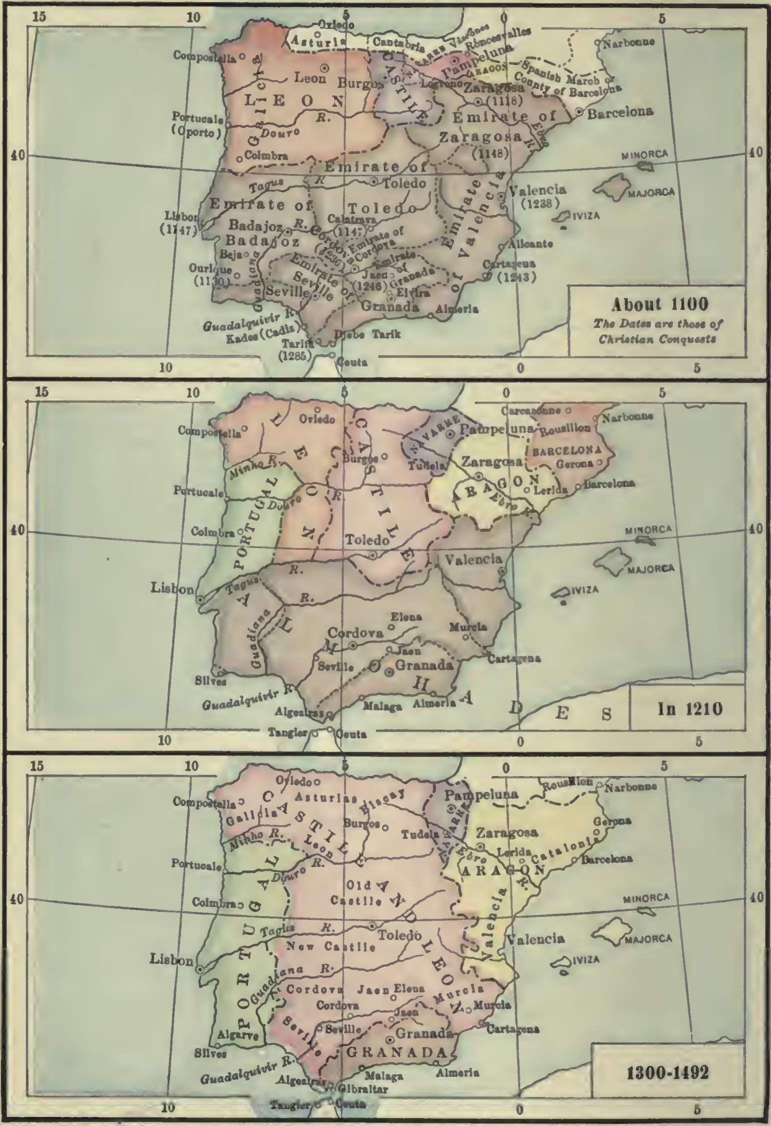
The method of electing an emperor had varied greatly at different periods. On some occasions, a gathering of great nobles had made the choice in a fairly popular way, while at other times a few princes had settled the matter by private negotiation. Before the end of the Hohenstaufen period, the right of election had fallen to a ring of seven princes. These "Electors" now passed the crown from family to family, and, at each new election, enriched themselves through extortionate demands upon the candidates.

To end such scandal, the emperor, Charles IV, with the consent of the nobles, issued the Golden Bull (1356). This document remained the fundamental law of the Empire through the rest of its history. It defined exactly how the "college of Electors" should make elections, and *fixed its members* as the *three Archbishops* of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, the *King of Bohemia*, the *Duke of Saxony*, the *Margrave of Brandenburg*, and the *Count Palatine of the Rhine.*

317. The Diet. — At about the same time, the German "national assembly" took form. It was called a *Diet.* In earlier times, it had been merely a gathering of nobles. To this gathering, representatives of the free cities were admitted in the fourteenth century (as had been the case earlier in the French Estates General, the English Parliament, and the Spanish Cortes). Then the Diet came to consist of *three Houses*, — the Chamber of Electors, the Chamber of Princes (the greater nobles of the second rank), and the Chamber of City Representatives. The Diet could do little, however, but pass resolutions, which nobody obeyed unless he chose to do so.

318. The "Hapsburg" Empire. — Finally, in 1438, after a long line of Bohemian emperors, the imperial title came back to the Hapsburgs by the election of Albert, Duke of Austria. From this time to its disappearance in 1806, the title, "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire," belonged to the *House of Austria.* The form of an election was always gone through, but the choice invariably fell upon the Hapsburg heir.

Albert was followed by the long but uninteresting reign of Frederick III (1440–1493), and then the crown passed to *Maximilian I* (1493–1519), the romantic hero of the Hapsburg race. Maximilian made a noble effort to bring Germany abreast of England and France, but in the end he failed utterly, because of the selfishness of the nobles and the local jealousies between the provinces and because of his own dreamy nature and haughty willfulness. At the close of the Middle Ages, he left the empire what he found it, — a loose confederacy of petty states centered about Austria.


About 1100
The Dates are those of Christian Conquests
Oviedo
Asturia
Cantabria
Basque Vascones
Roncesvalles
Pampeluna
Narbonne
Compostella
Leon
Burgos
CASTILE
LEON
Galicia
ARAGON
Spanish March or County of Barcelona
Logrono
Zaragosa (1118)
Barcelona
Portucale (Oporto)
Douro R.
Emirate of Zaragosa (1148)
Ebro R.
Coimbra
Emirate of Toledo
Toledo
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
Tagus R.
Emirate of Badajoz
Badajoz
Lisbon (1147)
Calatrava (1147)
Cordova (1236)
Emirate of Cordova
Emirate of Valencia
Valencia (1238)
Alicante
Cartagena (1243)
Beja
Ourique (1139)
Guadiana
Emirate of Seville
Seville
Emirate of Granada
Jaen (1246)
Elvira
Granada
Almeria
Guadalquivir R.
Kades (Cadiz)
Djebe Tarik
Tarifa (1285)
Ceuta
In 1210
Oviedo
Compostella
LEON
CASTILE
NAVARRE
Pampeluna
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Rousillon
BARCELONA
Gerona
Barcelona
Burgos
Tudela
Zaragosa
ARAGON
Ebro
Lerida
Minho R.
Portucale
PORTUGAL
Douro R.
Coimbra
Toledo
Valencia
Lisbon
Tagus R.
ALMOHADES
Guadiana
Elena
Murcia
Cordova
Jaen
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
Silves
Guadalquivir R.
Algeciras
Malaga
Almeria
Tangier
Ceuta
1300-1492
Oviedo
Asturias
Biscay
Compostella
Galicia
CASTILE AND LEON
NAVARRE
Pampeluna
Rousillon
Narbonne
Gerona
Burgos
Tudela
Zaragosa
Catalonia
Barcelona
Minho R.
Leon
Ebro
Lerida
ARAGON
Portucale
Douro R.
PORTUGAL
Old Castile
Coimbra
Tagus R.
Toledo
Valencia
Lisbon
New Castile
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Jaen
Elena
Murcia
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
Algarve
Silves
GRANADA
Guadalquivir R.
Algeciras
Malaga
Almeria
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
15
10
5
0
40

SPANISH KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER XVII

OTHER STATES

319. Spain. — The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (§ 65), separated the course of development in Spain from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The wave of Moorish invasion, however, had left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and Charlemagne recovered part, also, of the northeast (§ 82). In these districts, *Asturia* and the *Spanish March*, several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. *This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war,* — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel. *The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, unfitted for industrial civilization, intensely patriotic, and blindly devoted to the church.*

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, Portugal, Aragon, and Castile. Nearly a century later, the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon united the two larger states, and in 1492 their combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold. *In the year that Columbus discovered America under Spanish auspices, Spain at home achieved national union and national independence,* and she soon took her place (with her New-World dependencies) as the most powerful European state.

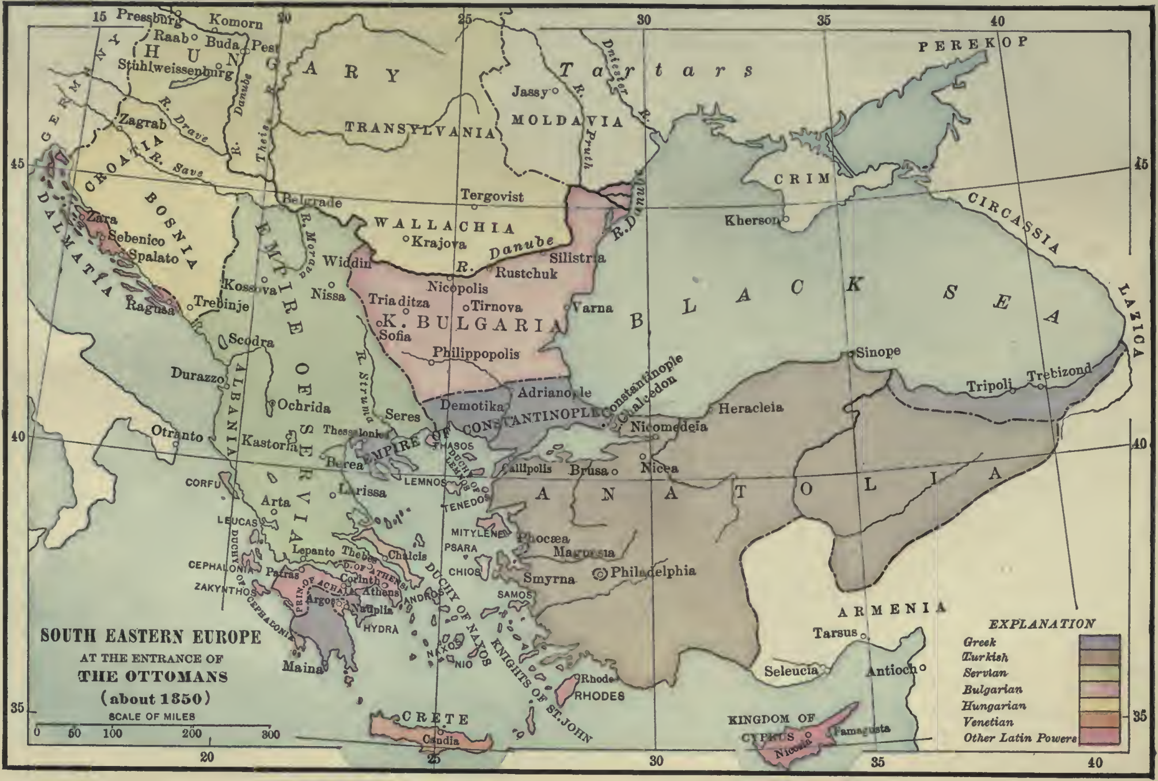
The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been the most uncontrollable in Europe. In each petty state they elected their king, and took the oath to obey him in forms like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, and who together are far more powerful than thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not."

The towns of Spain, too, had possessed charters of liberties of the most extreme character, and in various kingdoms they had sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the "Cortes," for more than a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and in the next two reigns (§§ 326, 360) *the process was carried so far that Spain became the most absolute monarchy in Europe.*

MAP EXERCISE. — "Castile" was at first merely a line of "castles." It was a "mark state": it shut off Aragon on one side and Leon on the other from any effective contact with the Moors, as Barcelona, Navarre, and Asturia had been shut off still earlier. After this was accomplished, Castile was the state most likely to grow to supremacy. Cf. Wessex in Britain, § 105.

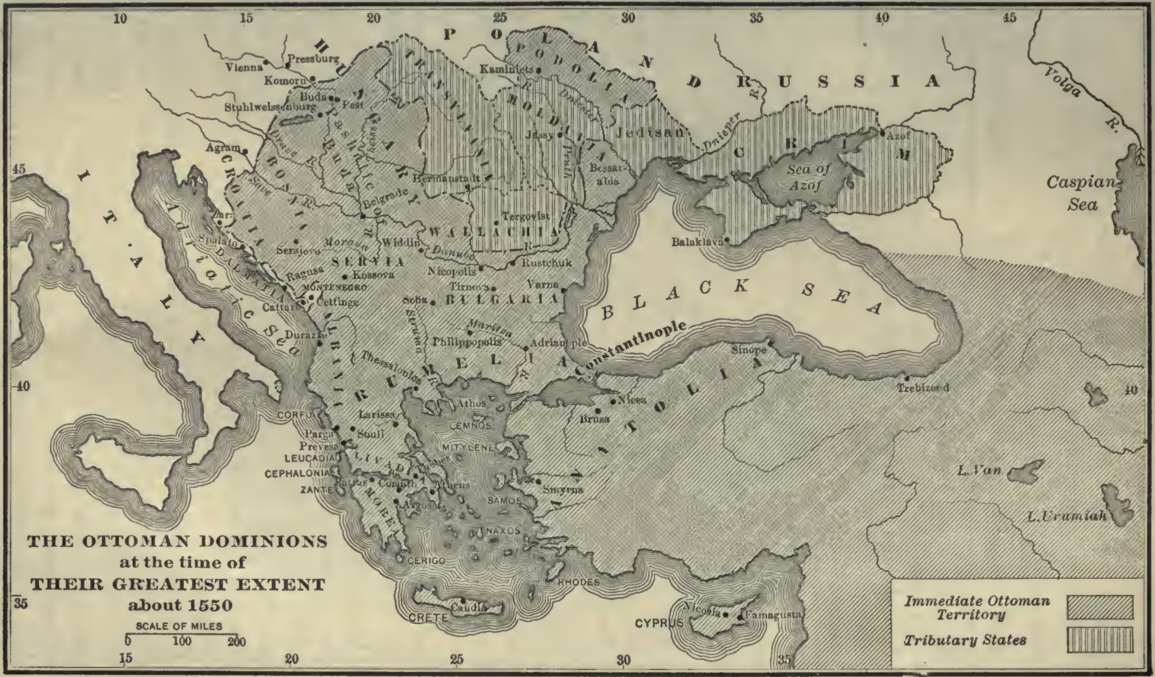
320. Southeastern Europe and the Turks. — While the civilized Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, barbarous Mohammed Turks were gaining southeastern Europe. They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont first in 1346. Constantinople held out for a century more, a Christian island encompassed by seas of Mohammedanism. But at *Kassova* (1389), the Turks completed the overthrow of the Servians and other Slav peoples of the Balkan regions, and a few years later a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Hungarians and Poles. **In 1453**, *Mahomet the Conqueror* entered Constantinople through the breach where the heroic *Constantine Palaeologus*, last of the Greek emperors, died sword in hand.

The Turks were incapable of civilization, in the European sense, and they have always remained a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, whom their rule has



SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
AT THE ENTRANCE OF
THE OTTOMANS
(about 1850)

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
300
EXPLANATION
Greek
Turkish
Servian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Venetian
Other Latin Powers
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
PEREKOP
T a r t a r s
H U N G A R Y
GERMANY
Pressburg
Komorn
Raab
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
R. Danube
R. Theis
R. Drave
R. Save
Zagrab
CROATIA
TRANSYLVANIA
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
R. Pruth
Dniester R.
CRIM
Kherson
CIRCASSIA
LAZICA
BLACK SEA
Tergovist
WALLACHIA
Krajova
R. Danube
Silistria
Rustchuk
Belgrade
R. Morava
Widdin
Nissa
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Triaditza
K. BULGARIA
Sofia
Varna
Philippopolis
R. Struma
Adrianople
Demotika
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicomedeia
Heracleia
Sinope
Tripoli
Trebizond
Nicea
Brusa
Callipolis
ANATOLIA
Phocæa
Magnesia
Philadelphia
Smyrna
ARMENIA
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
Nicosia
Famagusta
DALMATIA
BOSNIA
Zara
Sebenico
Spalato
Ragusa
Trebinje
Kossova
EMPIRE OF SERVIA
Scodra
Durazzo
ALBANIA
Ochrida
Seres
Thessalonica
Kastoria
Berea
Otranto
CORFU
Larissa
Arta
LEUCAS
DUCHY OF CEPHALONIA
CEPHALONIA
ZAKYNTHOS
Lepanto
Thebes
Chalcis
Patras
D. OF ATHENS
Corinth
Athens
PRIN. OF ACHAIA
Argos
Nauplia
HYDRA
Maina
THASOS
DUCHY OF LEMNOS
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
MITYLENE
PSARA
CHIOS
SAMOS
ANDROS
NAXOS
NIO
DUCHY OF NAXOS
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
Rhode
RHODES
CRETE
Candia


P O L A N D
R U S S I A
Volga R.
Caspian Sea
Vienna
Pressburg
Komorn
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
H U N G A R Y
Pashalic of Buda
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Agram
C R O A T I A
B O S N I A
Zara
Spalato
D A L M A T I A
Serajevo
Ragusa
MONTENEGRO
Cattaro
Cettinge
Durazzo
A L B A N I A
Belgrade
Morava R.
S E R V I A
Kossova
Widdin
Danube R.
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Sofia
B U L G A R I A
Rustchuk
Varna
Struma R.
Maritza R.
Philippopolis
Adrianople
R U M E L I A
Thessalonica
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
CORFU
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
L I V A D I A
Thebes
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Argos
M O R E A
CERIGO
Athos
LEMNOS
MITYLENE
SAMOS
NAXOS
RHODES
CRETE
Candia
CYPRUS
Nicosia
Famagusta
T R A N S Y L V A N I A
Hermanstadt
Tergovist
W A L L A C H I A
P O D O L I A
Kaminiets
Dniester R.
M O L D A V I A
Jassy
Pruth
Bessarabia
Jedisan
Dnieper R.
C R I M
Sea of Azof
Azof
Balaklava
B L A C K   S E A
Constantinople
Sinope
Trebizond
Nicea
Brusa
Smyrna
A N A T O L I A
L. Van
L. Urumiah
I T A L Y
Adriatic Sea
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
40
35
Immediate Ottoman Territory ▨
Tributary States ▥
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200

THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
at the time of
THEIR GREATEST EXTENT
about 1550

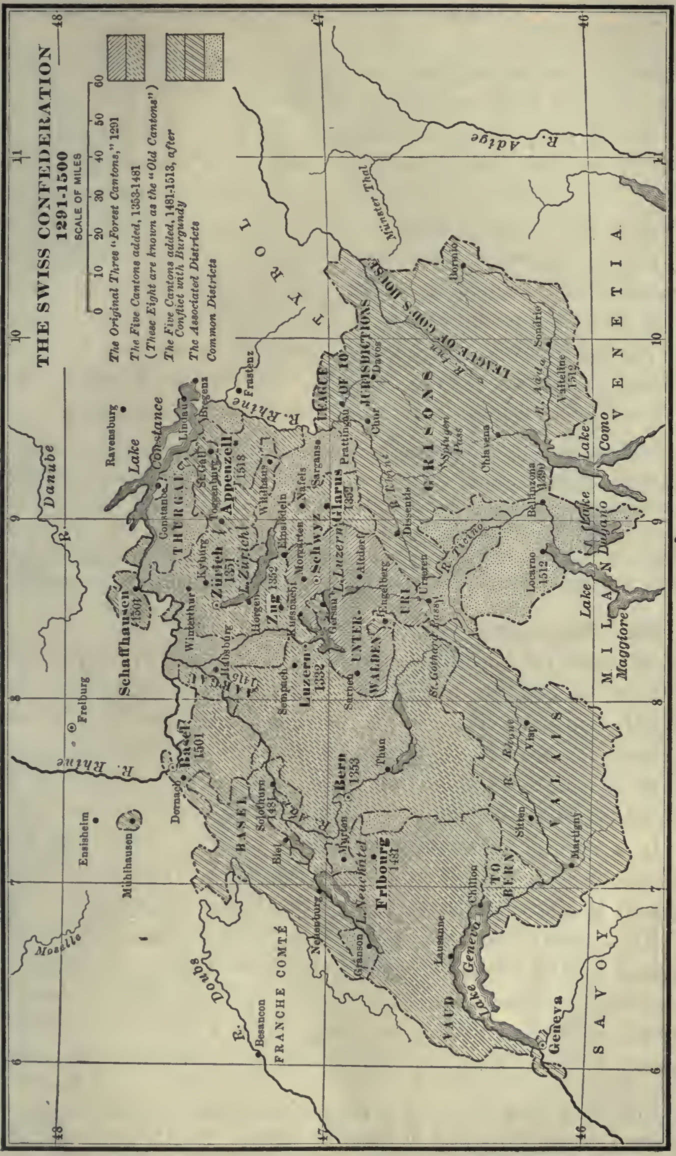
blighted. A chief factor in their early success was the "tribute of children," organized into the famous fighting force of *Janissaries.*

> Says Freeman: "A fixed proportion of the strongest and most promising boys among the conquered Christian nations were carried off, brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and . . . employed in civil and military functions. . . . Out of them was formed the famous force of the Janissaries, who for three centuries formed the strength of the Ottoman armies. . . . *The strength of the conquered nations was turned against themselves.*"

From 1453 to to-day (1914), Constantinople has remained the capital of the Turkish Empire. That empire continued to expand for a century more (until about 1550), and for a time it seemed as though nothing could save Western Europe. Venice on sea, and Hungary by land, were the two chief out-posts of Christendom, and, almost unaided, they kept up ceaseless warfare to check the Mohammedan invaders. For a time, Hungary was conquered, and then Austria took its place as a bulwark for Western Europe.

321. Switzerland began to grow into a political state just before the year 1300. The brave and sturdy peasantry, in their mountain fastnesses, had preserved much of the old Teutonic independence. Some small districts (cantons) in the German Alps had belonged to the Hapsburg counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg became duke of distant Austria (§ 315), he left these possessions to subordinate officers. These agents oppressed the Swiss by extortion and tyranny; and, *in 1291*, the three "Forest Cantons" — *Uri*, *Schwyz*, and *Unterwalden* — formed a "perpetual league" for mutual defense against tyranny.

For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs invaded Switzerland with powerful armies, in order to reduce the mountaineers to subjection; and very soon the league against oppression by the lord's agents became a league for independence, against the lord himself. Freedom was established by two great victories, — *Morgarten* (1315) and *Sempach*



THE SWISS CONFEDERATION 1291-1500

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
48 10 11 9 8 7 6 47 46
Danube
R.
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Lindau
Bregenz
Frastenz
R. Rhine
T Y R O L
Münster Thal
R. Adige
Freiburg
Ensisheim
Mühlhausen
Moselle
Doubs
R.
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Schaffhausen 1501
Basel 1501
Dornach
THURGAU
Constance
St. Gall
Toggenburg
Appenzell 1513
Winterthur
Kyburg
Zürich 1351
L. Zürich
Habsburg
AARGAU 1415
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Näfels
Sargans
Glarus 1352
Zug 1352
Horgen
Morgarten
Küssnacht
Schwyz
Sempach
Luzern 1332
L. Luzern
Gersau
Altdorf
UNTERWALDEN
Sarnen
Engelberg
URI
Urseren
St. Gothard Pass
Solothurn 1481
BASEL
R. Aar
Biel
Bern 1353
Thun
Murten
Fribourg 1481
L. Neuchâtel
Neuenburg
Granson
VAUD
Lausanne
Chillon
Lake Geneva
Geneva
SAVOY
TO BERN
Sitten
Martigny
Visp
R. Rhone
VALAIS
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Prattigau
Chur
Davos
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
R. Inn
GRISONS
Disentis
R. Rhine
Splügen Pass
Chiavenna
R. Ticino
Bellinzona 1390
Locarno 1512
Lake Lugano
Lake Maggiore
Lake Como
R. Adda
Sondrio
Valtelline 1512
Bormio
MILAN
VENETIA

(1386).[1] Between the two battles, other cantons rebelled against their lords and joined the alliance. The new members — among them Bern, Zurich, and Luzern — were small city-states, wealthier and more aristocratic than the original union.

Soon after Sempach, the constitution of the league was revised. In the new document the confederate cantons claimed to be *states of the Empire*, but all dependence upon feudal lords was expressly rejected. Each canton kept complete control over its own internal affairs. The "Diet," or central congress of representatives, was hardly more than a meeting of ambassadors to manage foreign war and divide the plunder. The union kept this loose form until the French Revolution.

The victories of the Swiss developed a passion for plunder and for fighting; so that, when there were no wars at home, great numbers of Swiss youth became "mercenaries." For centuries they were the most famous soldiery of Europe, and, strangely enough, when the great democratic movements of the French Revolution began, the thrones of European despots were guarded by hirelings from the free Swiss mountains.

322. Scandinavia. — Except for the ninth century invasions (§ 98), and for the brief empire of Knut (§ 157), Scandinavia hardly touched the life of the rest of Europe until the seventeenth century. The story of these northern lands is romantic. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery, — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Good, Hakon the Old, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. But the history for the most part is only a record of meaningless wars, until, in 1397, the three kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark, by the *Union of Calmar*.

This treaty had the form of a brief written constitution signed by the principal men of the three nations. It provided that each country should keep its own laws and its internal administration, but that *for foreign affairs* the three should be joined in "perpetual union" under *one* hereditary sovereign.

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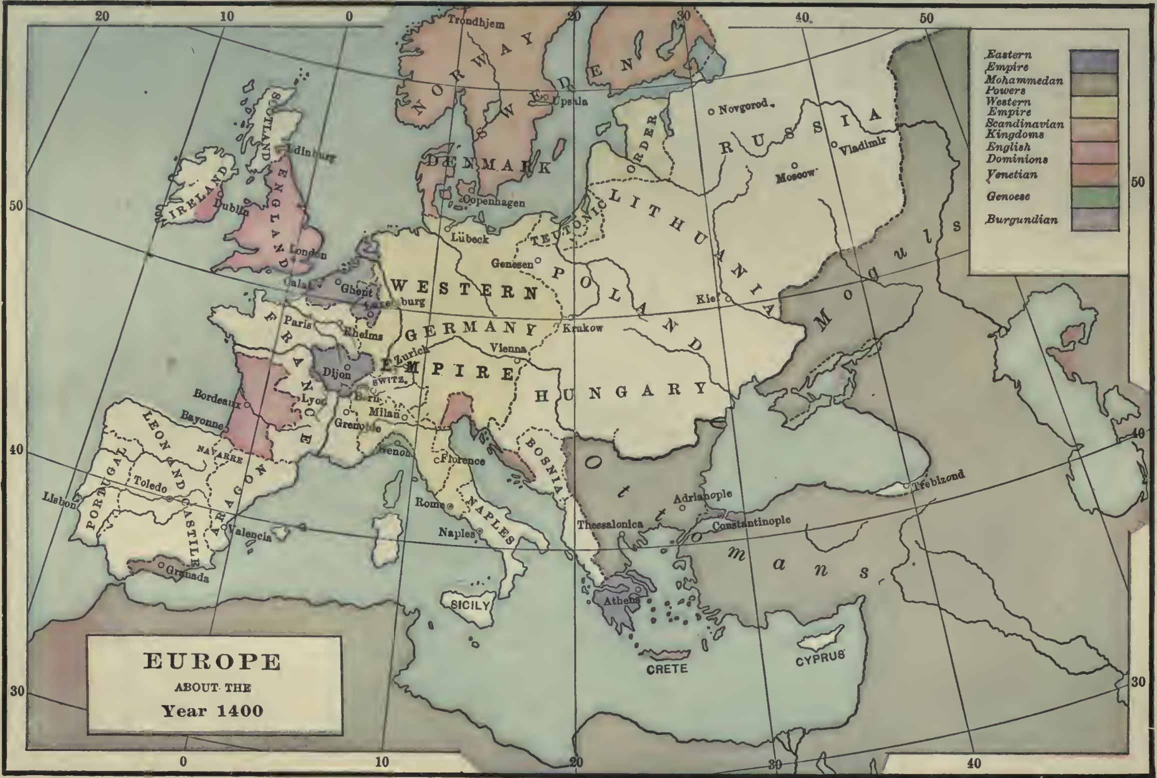
[1] The myth of *William Tell* belongs to the period of Morgarten, and the myth of *Arnold Winkelried* to that of Sempach. These two stories are good subjects for special reports.

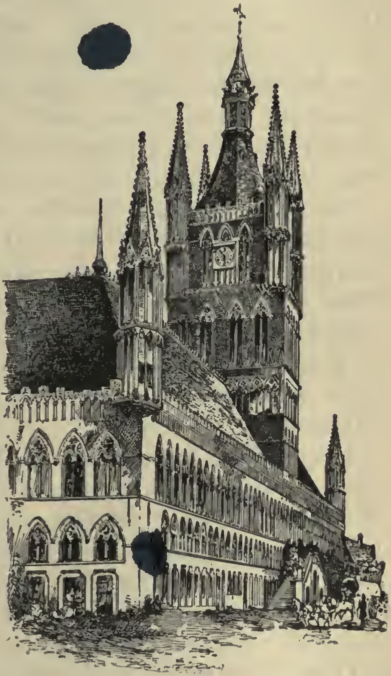


EUROPE
ABOUT THE
Year 1400

Eastern Empire
Mohammedan Powers
Western Empire
Scandinavian Kingdoms
English Dominions
Venetian
Genoese
Burgundian
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Trondhjem
Upsala
Copenhagen
Lübeck
SCOTLAND
Edinburg
IRELAND
Dublin
ENGLAND
London
Calais
Ghent
Luxemburg
Paris
Rheims
FRANCE
Dijon
Lyon
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Grenoble
NAVARRE
LEON AND CASTILE
ARAGON
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Toledo
Valencia
Granada
WESTERN GERMANY EMPIRE
Zurich
SWITZ.
Bern
Milan
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Naples
NAPLES
SICILY
Vienna
TEUTONIC ORDER
Genesen
POLAND
Krakow
LITHUANIA
Kief
HUNGARY
BOSNIA
Thessalonica
Athens
CRETE
Adrianople
Constantinople
Ottomans
CYPRUS
Trebizond
RUSSIA
Novgorod
Moscow
Vladimir
Moguls
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
30
40
50

In practice, however, *the "Union" made the states of the northern peninsula into dependencies of Denmark.* Sweden soon rebelled, and finally, under her heroic *Gustavus Vasa*, established her independence; but Norway, with occasional rebellions, remained dependent until 1814.

323. The Netherlands (Low Countries) did not form an independent state in the Middle Ages. They were made up of a group of provinces, part of them fiefs of the Empire, part of them French fiefs. The southern portion has become modern Belgium; the northern part, modern Holland. The land is a low, level tract, and in the Middle Ages it was more densely packed with teeming cities than any other part of Europe.



HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS' GILD AT YPRES: begun, 1200; finished, 1364.

The inhabitants were a sturdy, independent, slow, industrious, persistent people. Ghent claimed eighty thousand citizens able to bear arms, while Ypres is said to have employed two hundred thousand people in the weaving of cloth. No doubt these numbers are exaggerations; but wealth so abounded that the "counts" of this little district excelled most of the kings of Europe in magnificence. Early in the crusading age the cities had won or bought their liberties. Each province had its Diet, where sat nobles and city representatives.

Many of these cities were built on land wrested from the sea,[1] and they took naturally to commerce. In their markets, the merchants from Italy and the south of Europe met and exchanged wares with the Hansa merchants.

But these Netherland towns were workshops even more than they were trading rooms. "Nothing reached their shores," says one historian, "b[illegible]ceived a more perfect finish; what was coarse and almost worthless, became transmuted into something beautiful and good." Matthew Paris, a thirteenth century English chronicler, exclaimed that "the whole world was clothed in English wool *manufactured in Flanders.*"

The need of English wool for the Flemish looms made Flanders the ally of England in the Hundred Years' War. During this period the dukes of Burgundy became masters of Flanders. When Charles the Bold of Burgundy lost his life in trying to extend his dukedom into a kingdom (§ 301), and when Louis XI of France then seized most of his possessions, the Flemish towns wisely chose to remain faithful to Mary, the daughter of Charles.

In return for their fidelity, an Estates General of the provinces secured from that princess a grant of *The Great Privilege*, the "Magna Carta of the Netherlands" (1478). This document promised (1) that [illegible]e provinces might hold Diets at will; (2) that no new tax should be imposed but by the Estates General; (3) that no war should be declared but by the consent of that body; (4) that offices should be filled by natives only; and (5) that Dutch should be the official language.

Mary married the young Maximilian of Hapsburg (§ 318), and the Netherlands passed to the House of Austria.

For Further Reading. — The only reading advisable for young students on this period (outside England and France for which suggestions have been given) concerns Holland. The best accounts will be found in Griffis' *Brave Little Holland*, Rogers' *Holland*, and the opening pages of *The Student's Motley*.

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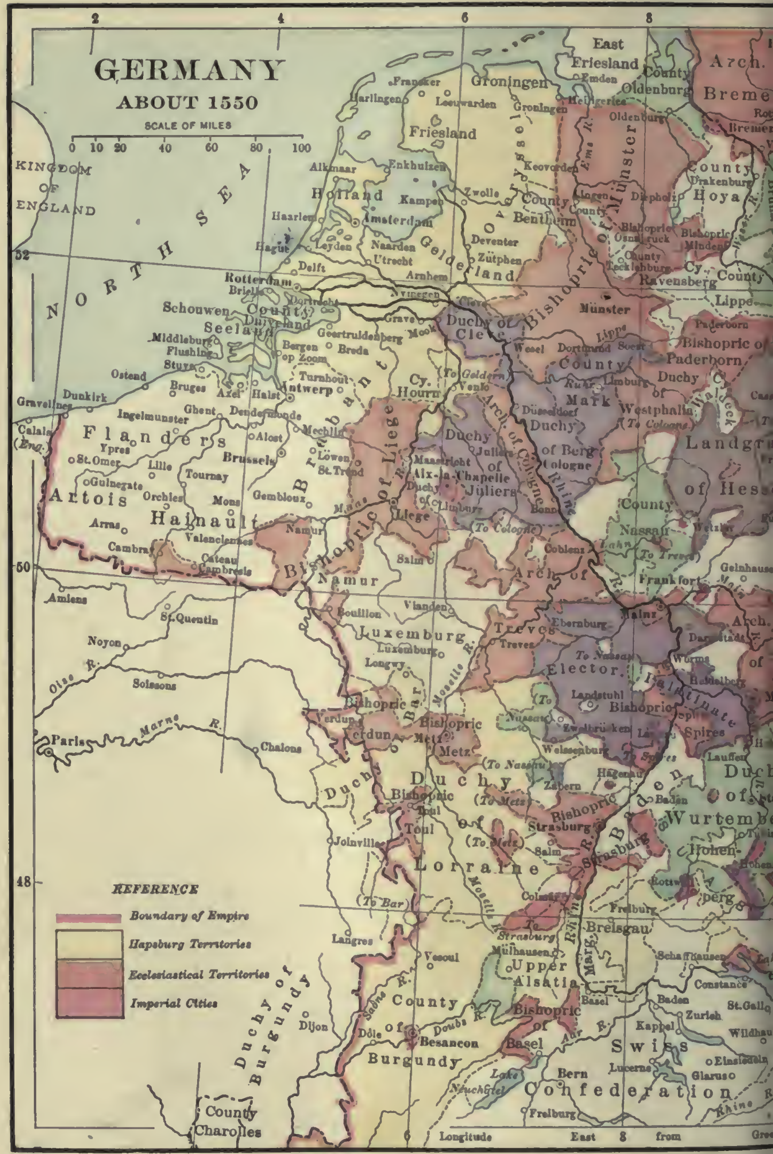
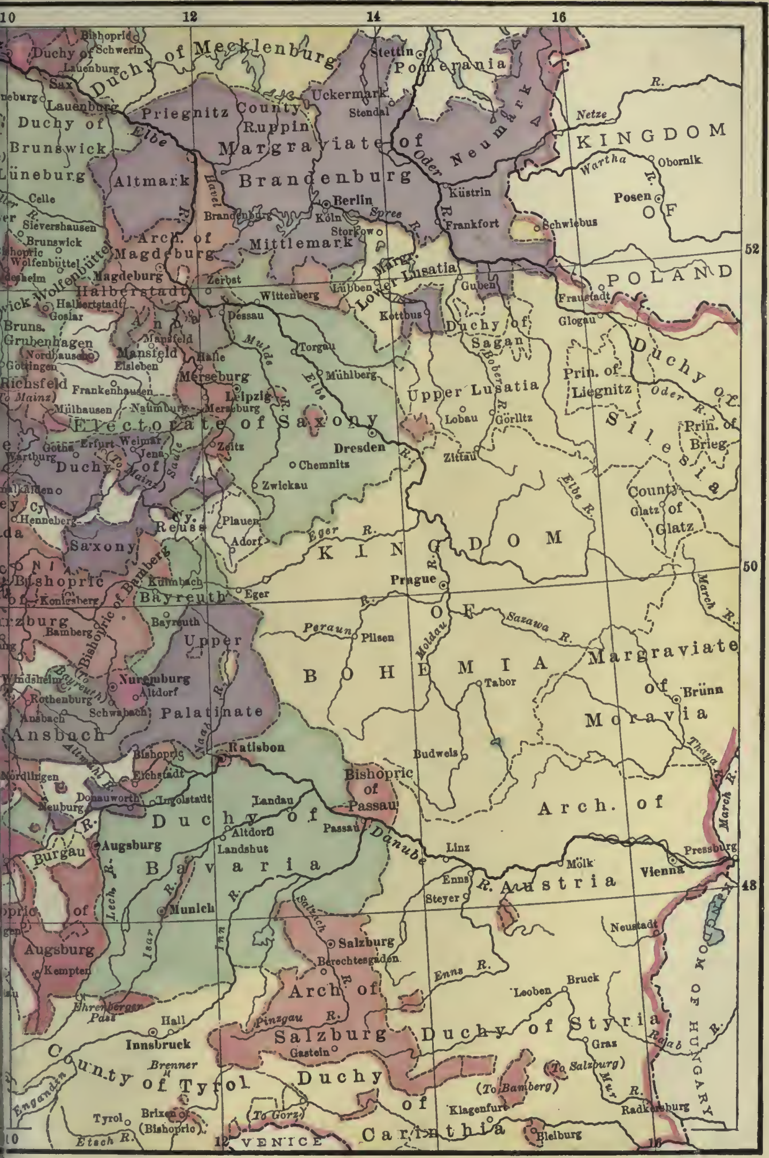
[1] Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and many other cities to the north were built upon dams, or dikes.


GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
East Friesland
Emden
County Oldenburg
Oldenburg
Arch. Bremen
Bremen
Groningen
Franeker
Harlingen
Leeuwarden
Friesland
Alkmaar
Enkhuizen
Holland
Kampen
Zwolle
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Leyden
Hague
Naarden
Utrecht
Delft
Rotterdam
Briell
Dortrecht
Overyssel
Koevorden
County Bentheim
Deventer
Zütphen
Gelderland
Arnhem
Nimegen
Cleve
Bishopric of Münster
Münster
Diepholz
County Hoya
Drakenburg
Bishopric Osnabruck
Bishopric Minden
County Tecklenburg
Cy. Ravensberg
County Lippe
Schouwen
County Holland
Seeland
Middleburg
Flushing
Sluys
Ostend
Bruges
Axel
Hulst
Antwerp
Goertruidenberg
Breda
Bergen op Zoom
Turnhout
Grave
Mook
Duchy of Cleve
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
Lippe
Paderborn
Bishopric of Paderborn
County Mark
Ruhr R.
Limburg
Duchy of Westphalia
(To Cologne)
Waldeck
Landgr.
of Hesse
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais (Eng.)
Ingelmunster
Ghent
Dendermonde
Flanders
Ypres
St. Omer
Lille
Tournay
Alost
Brussels
Mechlin
Löwen
St. Trond
Brabant
Cy. Hourn
(To Geldern)
Venlo
Düsseldorf
Duchy of Berg
Duchy of Juliers
Arch. of Cologne
Cologne
Maastricht
Aix-la-Chapelle
Juliers
Duchy of Limburg
Liege
Bishopric of Liege
Bonn
Rhine R.
County Nassau
Lahn R.
Wetzlar
Gulneqate
Artois
Orchies
Mons
Gembloux
Arras
Hainault
Valenciennes
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
Namur
Bishopric of Namur
Maas R.
Salm
(To Cologne)
Coblenz
Arch. of Treves
(To Treves)
Frankfort
Gelnhausen
Main R.
Amiens
St. Quentin
Noyon
Oise R.
Soissons
Bouillon
Vianden
Luxemburg
Longwy
Moselle R.
Treves
Eberaburg
Mainz
Arch. Mainz
Darmstadt
Worms
Heidelberg
To Nassau
Elector
Palatinate
Landstuhl
Bishopric of Spires
Spires
Zweibrücken
Lauffen
Paris
Marne R.
Chalons
Verdun
Bishopric Verdun
Bar R.
Bishopric Metz
Metz
(To Nassau)
Weissenburg
(To Spires)
Hagenau
Zabern
Duchy of Lorraine
Duchy of Bar
Bishopric Toul
Toul
(To Metz)
Bishopric Strasburg
Strasburg
Baden
Duchy of Wurtemberg
Joinville
(To Metz)
Salm
Hohenzollern
Rottweil
(To Bar)
Colmar
To Strasburg
Freiburg
Breisgau
Langres
Vesoul
Mülhausen
Upper Alsatia
Rhine R.
Marg.
Schaffhausen
Constance
Saone R.
County of Burgundy
Duchy of Burgundy
Dijon
Dôle
Besancon
Doubs R.
Bishopric of Basel
Basel
Aar R.
Baden
Zurich
St. Gallen
Kappel
Wildhaus
Lucerne
Einsiedeln
Glarus
Swiss Confederation
Bern
Lake Neuchâtel
Freiburg
County Charolles
Longitude East 8 from Greenwich
2
4
6
8
52
50
48


10
12
14
16
52
50
48
Bishopric of Schwerin
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Lauenburg
Sax Lauenburg
Stettin
Pomerania
Neumark
Uckermark
Stendal
Priegnitz
County Ruppin
Margraviate of Brandenburg
Elbe
Duchy of Brunswick Lüneburg
Celle
Sieversbausen
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Altmark
Havel R.
Brandenburg
Berlin
Köln
Spree R.
Storkow
Oder R.
Küstrin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
Netze R.
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Wartha R.
Obornik
Posen
Arch. of Magdeburg
Magdeburg
Mittlemark
Zerbst
Margr. Lower Lusatia
Lübben
Guben
Fraustadt
Glogau
Halberstadt
Halbertstadt
Goslar
Bruns. Grubenhagen
Nordhausen
Göttingen
Eichsfeld
(To Mainz)
Mühlhausen
Frankenhausen
Anhalt
Dessau
Wittenberg
Kottbus
Duchy of Sagan
Mansfeld
Eisleben
Halle
Merseburg
Leipzig
Mulde R.
Torgau
Mühlberg
Bober R.
Upper Lusatia
Prin. of Liegnitz
Duchy of Silesia
Oder R.
Prin. of Brieg
Naumburg
Merseburg
Electorate of Saxony
Elbe R.
Dresden
Lobau
Görlitz
Zittau
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Wartburg
Duchy of
(To Mainz)
Saale
Zeitz
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Elbe R.
County of Glatz
Glatz
Henneberg
Cy.
Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
Saxony
Eger R.
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Bishopric of Bamberg
Kulmbach
Bayreuth
Eger
Prague
Konigsberg
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Peraun R.
Pilsen
Moldau R.
Sazawa R.
March R.
Margraviate of Moravia
Brünn
Upper Palatinate
Windsheim
(To Bayreuth)
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Naab R.
Tabor
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Schwabach
Ansbach
Altmühl R.
Ratisbon
Budweis
Thaya R.
Bishopric Eichstädt
Bishopric of Passau
Nördlingen
Donauworth
Ingolstadt
Landau
Arch. of Austria
Neuburg
Duchy of Bavaria
Altdorf
Landshut
Passau
Danube R.
Linz
Mölk
Burgau
Augsburg
Enns
Steyer
Vienna
Pressburg
Lech R.
Isar R.
Inn R.
Munich
Salzach R.
Neustadt
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Bishopric of Augsburg
Kempten
Salzburg
Berchtesgaden
Enns R.
Arch. of Salzburg
Pinzgau R.
Leoben
Bruck
Ehrenbergen Pass
Hall
Innsbruck
Gastein
Duchy of Styria
Graz
Raab R.
Brenner
County of Tyrol
Duchy of Carinthia
(To Salzburg)
(To Bamberg)
Mur R.
Engandin
Tyrol
Brixen (Bishopric)
(To Gorz)
Klagenfurt
Radkersburg
Etsch R.
VENICE
Bleiburg

CHAPTER XVIII

CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: POLITICAL EUROPE

324. "Monarchic States."—In the last chapters we have traced the rise of new powerful monarchies in England, France, Spain, Austria and Bohemia, Sweden and Denmark. Like governments had appeared, too, in Hungary and Poland. Two small lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, were loosely connected with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. And two great lands had no part in the movement: until 1250, Germany and Italy had been the center of interest; but their claim for universal rule had left them broken in fragments. Not for centuries were they to reach this new form of united monarchic government. *Leadership, therefore, passed from them to France, Spain, and England,* — the three countries in which the new movement was most advanced. Germany and Italy became little more than a battle ground for these states.

It is well at this point to look back for a bird's-eye view of the political progress of the Middle Ages. After Charlemagne, Europe had been forced, by military and economic necessities (chapter v), to adopt the feudal organization. But this barbarous anarchic sort of government did not long meet the needs of reviving civilization; and, before 1300, two definite plans at better organization had been tried. And both had failed. (1) The hope for a *universal monarchy* was shattered by the conflict between emperors and popes. (2) The papacy seemed at first to come out of that conflict as a victorious *universal "theocracy"*;[1] but its *political* power soon vanished before the rising English and French monarchies.

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[1] *Theocracy* is a government by a priesthood, as in parts of Jewish history.

*The rise of "monarchic states" is the great change that marks the close, **politically**, of the Middle Ages.* At the moment, it seemed a disaster to many good men, who had their minds fixed on the old ideal of a united Christendom. But, since the days of the old Roman empire, Europe had never known a true union. "Latin Christendom," in its best period of union, had contained several *layers* of society, each spread over all Western Europe — nobles, burgesses, artisans, priests, peasants. These *horizontal* lines of cleavage between classes had been far more disastrous to union than the new cleavage into nations was to be. One class had been more foreign to another in the same land than France to England. French noble and German noble were always ready to make common cause against peasants or townsfolk of *either* country.

The new monarchies were to change all this. Indeed, they had already begun to do so. The real mission of each of them, whether the monarchs saw it yet or not, was *to weld all the classes within its land into one people with a common patriotism.* While this was being done, some old liberties were lost. But, unconsciously, the monarchs were paving the way for a new freedom, a few centuries later, broader and safer than the world had ever known.

325. The Struggle for Italy. — Even in Italy there had been some movement toward unity. Soon after 1300 nearly every city fell under the rule of tyrants. But by 1450 the many petty divisions had been brought under one or another of the "Five Great States," — the kingdom of Sicily in the south, the Papal States in the center, and in the north the duchy of Milan and the so-called republics of Venice and Florence. The movement toward consolidation, however, had not gone far enough to afford security, now that other countries were united at home.

We saw that about 1250 a pope invited a French prince, Charles of Anjou, to become king of Sicily (§ 232). Charles VIII of France now claimed the crown of Sicily and Naples as the heir of the House of Anjou, and, **in 1494**, he crossed the Alps with a large army to assert his claim. Charles was

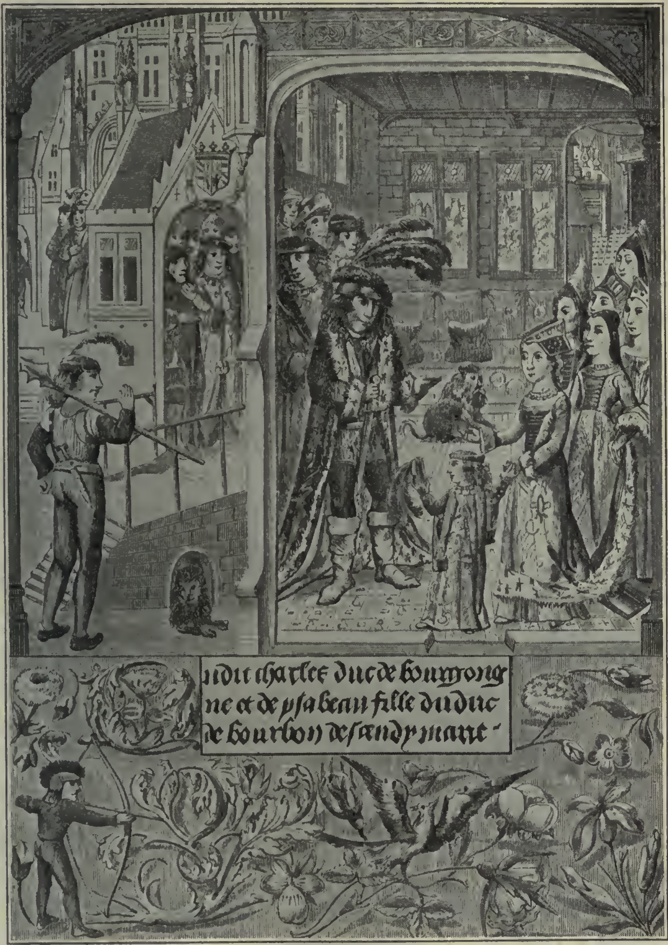

ndit charles duc de bourgong
ne et de ysabeau fille du duc
de bourbon descendy marie -

ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing in the foreground Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip. The original is in colors.

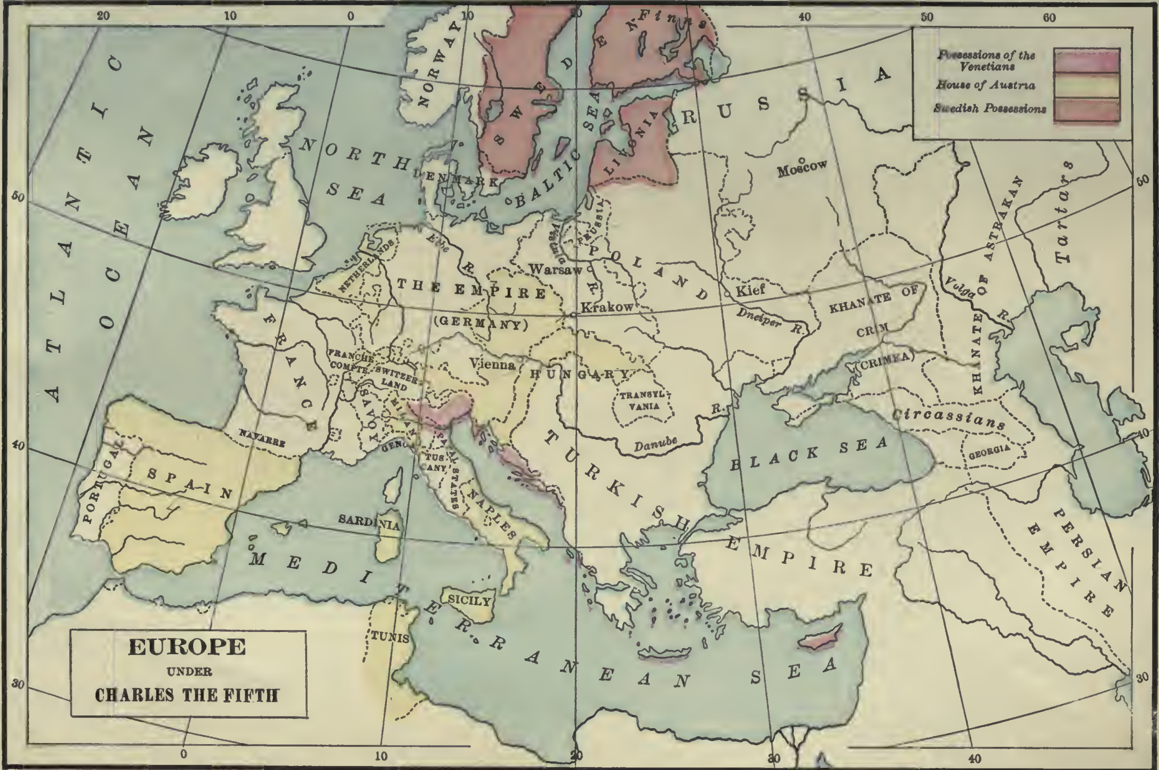
animated by wild dreams of conquest. He marched victoriously from end to end of the peninsula, regulating matters at will, not only in his southern kingdom, but in the northern states as well. However, Italian enemies quickly gathered behind him. Ferdinand of Aragon, [illegible] ~~also~~, claimed the kingdom of Sicily; and Venice joined the anti-French party. Charles secured his retreat into France only by a desperate battle. *Spain was left mistress of Sicily and Naples.*

326. The Hapsburg Power. — Ferdinand of Aragon had been building up family alliances to strengthen the power of Spain. One daughter he married to the young English prince, soon to become King Henry VIII (§ 373), and another to Philip of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (§ 323). From this last marriage, in 1500, was born a child, Charles, who was almost to restore a universal empire.

Philip, father of Charles, had been ruler of the rich provinces of the Netherlands through his mother, Mary; and his early death left those districts to Charles while yet a boy. In 1516 Charles also succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, as king of Sicily and Naples and as king of Spain, with the gold-producing realms in America that had just become Spain's. Three years later he succeeded his other grandfather, Maximilian, as the hereditary ruler of Austria, with its many dependent provinces. Then, still a boy of 19, Charles became a candidate for the title of emperor, which Maximilian's death had left vacant; and his wealth (or that of his Flemish merchants) enabled him to win against his rivals, Francis of France and Henry VIII of England.

327. Thus Charles I of Spain, at twenty, became also Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This election gave him a claim to lordship over Germany and the rest of Italy. His hereditary possessions made it seem possible for a while that he might make his claim good — and so more than restore the empire of the first great Charles (Charlemagne).

328. Francis and Charles. — France, at first, was his only apparent obstacle. Francis I had been trying to capture Milan



EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH

Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finns
BALTIC SEA
LIVONIA
DENMARK
RUSSIA
Moscow
Tartars
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
Volga R.
KHANATE OF CRIM
(CRIMEA)
Circassians
GEORGIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
POLAND
PRUSSIA
Vistula
Warsaw
R.
Krakow
Kief
Dnieper R.
Elbe R.
NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
(GERMANY)
Vienna
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Danube
R.
TURKISH EMPIRE
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMTE
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
MILAN
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
SARDINIA
SICILY
TUNIS
NAVARRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
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60
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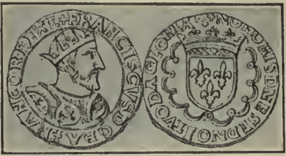
— in right of a shadowy French claim; and this brought Francis and Charles into conflict. Compact France was nearly equal in power to all the scattered Hapsburg realms, and Francis found mighty reinforcement from an event which occurred just at this moment in Germany. In 1520 Martin Luther publicly burned a papal bull (§ 353) and started the Protestant Reformation, which was to split Germany at once into opposing camps and to render forever impossible the restoration of the old imperial unity of Christendom, of which Charles perhaps had dreamed.



Gold Coin of Francis I.

This was the political situation when Europe entered the age of the Protestant Revolt (§ 346). Before we enter upon that story, we have yet to treat the *intellectual* side of the two centuries whose political story we have been tracing in the last five chapters.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact drills.

   a. Dates. Add to previous lists the following: —

1100–1300, Crusades.
1254–1273, Great Interregnum.
1381, Peasant Rising in England.
1414, Council of Constance.
1453, Fall of Constantinople.
1492, Columbus. Capture of Granada.

   b. Fix other events in connection with the above; such as the Swiss Confederacy (after the death of Rudolph, who becomes emperor 1273, at close of Interregnum), Innocent III, Albigensian heresy, Tartar invasions, etc.

   c. Extend list of terms for brief explanation (cf. pages 130, 213): "take the cross," Dukes of Athens, Teutonic Order, Janissaries, etc. (The list should be a long one for this period.)

2. Review questions presented by class.
3. Map reviews and comparisons.
4. General topics: (*a*) parliamentary assemblies of Europe, — Diets, Estates, Cortes, etc.; (*b*) movements for religious reforms within the church; (*c*) movements for religious reforms that threatened, at least, to act outside the church.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RENAISSANCE (1350–1550)

(A TRANSITION TO A NEW AGE)

329. Character of the Renaissance. — The intellectual awakening that followed the crusades (§ 254) had already shown itself before 1300 in the marvelous growth of universities (§ 274); and soon after that date, it began to grow into the far more wonderful movement which we call the Renaissance. The name is a fit one because the change consisted largely in a "rebirth" of an old, long-forgotten way of looking at life. This older way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks; and naturally the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the "classical" period. The real characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, *but its joyousness and self-trust in the present.* The men of the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture of Greece and of Rome, because they found in it what they themselves thought and felt.

Between those classical times and the fourteenth century, there had intervened centuries of very different life — which we have been studying. Those "intervening" centuries are called, properly enough, the "Middle Ages." They have *three marks* on the intellectual side. (1) Ignorance was the general rule; and even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) Man *as an individual* counted for little. In all his activities he was part of some gild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life. Beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded almost as a temptation of the devil. Men not only felt it wrong to take delight in the world, but thought they ought always to think of the terrors of a world to come.

The Renaissance changed all this. (1) For blind obedience to authority and tradition, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the Ancients had looked at things. (2) A new self-reliance and self-confidence marked the individual, and a fresh and lively originality appeared in every form of thought. (3) Men awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world, and also of the world of thought and imagination.

330. Periods. — This transformation — one of the two or three most wonderful changes in all history — began first in Italy about 1350. It was well over in that land by 1550; while it hardly began in England until 1500, and there it lasted through Shakspere's age, to about 1600. For other countries, the movement came between these extreme dates. The whole period was one of transition out of one age into another. Thus it is hard to date it at all, and of course it varied for different places. This chapter, therefore, in places, runs over into the next age.

The Renaissance, too, showed itself most forcefully at different times in different ways. First it manifested itself in art and literature, then in a revival of learning and in scientific study, and finally in a movement for religious reform. Some of these phases were more marked in one country, some in another.

331. Italy was the natural home for a revival in literature and art. Italy's Virgil had been read by a few Italian scholars all down the Middle Ages. The Italian language was nearer the Latin than any other European language was, and more manuscripts of the ancient Roman writers survived in Italy than elsewhere in Western Europe.

Three names are commonly associated with the Italian literary Renaissance, — *Dante* (1265–1321), *Petrarch* (1304–1374), and *Boccaccio* (1313–1375), — all citizens of Florence. The greatest of the three was *Dante;* but after all, Dante's thought belonged to the Middle Ages: it is only in his independence and self-reliance that he stood for a new era. *Petrarch*, in the next generation, was the champion of a new age. In feeling and aspiration he belonged wholly to the Renaissance, — which he did much to bring to pass. His graceful sonnets are a famous part of Italian literature, but his chief influence upon the world lay in his work as a tireless critic of the medieval system and as an ardent advocate of the old classical ideals. He attacked vehemently the superstitions and the false science of the day; he ridiculed the mighty tomes of the Schoolmen as "heaps of worthless rubbish"; the universities themselves he laughed at as "nests of gloomy ignorance"; and he ventured daringly even to challenge the infallibility of Aristotle, — who, he said, was after all "only a man."

PETRARCH.

But Petrarch did more than merely destroy. It was desirable that the world should recover what the Ancients had possessed of art and knowledge, that it might take up progress again where they had left off. *Petrarch began an enthusiastic search for classical manuscripts*, and his disciples soon made this zeal fashionable throughout Italy.

Among these disciples the most famous was *Boccaccio*, nine years Petrarch's junior. He is widely famed as the writer of the *Decameron*, a collection of a hundred tales. This work made him the father of Italian prose, as Dante was of Italian poetry; but, as in the case of Petrarch, Boccaccio's real worth to the world lay mainly in the impulse he added to the revival of classical learning. He wrote the first dictionaries of classical geography and Greek mythology, and so made it easier for scholars to understand ancient writers; and he brought back the study of Greek to Italy.

332. This new enthusiasm for the classics became known as *humanism* (Latin, *humanitas*, culture). Before 1450, the Humanists had recovered practically all the literary remains we now have of the Latin authors, and a large part of the surviving Greek manuscripts. Oftentimes neglected manuscripts were found decaying in moldy vaults. Many had been mutilated, or had been erased in order that the parchment might receive some monastic legend.[1] Much had been wholly lost; and if the humanistic revival had been a little longer delayed, a great deal that we now possess would never have been recovered.

333. Recovery of the Greek Language. — With all their zeal for Greek manuscripts, and Latin translations of them, most of the early Humanists were ignorant of the Greek language; but after the year 1400, the knowledge of that tongue grew rapidly. Greek scholars were invited to the Italian cities and were given professorships in the universities. The increasing danger in the Greek Empire from the Turk (§ 320) made such invitations welcome, and the high prices paid by princely Italian collectors drew more and more of the literary treasures of Constantinople to the Italian cities. Many a fugitive scholar from the East found the possession of some precious manuscript the key to fortune and favor in Italy.[2] This movement received a sudden, but brief, acceleration when Constantinople fell, in 1453. "Greece did not perish," said an Italian scholar; "it emigrated to Italy."

334. Humanism in the History of Education. — At first, humanism had been stoutly resisted by the universities, but it finally captured them and established a "new education." The earlier "liberal education" had contained no Greek and had given little acquaintance with the Latin authors. The courses in "arts" were now broadened so as to furnish a true classical training. Medieval Latin was replaced by the refined style of Cicero, and the great works of classical antiquity were studied at first hand. Greek thought and knowledge and the grand and beautiful conceptions of Greek and Latin literature were gradually absorbed into our modern thought and literature, which they still color.

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[1] In some cases this later writing has since been carefully removed, and the original writing restored faintly, through chemical processes.

[2] The value of such a manuscript furnishes an essential element in the plot of George Eliot's *Romola*.

335. Renaissance Art. — Architecture was the one beautiful thing that suffered at the Renaissance. The noble Gothic style was replaced by imitations of the older Roman and Greek styles. But in painting and sculpture there was great gain. These arts were reborn into the world, with the rebirth of a delight in life; and painting, at least, reached a perfection never before known.

This was particularly true in Italy. In that land many remains of ancient art were still preserved. Others, buried in the soil, were now eagerly sought for. After Boccaccio, the new movement became preëminently artistic. And art interested deeply the whole people, not merely a select few. Great popular processions did honor to single paintings, and famous works were produced in an abundance almost inconceivable.

Until about 1450 the paintings were mainly frescoes, or paintings upon freshly plastered ceilings, in churches or palaces. But one of the *Van Eyck* brothers in Holland, about the middle of the fifteenth century, invented new methods of preparing oil paints, so that painting upon canvas became possible. About the same time engraving of copper plates and "woodcuts" came into use.

The new artistic impulse is usually dated from the work of *Giotto*, early in the fourteenth century, but Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470 to 1550. Between these dates came the work of *Leonardo da Vinci*, *Michael Angelo*, *Fra Angelico*, *Perugino*, *Raphael*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *the Bellini*, *Giorgione*, *Titian*, *Tintoretto*, and *Correggio*. *Each town had its able artists*, but nearly all the greatest masters, like most of those just named, belonged to Florence or to Venice. Many of these men practised more than one art. Thus, Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, and sculptor, as well as painter, and he was not without fame as a poet.

The great period of Dutch art was to come a little later, between 1600 and 1660, with *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, and *Rembrandt*. In the same century came the great Spanish painters, *Velasquez* (1599–1660) and *Murillo* (1618–1682). The other great painters of the Renaissance age outside of Italy were the Germans, *Albert Dürer* (1471–1528) and *Holbein* (1498–1543). Neither England nor France produced much in this direction during these centuries. But some of the great Italians — Andrea del Sarto and Leonardo — found their chief patronage in Paris from Francis I, and English sovereigns entertained Holbein, Rubens, and Van Dyck.

336. There was an evil, pagan side to the Italian Renaissance. The men of the new movement, having cast off old restraints and beliefs, fell often into gross and shallow unbelief and into shameless self-indulgence. Delight in beauty sometimes sank into gross sensuality. Religious faith and private morals both declined, and for a time Italian society sank lower than the old Pagan world. The "Men of the Renaissance" were always polished and elegant and full of robust vitality; but many of them went to their goal recklessly by any means, and some of them were monsters of perfidy and cruelty.

337. This side of the Renaissance was typified by the Italian *Condottieri,* — roving captains of bands of soldiers of fortune. These chieftains sold their services to any city with a price to pay, — and then betrayed it, on occasion, or seized it for themselves, if convenient. Such was the source of most of the Italian "tyrants" (§ 325) of the time. Many of them were generous patrons of art and learning; but their marked characteristics were indomitable will, reckless scorn of danger, powerful minds, and absolute freedom from moral scruple — which led them to extremes of cruelty and perfidy whenever such measures seemed useful to them. Like traits show a few years later, in the Spanish conquerors of the New World; — Cortez, Pizarro, Balboa, and their fellows. The scores of English sea-kings of the next century — Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Grenville (who fought "the fight of the one and the fifty-three"[1]) — belong to the same order of men *except* that in them cruelty is refined into sternness, and perfidy is replaced by lofty honor, through the greater moral earnestness of the Renaissance in the North.

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[1] Read Tennyson's poem of that name.

338. The Renaissance was *mainly* artistic and literary in the south of Europe, and mainly scientific and religious in the north. But the intellectual side, too, was born in Italy. The first modern scholar with the scientific spirit (if we except Roger Bacon, § 281) was *Laurentius Valla* (died 1457). Among other works, he edited the New Testament in Greek, and he proved that a long-accepted famous "donation" of power and territory to the popes, by the first Christian emperor, Constantine, was a forged document. Valla was private secretary to Pope Nicholas V (§ 314), who sympathized with his work.

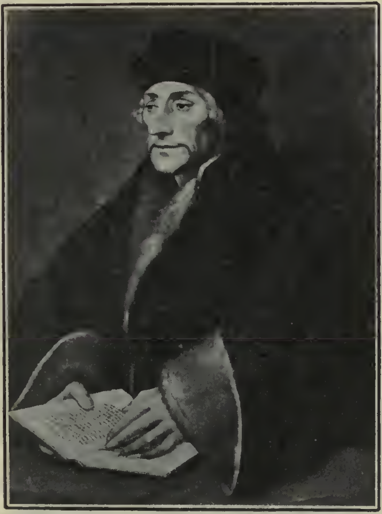
Thus modern science began with "historical criticism," — a careful, scientific study of the *sources* of knowledge about the past, and a critical investigation of documents, which disclosed many forgeries and corruptions. This new historical criticism was akin to the enthusiasm of the early Humanists for the recovery of classical writings; but *it was also related to a fervent religious desire* to remove abuses in the church and get back to the spirit and practices of early Christianity.

339. The Oxford Reformers. — But though born in Italy, *this "New Learning" did find its true home north of the Alps.* Valla's work was continued by *John Colet*, an Englishman who studied in Italy. He brought back to England the study of Greek, and lectured at the University of Oxford on the New Testament, preaching earnestly the need of an orderly reform in religion and church government. The group of his enthusiastic followers are known, with him, as *the Oxford Reformers.* Most important among them were Erasmus (a Hollander) and Sir Thomas More.

Colet became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. There he established the famous St. Paul's School, — a model for the later English "Public Schools" like Eton and Rugby, wholly different from the old church schools. This began a new era in education.

340. The influence of Erasmus was not limited to any one country, but extended throughout Europe; and his name was probably the most widely respected in that age. In 1516 he published the New Testament *in the original Greek* (with a careful Latin translation). His Greek text (far more correct than Valla's) was carefully revised, and accompanied by many critical notes. Now, for the first time, ordinary scholars could test satisfactorily the accuracy of the common Latin translation (the Vulgate) in use in the church.

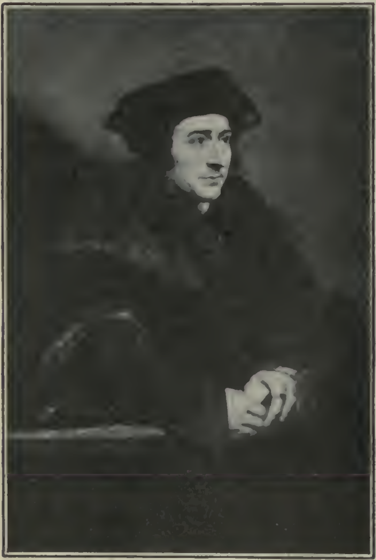
Afterward Erasmus edited the writings of many of the early Christian Fathers — to show the character of early Christianity. In another sort of works — as in his famous *Praise of Folly* — with keen and graceful ridicule, he lashed the false learning and foolish methods of the monks and Schoolmen. He has been called "the Scholar of the Reformation." His writings did furnish Luther (§ 347) with much material ready for use against the old religious system; but Erasmus was not himself a revolutionist. Like Valla, Colet, and More, he worked, with beautiful charity and patience and largeness of view, for reform *within* the great mother church.



ERASMUS. After a portrait by Holbein.

341. Sir Thomas More was one of the noblest Englishmen of any age. He was a distinguished scholar — his learning brightened by a gentle and pervading humor — and a man of great personal charm. It was at his house that Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly*. More's own influence was given to reform in society rather than in religion. In the year that Erasmus published his Greek Testament, More issued his

Description of the Republic of Utopia ("Nowhere"). He portrays, with burning sympathy, the miseries of the English peasantry, and points accusingly to the barbarous social and political conditions of his time by contrasting with them the conditions in "Nowhere" — where the people elect their government (which accordingly is devoted solely to their welfare), possess good homes, work short hours, enjoy absolute freedom of speech, high intellectual culture, and universal happiness, with all property in common. *Utopia* was the first of the many modern attempts to picture, in the guise of fiction, an ideal state of society.



SIR THOMAS MORE. After a copy by Rubens of the portrait by Holbein.

342. The new intellectual movement was marked by a number of new inventions or by the first practical use of them. Four demand special attention.

Gunpowder had been known for some time (§ 290), but about 1500 it was very much improved in quality. Its first serious use was in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, about 1521. This invention gave the final blow to the already dying feudalism.

Printing did more to advance the new order than gunpowder could do to destroy the old. Cheap *paper* (from the Saracens) had been introduced before 1300, to replace costly parchments; but all books had still to be *written* by hand until after 1400. Then engravers made *plates* (engraved blocks of wood), each a page of a book. This made the reproduction of a book much quicker and cheaper than before. Some such process seems to have been practised by the Chinese centuries earlier. Finally, **John Gutenberg**, about 1450 (at Mainz), invented the process of "casting" separate metal type in molds.

This invention of *movable* type came at a happy moment, when the recovery of ancient manuscripts was just complete. There was much to print; and in less than twenty-five years printing presses were at work in every country in Southwestern Europe. In 1474 William Caxton brought back the new art from the continent to England, issuing for the first book from his press, the *Game and Playe of Chesse.* No previous invention had spread its influence so rapidly. Before 1500, Venice alone had sent out over three thousand editions of famous books. The new process reduced the price of books at once to one-tenth or one-twentieth the old price, and it enormously increased their circulation. It preserved the precious works recovered by the Humanists, and soon spread broadcast the new thought of the Reformation.

The telescope (§ 345) gave knowledge of other worlds.

The mariner's compass enabled Columbus to double the area of the known globe.

343. Geographical Discoveries. — The Ancients had *played* with the notion of sailing around the earth. Aristotle speaks of "persons" who held that it might be possible; and Strabo, a Roman geographer, suggested that one or more continents might lie in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia.

But during the Middle Ages men had come to believe that the known habitable earth was bounded on all sides by an uninhabitable and untraversable world, — on the north by snow and ice, on the south by a fiery zone, on the west by watery wastes stretching down an inclined plane, up which men might not return, and on the east by a dim land of fog and fen, the abode of strange and terrible monsters.[1] The Indian Ocean, too, was thought to be a *lake*, encompassed by the shores of Asia and Africa.

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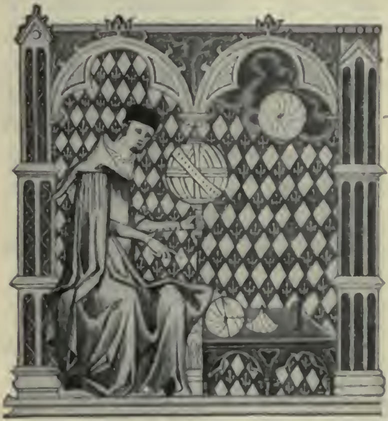
[1] For some of these ideas, see the curious and interesting *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville (thirteenth century).

The first step toward the discovery of America was to correct these views. This was accomplished in part by a better geographical knowledge of Asia, gained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX of France sent Friar Rubruk as ambassador to the court of the Tartar Khan in central Asia; and the friar on his return reported that he had heard of a *navigable ocean east of Cathay* (China), with a marvelously wealthy island, Zipango (Japan).



Monk teaching the Globe. — From a thirteenth century manuscript in the National Library at Paris.

This rumor of an ocean to the east made a leap in men's thought. Friar Bacon in England (§ 281) at once raised the question whether this ocean might not be the same as the one that washed Europe on the west and whether men might not reach Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. Indeed, Bacon wrote a book to support these conjectures, adding many opinions of the Ancients; and extensive extracts from this volume were copied into a later book, which was to become a favorite of Columbus.

Such speculation implies that scholars understood the sphericity of the earth. The ancient Greeks had had this knowledge of the earth's form, and of its true size, but that knowledge had been lost in the early Middle Ages. Saracenic schools, however, preserved the truth, and some European thinkers had been familiar with it, even in the "Dark Ages."

Moreover, the Mongol emperors (§ 252) opened China to western strangers to a degree altogether new for that land; and, while Mongol dominion lasted, many strangers and merchants visited the East. Among these were three Venetians, the *Polos*, who on their return sailed from Peking through the straits into the Indian Ocean and up the Persian Gulf. *This proved true the rumor of Rubruk regarding an eastern ocean, and proved also that the Indian Ocean was not landlocked.*

Travelers in that age did not often write descriptions of their travels. One of these Polos, however, being captured, soon after his return, in a sea fight between Venice and Genoa, remained a prisoner in Genoa for some years; and the stories that he told of his adventures were written down by one of his fellow captives. Thus was made "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," one of the most widely read books of the Middle Ages.

From this time it was possible to think seriously of reaching India by sailing west. Soon afterward *commercial conditions changed so as to impel men earnestly to try it.*

The crusades had given a new impulse to trade with the Orient, and many eastern products were become almost necessities of daily life to Europe; but in the fifteenth century, the progress of the Turks threatened the old trade routes. Constantinople, the emporium for the route by the Black Sea, fell into their hands, and each year their power crept farther south in Asia, endangering the remaining route by the Red Sea. Under these circumstances the *question was forced home to Europe whether or not a new route could be found;* and the speculations of Bacon and the discoveries of the Polos pointed to an answer.

The Portuguese, under Prince Henry the Navigator, had already been engaged in building up a Portuguese empire in Africa and in the islands of the Atlantic (Azores, Canary, and Verde[1]); *and about 1470 they began to attempt to reach India by sailing around Africa.* In 1486 a Portuguese captain, *Bartholomew Diaz,* while engaged in this attempt, was carried far to the south in a storm, and on his return to the coast he found it *on his left hand* as he moved toward the north. He followed it several hundred miles, well into the Indian Ocean.

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[1] The name "Cape Verde" indicates the surprise of the discoverers (1450) at verdure so far south.

Then his sailors compelled him to turn back to Portugal. India was not actually reached until the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1498, after more memorable voyages in another direction.

One of the sailors with Diaz in 1486, when in this way he rounded the Cape of "Good Hope," was a Bartholomew Columbus, whose brother *Christopher* also had sailed on several Portuguese voyages. Now, however, for some years, Christopher Columbus had devoted himself to the more daring theory that India could be reached by sailing west into the open Atlantic. Portugal, well content with her monopoly of African exploration, refused to assist him to try his plan. Henry VII of England also declined to furnish him ships. But finally, the high-minded Isabella of Castile, while the siege of Granada was in progress, fitted out his small fleet, and *in 1492 Columbus added America to the possessions of Spain.*

344. These discoveries shifted once more the scene of history to the west. The marvels of the new regions of the earth added mightily to the intellectual stir in all Europe. For a century or two *the immediate material gain was confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations.* Portugal built up a great and wealthy empire in the Indian Ocean and in the adjoining islands of the Pacific, while Spain acquired the wealth of Mexico and Peru, and poured forth multitudes of adventurers to create a new Spain in America. *Soon, however, the other sea-board countries* on the western ocean began to seize parts of this new commercial and colonial prosperity.

The Mediterranean, for the past two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." And with the decay of Mediterranean trade, the cities of Italy lost their importance both in commerce and in intellectual and artistic leadership.

345. Physical Science. — The new scientific methods which Valla and Erasmus had used in history and theology were used a little later in the natural sciences. The first great representative of this movement was the Prussian astronomer *Copernicus.* All men had believed the earth to be the center of the universe. Copernicus proved that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for its center. This discovery not only revolutionized the particular science of astronomy: it also helped to revolutionize thought about man and the world, by opening up such immensities of worlds and such possibilities of other forms of life as had never before been dreamed of. Columbus had discovered "a New World": Copernicus revealed a new universe.

From fear of persecution, Copernicus delayed the publication of his discovery many years, until just before his death. When his work was printed (1543), the long series of devastating wars between Catholic and Protestant Europe was just beginning (§ 359). These wars had Germany for their especial battle ground, and for a long time they destroyed all chance of scientific or literary development in that country. In another way the great struggle repressed scientific thought, even more completely, in the Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance, the popes had been among the most active patrons of the new movement; but now the reaction against Protestant revolt threw control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous power for a time to stifle the teachings of the new science.

Still, much was accomplished. In Italy, *Galileo* (1564–1642) discovered the laws of the pendulum and of falling bodies, invented the thermometer, and, using a hint from a Holland plaything, constructed the first real telescope. He had adopted the Copernican theory of the universe, and with his telescope he was able to *demonstrate* its truth by *showing the "phases" of Venus* in her revolution about the sun. His teachings, however, were considered dangerous and unsupported by scripture. He was summoned to Rome, imprisoned, and forced publicly to abjure his teaching that the earth moved around the sun. But as he rose from his knees after making his recantation he whispered to a friend, "None the less, *it does move.*"

In other ways than around the sun, Galileo's world was moving swiftly.

FOR FURTHER READING. — It does not seem advisable *to require* reading on this period. But students may be encouraged to explore for themselves in the following works: Adams' *Civilization*, 364–391; Symond's *Short History of the Renaissance;* Robinson and Rolfe's *Petrarch;* Froude's *Erasmus;* Saintsbury's *Flourishing of Romance.* Lübke's *History of Art* is particularly good for the medieval period, and Van Dyke's *History of Painting* is excellent. **Source material** on the age will be found in Ogg's *Source Book*, chs. xxi–xxvi, and in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 524 ff.

On geographical discovery, Fiske's *Discovery of America*, I, ch. iv, Channing's *History of the United States*, I, ch. i, and Brooks' *Story of Marco Polo.*

In fiction, Charles Reade's *Cloister and Hearth* and George Eliot's *Romola* picture Renaissance movements, but both books, as wholes, are rather mature for high-school students of the second year.

PART III

THE AGE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, 1520–1648

CHAPTER XX

THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT

I. LUTHERANISM — IN GERMANY

346. Most of our recent references to the church (§§ 295, 310, 314) **have involved some mention of abuses** that were growing up within it. All good Christians lamented those abuses. A few wise, broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus and Colet (§§ 339, 340), strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away in revolt against the church itself. This revolt divided Western Christendom into hostile camps for centuries. It is called the Protestant "Reformation."

The name is not wholly satisfactory. A few writers prefer to call the movement instead *the Protestant Revolt*. But the name *Reformation* has nearly universal use, and it does not seem wise to discard it — since it is only a name. The student must be careful, however, to notice that this Protestant movement does not include the "reform" of the church itself. That had been begun by Erasmus and his associates, and it went on rapidly (§ 371) until the abuses that started the Protestant movement were abolished.

347. The "Reformation" began in Germany, and its leader was **Martin Luther** (1483–1546), son of a Thuringian peasant. Luther was a born fighter, — a straightforward, forceful man, with a blunt, homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. Erasmus addressed scholars. Luther spoke to the people. He had been intended by his father for the law; but, seized by a sudden sense of sin, he had become an Augustinian friar (an order somewhat like the Franciscans) while yet a youth. His scholarship and effective preaching drew attention to him, and he was made professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg in Saxony. There, at thirty-four, he entered upon a struggle with Rome.

348. Luther's revolt *began* in his opposition to the sale of indulgences. To get money to rebuild St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome, a German archbishop had licensed *John Tetzel*, a Dominican, to sell indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance" (§ 147). The authorized teaching of the church was that it might, in reward for some pious act — or the gift of money for a pious purpose — remit the punishment in purgatory to a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins.* "Letters of indulgence" from the pope himself, — the immediate representative of St. Peter, — were especially valued, and it had become customary to sell them in great quantities as one source of the papal revenues. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that an "indulgence" was an *unconditional* pardon, — or even that it was a license to sin; and some professional "pardoners," who peddled such "letters," encouraged these gross errors in their zeal to raise money. Tetzel was a special offender in this way. A rude German rhyme, ascribed to him, runs, "The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies." More than a hundred years before Luther, the bright-souled

ST. PETER'S, ROME.

Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in the *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet "bret-ful of pardons, come from Rome all hot." Since then, the evils had grown hugely. The gentle Erasmus wrote scathing words against them. Luther had criticized them on more than one occasion. Now a visit of Tetzel to Luther's home town of Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused him to more vehement protest.

349. On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five "theses" (statements) upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board, and it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate in this way. *But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university.* The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language. They accepted the church doctrine about indulgences, but criticized savagely the abuses connected with *the practice of selling them.* It was these *criticisms* that drew popular attention. The printing press scattered copies of the theses broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

350. ***At first* Luther seems to have had no thought of denying the authority of the pope.** Indeed, he asserted that the pope would be the first to condemn Tetzel's practices. And he was honestly amazed, too, at the public attention his theses received. He dedicated a pamphlet in defense of his theses to Pope Leo (X), and in his letter to the pope he says: —

> "By what unlucky chance it is that these propositions of mine should go forth into nearly all the earth, I am at a loss to know. They were set forth here for our use alone. . . . But what shall I do? Recall them I cannot; and yet I see that their notoriety bringeth upon me great odium. In order then to soften my adversaries, . . . I send forth these trifles to explain my theses. For greater safety, I let them go forth, most blessed Father, under your name and under the shadow of your protection. Here all who will may see how basely I am belied. . . . Save or slay, call or recall, approve or disapprove, as it shall best please you, *I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Christ.*"

351. The matter of indulgences soon dropped out of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzel so sternly for his gross mispractice that the offender is said to have died soon after from mortification. At all events, now that the church had its attention called so forcefully to the abuses, they were soon corrected.[1] But, meanwhile, in the heat of argument, Luther had quickly passed to a more radical position. He startled all parties, in 1519, by expressing approval of the heretic Hussites; and soon after he **denied the authority of the pope and of church councils, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief.**

352. Thus Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. He had no intention of advancing freedom of thought. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. His appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment in matters of religion.*

353. Luther Burns a Papal Bull. — Pope Leo (a gentle and good man) tried to bring the rebel back into the church by papal legates. When this failed, the pope issued a bull of excommunication against Luther. The document condemned a number of his new teachings, ordered him to burn his books, and threatened him and his followers with punishment as heretics unless they recanted within two months. Instead of burning his own books, **Luther burned the papal bull** in a bonfire of other writings of the church, before the town gate **in December, 1520**, while a crowd of students and townsfolk applauded and brought fuel to feed the flames. Open war had begun between the German friar and the church.

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[1] Catholics to-day admit, of course, that there had been good cause for complaint. One of the greatest of modern scholars, the Catholic Jansen (*History of the German People*, III, 92) declares that "grievous abuses" in the manner of offering indulgences "caused all sorts of scandal." The Council of Trent, which sat at intervals from 1545 to 1563, to reform the church, reasserted the old doctrine in its purity, emphasizing the indispensable need of "contrition, confession, and atonement." It condemned "those who assert that indulgences are useless, or who deny the power of the church to grant them. . . . In granting them, however, the Council desires that . . . moderation be observed. . . . And, being desirous of mending the abuses which have crept in, by occasion of which the honorable name of indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, the Council ordains . . . that all evil gains for the obtaining thereof be abolished." In later times the practice of granting indulgences in return for money has been discontinued.

354. Luther at Worms. — Luther was protected by the Duke of Saxony, *Frederick the Wise ;* and the pope appealed to the young emperor, Charles V (§ 328), to punish the heretic. All Germany was in uproar. A papal legate wrote, "Nine tenths of Germany shouts for Luther." The emperor, coming to Germany for the first time, called an imperial Diet at Worms (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, under a safe conduct.

Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before; but he replied merely, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." He found himself confronted in the Diet with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the empire, arrayed almost solidly against him. But he boldly answered the haughty command that he recant, — "Unless I am proven wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my conscience is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

Charles kept his pledge, and Luther departed in safety. A month later the Diet pronounced against him the "ban of the empire," ordering that he be seized for execution and that his writings be burned. But the friendly Frederick of Saxony had him seized, on his way homeward, and carried into hiding in the castle of Wartburg. Here, while for a time most of his followers mourned him as dead, Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German.[1]

355. Meantime, North Germany revolted from the Catholic church. Luther's teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married;[2] nuns and monks left their convents.

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[1] In this work, Luther became also the father of German prose.

[2] Luther afterward married a nun who had renounced her vows.

Princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.

In 1522, in spite of dangers, Luther left his retreat for a time to guide the movement again in person and to restrain it from going to extremes that he disliked. He preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand in the Lutheran church. **By 1530, the Lutheran church was in possession of North Germany.**

356. The Peasant War. — The revolt against the old church led to the rise of some sects of wild fanatics (one of which found sanction for polygamy in its interpretation of the Bible); and in 1525 it gave an impulse to a great revolt of the peasants. That class in Germany were in a much more deplorable condition than in England, and the new religious teachings spread among them in connection with new ideas about property, — somewhat as with the Lollard movement in England more than a hundred years before. Finally, the German peasants, too, rose in arms, avenging centuries of cruel oppression by some massacres of old masters. They demanded the abolition of serfdom and the right of each parish to choose its own minister.

Luther feared discredit for his new church, and called loudly on the princes to put down this rising with the sword. The movement was quickly stamped out in blood. The nobles slew a hundred thousand peasants in merciless battle, and murdered at least ten thousand more in cold blood after the struggle was over, — with ghastly scenes that infinitely surpassed in horror any excesses by the ignorant peasants themselves. The whole peasant class was crushed down to a level far lower than before, —lower than anywhere else in Europe, — where they were to remain helpless for almost three hundred years.

357. If the zealous young Catholic emperor, Charles V, had had his hands free, he would have enforced the ban of the empire promptly and crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But even while the Diet of Worms was condemning Luther, the Spanish towns were rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (§ 328). These events called Charles hastily from Germany. He put down the rebellion promptly and crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns; but *the wars against France*, and against the Turk, with only brief truces, *filled the next twenty-three years* (1621–1644)[1]; **and so for a generation the new faith was left to grow strong.**

It is a peculiar fact that the two countries destitute of settled government gave Europe the Renaissance and the Reformation. The intense city life in the small Italian states was favorable to the intellectual activity and independence of the Renaissance; and the absence of strong central government was the condition which permitted Lutheranism so long to grow unchecked in Germany.

358. "Protestants." — The first pause in the French wars came in 1529. Charles at once summoned a German Diet at Speier, which reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this decision, however, the Lutheran princes in the Diet presented a protest. This act gave the name *Protestant* to their party.

The following year, in a Diet at Augsburg, **the Lutherans put forward a written statement of their beliefs, "the Augsburg Confession,"** which is still the platform of the Lutheran church. Charles, however, prepared to enforce by arms the decrees of Worms and Speier. In defense, the Protestant nobles organized a *League;* but an open clash was once more postponed, because Solyman, the Turkish Sultan, invaded Germany and threatened the imperial capital, Vienna.

359. Peace of Augsburg. — Before Charles was again at liberty to give his attention to his Protestant subjects, Lutheranism had become the religion of most of Germany and of all Scandinavia, while the English church had cut itself off from Rome as an independent Episcopal church (§ 374), and a new Presbyterian heresy had begun to spread rapidly in France and even in Germany (§§ 362 ff.).

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[1] Some features connected with those wars may be assigned for special reports, if the teacher cares to delay upon them. The following topics are especially suitable: The Battle of Pavia; the sack of Rome by Charles' *Lutheran* soldiers; the alliance between Francis and the Turkish Solyman the Magnificent; Solyman's invasion of Germany; the ravages of Turkish pirates on the Mediterranean coasts.

Try as he might, Charles did not find himself free to strike in Germany until 1546, the year of Luther's death. Then two brief struggles settled the contest for the time. In the first, Charles seemed completely victorious; but almost at once the defeated princes rallied again, drove Charles in hurried flight from their domains, and forced him to accept the *Peace of Augsburg* (1555).

According to this treaty, each ruling prince of the Empire was free to choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism for himself and for all his subjects; but if an ecclesiastical ruler became a Protestant, he was to surrender his lands to the church, from whom they came. This peace secured *toleration for princes only*, not for their subjects. The people were expected to follow the religion of the ruler.

360. Abdication of Charles. — The Protestants in their last rising had sought aid from Henry II, the new French king; and France for her reward had seized some German districts, including the city of Metz. Charles proved unable to recover the territory. Chagrined at the loss and disheartened by the split within the Empire, he abdicated his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen emperor, while by marriage he added Hungary to the Hapsburg hereditary dominions. Charles' son, *Philip II*, received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. me

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361. A New Political Situation. — There were now two Hapsburg Houses, one in Spain, one in Austria. France, with some reason, feared that she would be crushed between them. After Francis I, France gave up attempts at dominion in Italy; but each French ruler sought to seize territory from the Empire. This seemed to France a measure of necessary protection. 36

FOR FURTHER READING. — Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, I, 263 ff., is good. The great Catholic histories are too extended and costly for high schools; but if students have access to the work, they should consult the scholarly *Catholic Encyclopedia* ("Luther," ix, 438 ff.; "Indulgences," VII, 783 ff., etc.). Lindsay's *Luther and the German Reformation* is the best accessible short treatment. Source material will be found in Robinson's *Readings* II, ch. xxvi..

II. CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

362. Luther and Zwingli. — Lutheranism soon took possession also of the Scandinavian lands; but it did not make much progress in any other non-German country. In Switzerland and France — and even in parts of Germany — it found a successful rival in another form of Protestantism, which we call *Calvinism.*

This movement was started in 1519 (the year before Luther burned the papal bull), by *Zwingli,* a priest at Zürich, in German Switzerland. Zwingli, like Luther, was of peasant birth; but he too had enjoyed a liberal education. He was far more radical than Luther. Luther *tried to keep everything* of the old worship and doctrine *that he did not think forbidden* by the Bible. But Zwingli *refused to keep anything* of the old *that he did not think absolutely commanded* by the Bible. He also organized a strict system of church discipline which punished severely gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and some innocent sports.

The contrast between Zwingli and Luther appeared clearly in their different attitude toward the Catholic doctrine of *transubstantiation* (§ 148). Catholics believe that the bread and wine of the communion are turned by the sacrament into the actual body and blood of Christ. Luther tried to hold as much of this doctrine as he could, and to keep to a literal use of Christ's words — "This is my body" (*Mark,* xxiv, 23). He taught that the bread and wine were still bread and wine as they seemed, but that the body and blood of Christ were also present, *along with them* in the communion. "*Con*substantiation" was the term used to signify this doctrine. The followers of Zwingli held that Christ's words were figurative, and that the bread and wine were only *symbols* to remind us of his sacrifice.

363. *It was this distinction between Luther and Zwingli that prevented a union between the two Protestant movements.* Zwingli attempted to secure union, and a conference was arranged in 1529. But Luther stuck stubbornly to his text — "This is my body," and when Zwingli offered his hand in token of amity, Luther refused to take it unless Zwingli would first accept those words literally.

This division illustrates the way in which the Protestant appeal to private judgment was to give rise to a multitude of sects. At first, in particular, these sects were scandalously hostile to one another; and, in Germany, the mutual hatred of Lutherans and Calvinists endangered more than once the whole cause of Protestantism. When the Lutheran princes secured the Peace of Augsburg *for themselves*, they did not include Calvinists in the toleration they secured. Catholics, of course, pointed to such dissensions as proof of the necessity of trusting to the collective wisdom of the church, rather than to individual judgments.

364. Zwingli's teachings were accepted rapidly by the rich "city cantons" of Switzerland, both German and French, like Zürich and Berne. But the peasant "forest cantons," the core of the original confederation (§ 321), remained Catholic. In a battle between the two parties, in 1531, Zwingli was killed; but his work was soon taken up — and carried further — by the man whose name has come to stand for the whole movement.

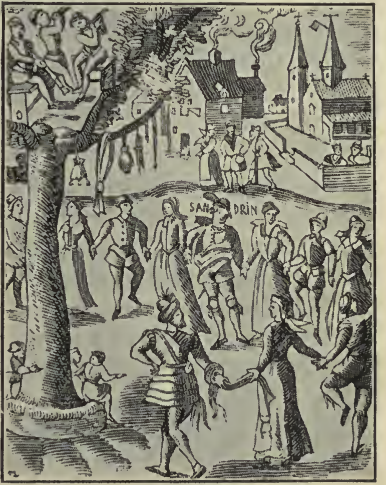
365. John Calvin was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He is the father of Puritan theology and of the Presbyterian church, with its system of synods and presbyteries. This system of church government and doctrine he built up at *Geneva.*

Geneva was a French town in the Swiss Alps. It was not yet a member of the Swiss confederation, but it had recently become a free city-republic by rebellion against its overlord. That overlord had been a Catholic ecclesiastic; and so Geneva was now ready to accept the teachings of Zwingli.

366. In 1536 Calvin, a fugitive from France because of his heresy, found refuge at Geneva, and soon became there an absolute dictator

over both the church and the civil government. Indeed, the civil government of the city was absorbed in the church government, and Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy" (§ 324, note) "with Calvin for its pope."

Calvin took the law of Moses for the basis of his legislation. Blasphemy was counted a capital crime. A *child* who struck its father *was beheaded.* The government repressed harshly amusements like dancing, and it tyrannized over the private life of citizens, punishing sternly for absence from church and for luxury in dress. But it did make turbulent and unruly Geneva into a sober, industrious commonwealth, and it furnished many hints for the Puritan colony of Massachusetts a century later.



A VILLAGE MERRYMAKING. — From a sixteenth century French woodcut. Such festivities were bitterly regarded in Calvinistic lands.

367. One terrible case of persecution, in particular, stains Calvin's fame. *Servetus* was a learned Spanish physician, with intense religious convictions somewhat like those of modern Unitarians. He had had some literary controversies with Calvin; but, to escape from Catholic persecution as a heretic at home, he fled to Geneva. Calvin's government there seized him, tried him in its own way for heresy, and burned him at the stake.

Incidentally, *this crime put back medical progress for at least fifty years.* The foundation of true medical science lies in a knowledge of the circulation of the blood, as taught in any elementary physiology to-day. But in the time of Servetus, it had been believed for centuries that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two distinct systems, one from the heart, the other from the liver. Servetus first discovered that the two were one system. He found out how the dark blood is purified in the lungs, and understood fully the work of the heart. He had just published his medical discovery in the same book that contained his theological opinions. His persecutors sought out and burned this volume so zealously that only two copies (out of the edition of a thousand) have survived, and these were long overlooked. The great discovery in physiology — which would have shown how to save hundreds of thousands of lives — was lost for half a century, until made again, independently, in England (§ 390).

It is worthy of note that Catholic Spain early erected a statue in honor of Servetus; and, in 1903, Calvinists all over the world subscribed a fund for the erection of the noble "expiatory monument" to him which stands in Geneva to mark the spot where he suffered martyrdom.

368. Calvin's writings influenced profoundly his own and future times. The more ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned *to spread Calvinism in their own lands.* From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism*, of *the great Puritan movement within the English church* (soon to be treated), of *the leading Protestant movement among the Dutch*, and of the *Huguenot church in France.* John Winthrop, the founder of Massachusetts, took his ideas both in religion and in politics from Calvin.

The Calvinistic doctrine in its original form seems to nearly all men of the present time too somber and merciless. It was, however, sternly logical. It made strong men, and it appealed to strong spirits. Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God"; but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.

III. CATHOLICISM HOLDS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

The Counter-Reformation

369. Protestantism Checked. — For a time it seemed as though Protestantism would overrun the south of Europe also, but the Romance (§ 93) lands and South Germany were finally saved to Catholicism. The supremely important element in this victory of the old church was its self-purification (§ 371); but this force was aided by some less attractive factors. France remained Catholic, partly as the result of religious wars (§§ 390 ff.). The same may be said of much of South Germany and of modern Belgium (§§ 395, 412); and the final victory of Catholicism elsewhere was due partly to the terrible repression of new faiths by the Inquisition.

370. The Inquisition, or Holy Office, was first organized for the suppression of the Albigensian heresy (§ 194). After open resistance in Languedoc had been crushed, the pope appointed a special court to hunt out and try heretics there. This court soon became a regular part of the machinery of the church. It was reorganized and enlarged, and in this final form it is generally known as the "*Spanish Inquisition.*" It held sway in Portugal and in Italy, as well as in all the wide-lying Spanish possessions, but France and Germany never admitted it in any considerable degree.

The methods of the Inquisition were sometimes atrocious. The Inquisitor encouraged children to betray their parents, and parents their children. Often upon secret accusation by spies, a victim disappeared, without warning, to underground dungeons. The trial that followed was usually a farce. The court seldom confronted the accused with his accuser, or allowed him witnesses of his choosing; and it extorted confession by cruel tortures, carried to a point where human courage could not endure. Acquittals were rare. The property of the convicted went to enrich the church, and the heretic himself was handed over to the government for death by fire.

Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age and disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic. We shall have to notice persecutions by Protestants as the story goes on. But no Protestant land possessed a device so admirably calculated to accomplish its purpose as this Spanish Inquisition. In Spain, especially, it sifted out for destruction thousands upon thousands of the stoutest hearts and best brains, and played a great part in the intellectual blight that soon fell upon the Spanish people (§ 400).

371. Reform within the Church. — Erasmus and other Humanists had at first been interested in the work of Luther. But when it became plain that the movement was breaking up the unity of Christendom, they were violently repelled by it. Disruption into warring sects, they felt, was a greater evil than existing faults. They continued to work, however, with even greater zeal than before, for reform within the church.

Such reform was finally carried out by the *Council of Trent* (1545–1563). That great body did not change Catholic forms; but it defined some doctrines more exactly, pruned away abuses, and infused a greater moral energy into the church.

372. The new religious enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth to several new religious orders. The most important of these was that of the *Jesuits*. This "Order of Jesus" was founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant Spanish gentleman of deep religious feeling.

The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks (§ 230). Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs*. Their members mingled with men in *all* capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as *statesmen* and as *teachers*. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was won back by them to Catholicism. In like manner, as individual counselors, they converted many a Protestant prince — especially in Germany, where the religion of the prince determined that of his people (§ 359); and their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New Worlds won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ward's *The Counter-Reformation* is the best brief account of its subject. Much interesting matter on Jesuit missionaries can be found in Parkman's histories, especially in *Pioneers of New France*, chs. v and vi, and *Jesuits in North America*, ch. ii.

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

373. In England separation from Rome was at first the act of the monarchs rather than of the people, and the motives were personal and political. *Henry VIII* (the second Tudor[1]) had shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book to controvert Luther's teaching, in return for which the pope had conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (§ 326), with whom he had lived for nineteen years. Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a male heir, in order to secure a peaceful succession at his death. More to the point, he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court. After long negotiation, the pope refused to grant the divorce. Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the pope

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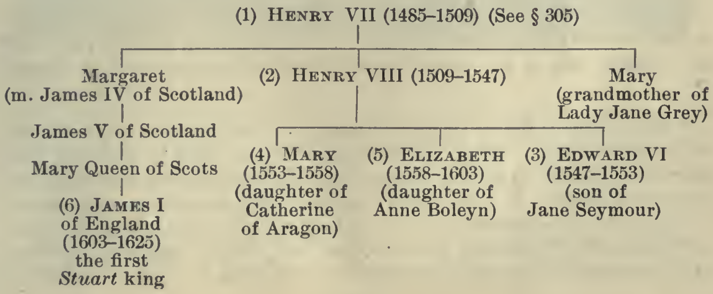
[1] The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family (§ 424).


(1) HENRY VII (1485–1509) (See § 305)
Margaret (m. James IV of Scotland)
(2) HENRY VIII (1509–1547)
Mary (grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V of Scotland
Mary Queen of Scots
(6) JAMES I of England (1603–1625) the first *Stuart* king
(4) MARY (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) ELIZABETH (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) EDWARD VI (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

so far as his island was concerned, and secured the divorce from his own courts.[1]

374. The secession of the English church was accomplished in the years 1532–1534[2] by two simple but far-reaching measures of Henry's servile parliament. (1) The clergy and people were forbidden to make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome"; and (2) the "Act of Supremacy" declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England."

375. So far there had been no attack on the religious doctrines of the old church; *and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pronounced his divorce, had strong Protestant leanings; and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; and the Bible, *in English,* was introduced into the church service, in place of the old Latin liturgy. The use of the English Bible was even permitted to private persons, *except* "husbandmen, artificers, journeymen, and women below the rank of gentlewoman" [a gentry title].

376. The Pilgrimage of Grace. — Most of England accepted these changes calmly, and even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the pope's power. But the monasteries were centers of criticism, and the north of England, more conservative than the south, was restless. Finally Henry hung ten friars, who had spoken blunt words about his second marriage, and began to seize monastery property. Then the northern counties rose in rebellion.

Economic causes, too, had a part in the rising. The peasants were full of discontent at new conditions that will be described later (§ 415), and at a general rise in the cost of living which marked that period almost

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[1] Three wives of Henry VIII are named in footnote on preceding page. He had also three more, — marrying the third on the day after he beheaded Anne Boleyn for alleged immoral conduct. One other of the six was beheaded on a similar accusation; and one was divorced, after six months, because homely.

[2] Note the correspondence in time. Luther's movement was some twelve years old, and the Augsburg Confession had just been put into form. Zwingli had just been slain in Switzerland, and Calvin was about to take up his work.

as emphatically as a like rise has marked the first of the twentieth century. The banner of the rebels bore a *plow* alongside *the wounds of Christ.*

Henry's generals broke up this *Pilgrimage of Grace* by promises of redressing grievances and of full pardon. But Henry wrote: "You must cause such dreadful executions on a good number of the inhabitants, — hanging them on trees, quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, — as shall be a fearful warning. Accordingly, *seventy-four* were executed, — among them, *all the abbots in the north of England.*

377. Then Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by the utter ruin of the monasteries. At his wish, parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England. A hasty commission which had pretended to investigate them declared them grossly corrupt; but the report was predetermined and grossly unfair.

TINTERN ABBEY TO-DAY.

A little of the wealth of the monasteries was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to the new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influential families were enriched by such gifts, and became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome that would ruin their private fortunes.

This dissolution of the monasteries was a deed of terrible cruelty. Many abbots who tried to resist the king's will were put to death; but the most cruel results were felt by those who lived. Eight thousand monks and nuns were driven, penniless, from their homes, and some eighty thousand other people lost their means of livelihood. But Henry had destroyed hostility to his "reform," and had planted it deep in the interests of the country gentry and nobles. It is true, too, that, when things finally adjusted themselves to the revolution, the prosperity of England was probably increased by having the former property of the monasteries in lay hands.

378. These changes (§§ 374–377) were as far as Henry would go. He had permitted little change in doctrine; and, to the close of his long reign, *he beheaded "traitors"* who recognized papal headship, *and burned "heretics"* who denied papal doctrines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death. One Protestant martyr was Anne Askewe, a gentlewoman of good family, who was burned for insisting, "The bread of the communion cannot be God." The most famous among the many noted Catholic martyrs was Sir Thomas More, the greatest Englishman of the day (§ 341). More had been Henry's chief minister, for a time. He was willing to allow the king's power over the church, so far as all temporal matters were concerned; but

WHITBY ABBEY TO-DAY.

he could not take an oath denying the pope's authority in spiritual matters. He was beheaded, and his head was impaled to wither on London Bridge.

Every effort had been made to induce More to yield, and he had been plied with argument by subtle logicians. He was a broad-minded man and a statesman, — not disposed to die for a quibble. But conscience, not verbal quibble, was at stake. And when he had taken his stand, and the boat was bearing him down the Thames to prison, he was heard to exclaim, — "I thank the Lord, the field is won!" He had indeed won a supreme victory, not only for his own soul, but *for the spiritual freedom* of all the world.

379. Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI (1547–1553). The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords. Partly to secure fresh plunder from the ruin of the church, this government tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. Commissioners to carry out these commands throughout England sometimes broke the stained glass windows of sacred buildings and tore from the pedestals the carved forms of saints. Rebellion broke out, this time in southwestern England, but was put down cruelly. Several Catholics were burned as heretics and conspirators, — among them Father Forest, who was roasted barbarously in a swinging iron cradle over a slow fire.

During this period, the English Prayer Book was put into its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (§ 375); and articles of faith for the church were adopted which seemed to make it incline to Calvinism.

380. Edward died at fifteen, and the throne passed to his elder half-sister, *Mary* (1553–1558). Mary was a daughter of Catherine of Aragon (§ 373). She was an earnest Catholic, and naturally she felt an intense personal repugnance for the Protestant movement which had begun in England by the disgrace of her mother.[1] The nation, too, was still overwhelmingly Catholic in doctrine and feeling. The Protestants were active, organized, and influential, but they were few in numbers, and Mary had no difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time.

381. But Mary wanted more than this. She wished to undo her father's work, and **to restore England to its allegiance to the pope.** Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, except that it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands. Finally the pope wisely waived this point. *Then the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.*

382. But Mary destroyed her work (1) *by marrying Philip of Spain,* son of the emperor Charles V, and (2) *by a bloody persecution of Protestants.*

All English patriots dreaded, with much reason, lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition which the imagination pictured looming up behind the Queen's hated Spanish bridegroom.

This dread of the Inquisition made the people unusually sensitive to Mary's religious persecution. That persecution in itself was quite enough to rouse popular fear and hatred. *In a few months,* more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire number that suffered death for conscience' sake in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions;* and, moreover, most of those Catholic victims had been put to death, *nominally,* not for religious opinions, but as detested traitors; and the executions (with a very few exceptions) had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. Thus we can understand how England, which had taken calmly the persecutions by the preceding sovereigns, was now stirred to its depths.

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[1] Mary's own crown, too, had been threatened by Protestantism. To prevent the accession of a Catholic, the Protestant lords had plotted to seat on the throne Lady Jane Grey, a distant relative of the royal family (footnote, page 339). The attempt failed, and Jane Grey, a Protestant girl of lovely character, was beheaded.

The most famous martyrs in Mary's persecution were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. Latimer had preached in approval of the torture of Father Forest; but now he showed at least that he too knew how to die a hero. "Play the man, Master Ridley," he called out to his companion in martyrdom, as they approached the stake; "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." Every such fire did make scores of converts to the persecuted cause.

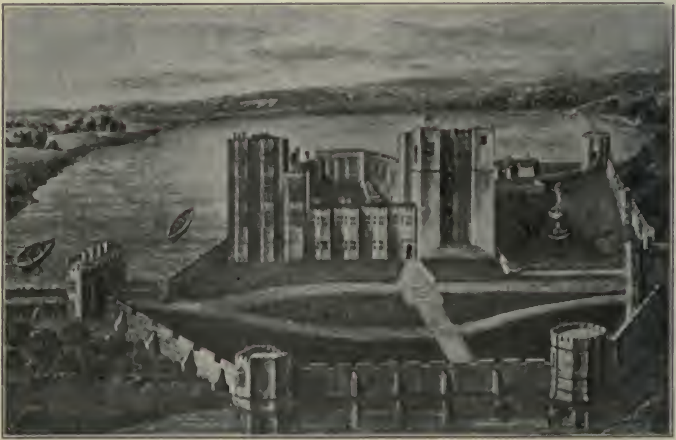
383. **Other causes made Mary unpopular.** To please her husband (Philip) *she led England into a silly and disastrous war with France,* and then managed it so blunderingly that *England lost Calais,* her last foothold on the continent. England had never seemed more contemptible to other nations or in greater perils. Apparently, it was doomed to become the prey of Spain or France. And at home, the land was rent by religious and social dissension, while commerce and industry were stagnant.

Mary had come to the throne amid a burst of popular enthusiasm. She was a pure-minded but narrow woman, seeking earnestly to do her duty; but after a reign of five years she died more universally detested than any other English sovereign had ever been except the tyrant John. She was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, then twenty-five years old.

384. **Elizabeth** (1558–1603) was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. From her father, she had a strong body, powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage; and from her mother, vanity and love of display. From both parents she took a sort of bold beauty and a certain strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning (§ 339), and was probably the best educated woman of her century, — speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom

from moral scruple (§ 336). To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of wise and patriotic counselors, chief of whom were Walsingham and Cecil (whom she made Lord Burghley). Now and then, in fits of passion, she stormed at these men like a common virago, but she never let them go; and her shrewd commonsense made her the real ruler even among such statesmen. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — "I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects' good."



Kenilworth Castle. — From a fresco painting of 1620. Queen Elizabeth gave this castle to her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, who entertained the queen there in a splendid pageant described in Scott's *Kenilworth*. The walls enclosed seven acres.

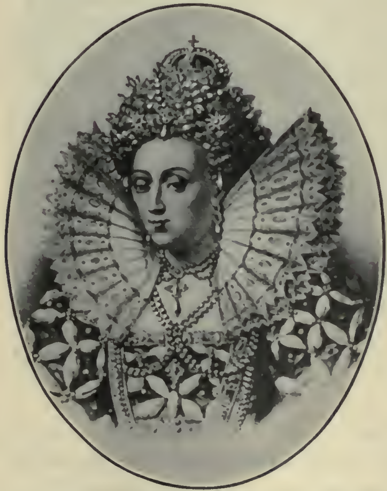
And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its "Virgin Queen." Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth's deceit and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign of forty-five years had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad, and its internal unity and prosperity, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of statesmen, warriors, and poets. Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to

Kenilworth Castle To-day. — From a photograph.

> "The spacious days of great Elizabeth."

385. When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two-thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority, *and the "Elizabethan Settlement" established* *the English Episcopal church much as it still stands.* At about the same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized the Scotch Presbyterian church.

386. Early in Elizabeth's reign, *an "Act of Uniformity"* **had ordered all people to attend the Protestant worship,** under threat of extreme penalties; but for many years this act was not enforced strictly, and Catholics were permitted to have their own services, if they were concealed by a pretense of privacy. But after Catholic plots against her throne began, Elizabeth adopted stronger measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English church. And, under a new law, Catholic priests, and others who made converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason.* Many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold; but Elizabeth succeeded in making such executions appear punishment of traitors for political plots, instead of religious persecution.



ELIZABETH, in the attire in which she went to divine service at St. Paul's to give thanks for victory over the Armada.

387. England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, **Catholic France and Spain.** Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by skillfully playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years and gained time for England to grow strong. Finally Philip II, *with the blessing of the pope,* sent a mighty Spanish armament, the "Invincible Armada," to conquer the island.

The mass of English Catholics proved more English than papal, and rallied gallantly to the Queen. The heroic English navy beat off the invasion (1588); and, for young Englishmen, *the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.* The rising generation became largely Protestant; and before Elizabeth's death (1603) even the Puritan doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely among the people.

388. Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, **remained Catholic.** Henry II had tried to conquer Ireland (§ 168); but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest of Ireland remained in the hands of native chieftains. Constant war had rooted out much of the old beginnings of Irish culture (§ 272), and the Irish tribes were half barbarous.

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Elizabeth's generals completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs; and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the Church of England as a part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.

389. England and the Renaissance. — Elizabeth's reign was part of a period of important change in industry which will be treated later (§ 415). The reign is best known, however, for (1) the religious changes we have been tracing, and (2) for the "Elizabethan Renaissance."

Except for the "Oxford Reformers" (§ 339), England had lagged behind in the early Renaissance. But now it took a leading place. *Harvey* discovered afresh the way in which the blood circulates (§ 367), and so laid the foundation for a true study of medicine. *Francis Bacon*, statesman and philosopher, called the world's attention to the necessity for scientific observation and experiment. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faery Queen.* And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakspere* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe*, *Greene*, *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Ben Jonson.*

go to page 371

For Further Reading. — Green's histories of England remain the best general accounts for this period. Creighton's and Beesly's lives of *Elizabeth* are good short biographies.

dont read any further?

CHAPTER XXII

A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

I. SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

390. When Philip II succeeded his father (§ 360) **as king of Spain** and of the Sicilies, and master of the Netherlands, he was *the most powerful and most absolute monarch in Europe.* The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 Portugal and her East India empire fell to Spain,[1] and the Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions became literal fact. Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler, who worked like a clerk day after day in a bare room with a table and two stiff chairs. He was despotic, cruel, unscrupulous, ambitious, and an ardent Catholic.

391. The Netherland Revolt. — Charles V had infringed the old liberties of the Netherlands (§ 323), and had set up the Inquisition in that country with frightful consequences;[2] but the great majority of the people had been attached to him, as their native sovereign, and had felt a warm loyalty to his government. Philip continued all his father's abuses, without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign master, and he ruled from a distance through foreign officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people.

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[1] The ruling line of Portugal ran out; and Philip II, closely related to the extinct family, claimed the throne. The Portuguese were unwilling to be annexed to Spain, but Philip easily seized upon the country. It remained Spanish until 1640, when a revolt established its independence.

[2] Protestant writers used to claim that from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand men and women were burned, strangled, or buried alive within the Netherlands during Charles' reign. These numbers appear to be mere guesses; but the actual facts were horrible.

Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva*, with a veteran army, to enforce submission. Alva's council is known as the *Council of Blood*. It declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion, and deserving of death with confiscation of goods. Alva proceeded to enforce this atrocious sentence upon great numbers, — especially upon the wealthy classes, — and in 1568 a revolt began.[1]

392. The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years. In the beginning the conflict was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated and relentless fury that made it a byword for ferocity, even in that brutal age. City after city was given up to indiscriminate rapine and massacre, with deeds of horror indescribable.

Over against this dark side stands the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people, hardly matched in history, — a heroism which saved not themselves only, but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world, and made their little spot of sea-rescued land a true "holy land" to all who love freedom.

393. William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict. Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent;* and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again, he seemed to be crushed; but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

394. The turning point of the war was the *relief of Leyden* (1574). For many months the city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they had murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat, but while he lived they should never surrender to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dikes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

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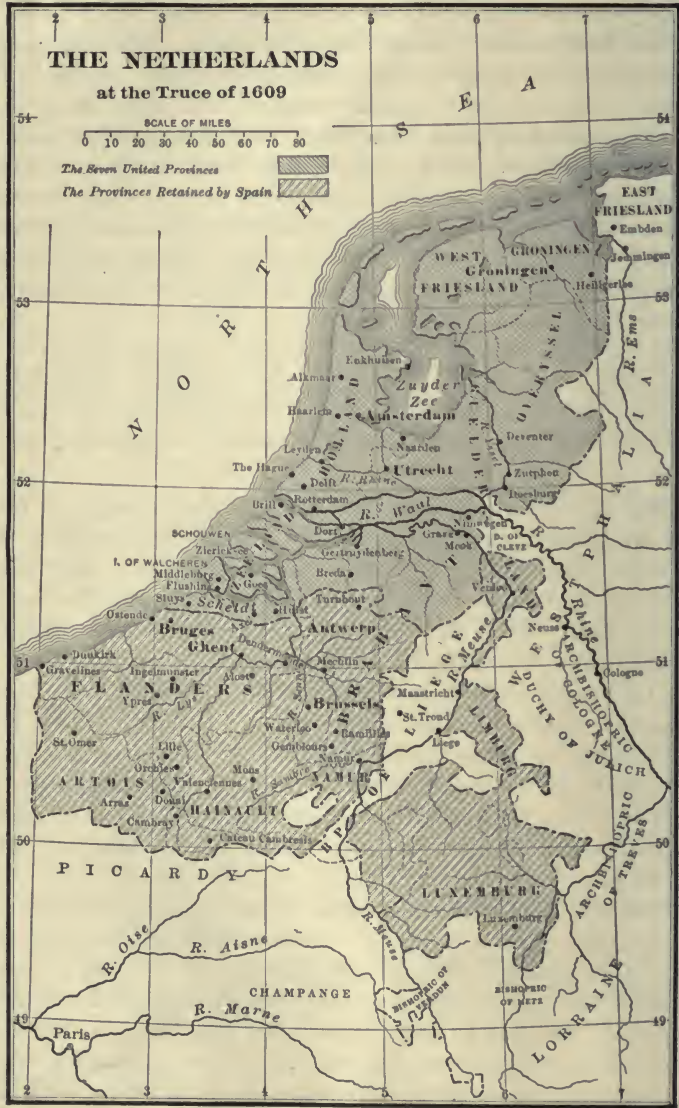
[1] Elizabeth had been seated on the throne of England for ten years.

In memory of its heroic resistance, William offered Leyden exemption from taxes or the establishment of a university. The citizens finely chose the latter; and the University of Leyden, ever since one of the most famous universities in Europe, arose to commemorate the city's deed.

395. The Dutch Republic. — The ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle and returned to Spanish allegiance. They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the Spanish Netherlands, and finally as modern Belgium.

The seven northern provinces, — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion, — maintained the conflict, and won their independence as "The United Provinces." The new state is sometimes called "the Dutch Republic." The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadtholder" (President). *Holland*, the most important of the seven provinces, has given its name to the union.

396. The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that *Holland grew wealthy during the contest*, although the stage of the desolating war. The Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea; and during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire; and, especially after Spain's naval



THE NETHERLANDS
at the Truce of 1609

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
The Seven United Provinces ▨
The Provinces Retained by Spain ▨
NORTH SEA
EAST FRIESLAND
Embden
Jemmingen
Heiligerlee
GRONINGEN
Groningen
WEST FRIESLAND
OVERYSSEL
R. Ems
WESTPHALIA
Enkhuisen
Alkmaar
Zuyder Zee
Haarlem
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Naarden
Deventer
Leyden
The Hague
Delft
R. Rhine
Utrecht
Zutphen
Doesburg
GELDERLAND
R. Yssel
Brill
Rotterdam
R.s Waal
Dort
Nimwegen
Grave
Meuse
D. of CLEVE
SCHOUWEN
Zierickzee
Gertruydenberg
I. OF WALCHEREN
Middleburg
Flushing
Goes
Breda
Sluys
Scheldt
Hulst
Turnhout
Venloo
Ostende
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Dendermonde
BRABANT
LIEGE
R. Meuse
Neuss
R. Rhine
Cologne
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ingelmunster
Alost
Mechlin
FLANDERS
Ypres
R. Lys
Brussels
Maastricht
St. Trond
Liege
LIMBURG
DUCHY OF JULICH
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF COLOGNE
St. Omer
Waterloo
Ramillies
Lille
Gembloux
Namur
Orchies
Mons
ARTOIS
Valenciennes
R. Sambre
NAMUR
Arras
Douai
HAINAULT
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
BISHOPRIC
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TREVES
PICARDY
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
R. Meuse
R. Oise
R. Aisne
CHAMPAGNE
BISHOPRIC OF VERDUN
BISHOPRIC OF METZ
R. Marne
Paris
LORRAINE
2 3 4 5 6 7
54 53 52 51 50 49

supremacy had been engulfed with the Armada, the Dutch held almost a monopoly of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of their three million people lived constantly upon the sea.

397. Success in so heroic a war stimulated the people to a wonderful intellectual and industrial activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation. In the seventeenth century the presses of Holland are said to have put forth more books than all the rest of Europe. Motley sums up this wonderful career, —

> "The splendid empire of Charles V was erected upon the grave of liberty. . . . But from the hand-breadth of territory called Holland rises a power which wages eighty years' warfare[1] with the most potent empire upon the earth, and which, during the struggle, becomes itself a mighty state, and, binding about its slender form a zone of the richest possessions of the earth, from pole to tropic, finally dictates its decrees to the empire of Charles."

398. English Aid. — The war lasted many years after the relief of Leyden, but Spain never again was so near success. In 1584, by a dastardly offer of an immense reward, Philip II secured the assassination of William of Orange the Silent; but his second great antagonist was now ready to enter the conflict.

It had been plain that Holland was fighting England's battle quite as much as her own. If Philip had not had his hands full with the Dutch war, he would long since have attacked England. Englishmen knew this; and, for many years, hundreds of individual English adventurers had been flocking to the Low Countries to join the Dutch army, while others, like Drake, had sailed off on their own account, half-pirate fashion, to attack Spain in the New World. Elizabeth herself had helped the Dutch by *secret* supplies of money; and now, in 1585, she openly sent a small English army to their aid.

399. Philip then turned savagely on England. Drake ruined his first preparations for invasion by sailing daringly into the harbor of Cadiz and burning the Spanish fleet, — "singeing the beard of the Spanish king," as the bold sea-rover described it. But in 1588 the "Invincible Armada" at last set sail for England (§ 378, close). English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily transformed into a war navy — gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely out-fought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine-days' sea fight. As the shattered Spaniards fled around the north of Scotland, a mighty storm completed their overthrow. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

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[1] Motley includes the Thirty Years' War, § 408.

400. From this time, Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power. The bigot, *Philip III*, drove into exile the Christianized Moors, or Moriscoes. These were the descendants of the old Mohammedan rulers of the land, who had been left behind when the Moorish political power had been driven out. They numbered more than half a million, — perhaps a twentieth of the entire population, — and they were the foremost agriculturalists and almost the sole skilled artisans and manufacturers. Their pitiless expulsion inflicted a deadly blow upon the prosperity of Spain.

For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall, and she continued to furnish money for the Catholic Powers through the Thirty Years' War (§ 408). But after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe, and, living on the plunder of the New World, she failed to develop the industrial life which alone could furnish a true prosperity.

401. Lepanto. — One great service Spain rendered Christendom before England and Holland broke her naval power. For a generation, Turkish fleets, almost unchecked, had ravaged the Christian coasts of the Mediterranean, even burning villages far inland and sweeping off the peasants into captivity. Cyprus had fallen before their attack, and Malta had been saved only by the heroic resistance of the Knights of St. John.[1] Finally Spain, Venice, and the pope joined their naval strength, and in 1571 the combined Christian fleet annihilated the great Turkish navy at *Lepanto*, on the Greek coast. Lepanto was the greatest naval battle the world had seen for eighteen hundred years — since the ancient wars between Romans and Carthaginians. Over six hundred ships engaged. The Turks lost thirty thousand men, and twelve thousand Christian rowers were freed from horrible slavery at the oar. The Turks never recovered their naval importance. Indeed, the turning point of their power is often dated from this defeat.

II. WARS OF THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS

402. Conditions in France. — The French Protestants were Calvinists, and are known as *Huguenots*. By 1560, they counted one man out of twenty in the population; and (because Calvinism appealed by its logic mainly to intellectual people) their numbers were made up almost wholly from the nobles and the wealthy middle class of the towns. Francis I and his son, Henry II, persecuted the new faith, but not continuously enough to crush it.

Henry was followed by his three sons, — Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, — all weak in body and in mind. During their reigns (1559–1589), power was disputed between two groups of great lords. Each was closely related to the failing royal family, and each hoped to place a successor upon the throne. One of these groups was the Catholic *Guise* family; the other was the Protestant *Bourbons*, who counted as their leaders the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

In the background was the chief figure of all, the crafty, cruel, and utterly unscrupulous Queen-mother, *Catherine of Medici*, who played off one party against the other in whatever way might best promote her own control over her feeble sons. These were the conditions that bred civil war in France.

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[1] Special report: the siege of Malta; read Prescott's account in his *Philip II*, if available. The Knights of St. John had been driven from Rhodes (§ 251) not long before.

403. War between the two factions opened in 1562 and lasted, with brief truces, to 1598. Even more than the other struggles of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries, which struck down almost every leader on either side. The most horrible event of this character was the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (August 24, 1572).

An honest attempt had just been made to establish a lasting peace, and a marriage had been arranged between the young Henry of Navarre and the sister of King Charles IX. The grandest Frenchman of the age, the Protestant *Coligny*, became one of Charles' chief counselors, and soon won remarkable influence over him. Catherine of Medici had not expected to see her own power over her son so superseded, and now she joined the Guises in secret attacks upon Coligny.

An attempt to assassinate Coligny failed, and the king threatened vengeance for the attack. Then the conspirators, to save themselves, played upon his religious bigotry with a plot to cleanse France from heresy at one blow; and his consent was finally won for a general massacre of the Huguenots. Large numbers of that sect were assembled in Paris to witness the marriage of their chief, and at the appointed moment, the mob of Paris bathed in Huguenot blood. Ten thousand victims fell in France.

404. Henry of Navarre escaped from the massacre, and, on the death of the king, in 1589, he was the heir to the throne. But he did not become king, as *Henry IV*, until after four years more of civil war with the Catholic League.

Philip II of Spain aided the League. He hoped to seat a puppet on the French throne and virtually add that country to the realms of Spain. But in Henry of Navarre he met the third of the three great leaders on whom his imperial schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France, in the dashing cavalry battle of *Ivry*. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged, Henry accepted

Catholicism, declaring lightly that so fair a city was "well worth a mass." His purpose, of course, was not only to secure the capital, but also to give peace to his distracted country.

405. In 1598 Henry's *Edict of Nantes* established toleration for the Huguenots. (1) They were granted full equality before the law.[1] (2) They were to have perfect liberty of conscience, and to enjoy the privilege of public worship except in the cathedral cities. And (3) certain towns were handed over to them, to hold with their own garrisons, as a security for their rights. This last measure was no doubt needful, but it carried with it a political danger: it set up a state within a state, and hindered the unity of France.

406. Henry IV proved one of the greatest of French kings, and he was one of the most loved. With his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, he set himself to restore prosperity to desolated France. One of his treasured sayings was, that if he lived, the poorest peasant should have a fowl in the pot on a Sunday. Roads and canals were built; new trades were fostered; and under the blessings of a firm government, the industry of the French people with marvelous rapidity removed the evil results of the long strife. In 1610 Henry was assassinated by a half insane Catholic fanatic.

HENRICVS IIII D G FRANCO ET NAVAR REX
SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM

Gold Coin of Henry IV.

407. Richelieu. — Henry's son, Louis XIII, was a boy of nine years. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who became the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot, and, though an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives.

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[1] Before this, the forms of oaths required in law courts had been such as a Protestant could not take. Therefore a Huguenot could not sue to recover property.

He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. He aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany, and so secured a chance to seize territory from the emperor for France. To make the king supreme in France, he waged war *against* the Protestants within the nation: to make France supreme in Europe, he waged war *for* the Protestants of Germany.

III. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY (1618–1648)

408. Parties. — Fortunately for German Protestants, the two immediate successors of Charles V on the imperial throne were liberal in temper, disinclined either to persecution or to religious war. So for sixty years after the Peace of Augsburg (§ 359), the new faith gained ground rapidly. It spread over much of South Germany and held possession of Bohemia, the home of the ancient Hussite reform. Strife was incessantly threatening, however. The Hapsburgs strove to *restrict* Protestantism in their dominions, while the Protestant princes systematically evaded the promise to restore church lands.

This period of uneasy peace in Germany is just the period of the religious wars in the Netherlands and in France. Then, in 1618, these conditions in Germany led to the last of the great religious wars. It began a century after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg, and it is known as the *Thirty Years' War* (1618–1648). It was the most destructive and terrible war in all history. The Protestant princes showed themselves disunited, timid, and incapable; and, had the war been left to Germany, a Catholic victory would soon have been assured. But first Denmark (1625–1629) and then Sweden (1630) entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause, and at the last (1635–1648) Catholic France under Richelieu threw its weight also against the emperor.

409. The war was marked by the career of four great generals, — Tilly and Wallenstein on the imperial side, and *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and Mansfeld, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable; but he fell at the *battle of Lützen* (1632), in the moment of victory; and thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of *making the war pay, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country;* but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times.

Gustavus' success, too, was due largely to new tactics. Muskets, fired by a "match" and discharged from a "rest," had become an important portion of every army; but troops were still massed in the old fashion that had prevailed when pikemen were the chief infantry. Gustavus was the first general to adapt the arrangement of his troops to the new weapons.

410. The calamities the war brought upon Germany were monstrous. It was a blasting ruin, from which Germany had not fully recovered in the middle of the nineteenth century. Season by season, for a generation of human life, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two-thirds the movable property of Germany* were swept away. In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Wurtemberg had fifty thousand people left out of five hundred thousand. Populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

Even more destructive was the result upon industry and character. Whole trades, with their long-inherited skill, passed from the memory of men.[1] Land tilled for centuries became wilderness. And men became savages. The generation that survived the war came to manhood without schools or churches or law or orderly industry.

411. The war was closed by the Peace of Westphalia. This treaty was drawn up *by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European Power.* It contained three distinct classes of stipulations: (1) provisions for religious peace in Germany; (2) territorial rewards for France and Sweden; and (3) provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the empire.

The principle of the Peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed and extended. Each sovereign prince was to choose his religion; and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm.

Many of the South German Protestants were driven into exile. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch." Most of the German immigration to America before the Revolution was connected with this expulsion or with the devastation of the Rhine provinces a little later by Louis XIV (§ 473) of France.

Sweden, which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and west shores of that sea, *secured also much of the south coast:* Pomerania — with the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser — was the payment she received for her part in the war. This gave Sweden control over German commerce. *France annexed most of Alsace,* with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine. *The independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces* was expressly recognized.

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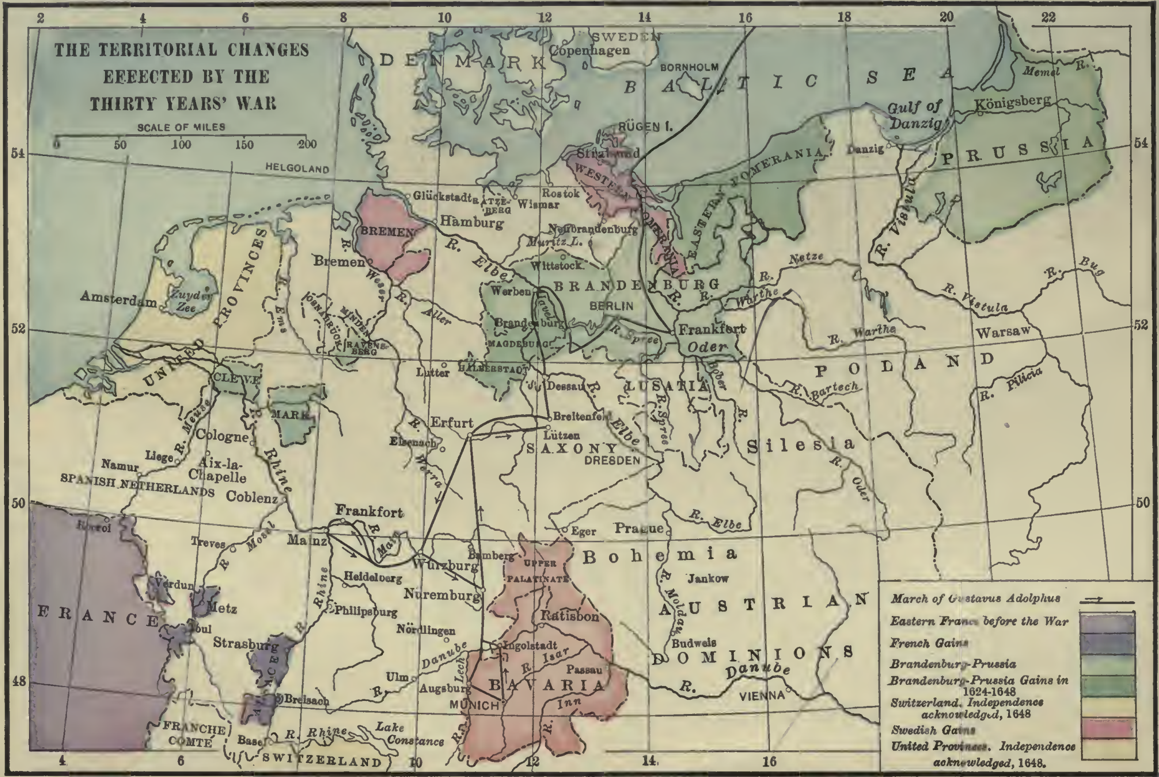
[1] An instance of this is the wonderful old German wood carving. A genuine old piece of German cabinetwork is easily placed before 1618, because the war simply wiped out the skill and the industry.

THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR


SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland. Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces. Independence acknowledged, 1648.
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
54
52
50
48
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
BALTIC SEA
RÜGEN I.
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
Danzig
Gulf of Danzig
Königsberg
Memel R.
PRUSSIA
R. Vistula
HELGOLAND
Glückstadt
RATZEBERG
Wismar
Rostok
Hamburg
Neubrandenburg
Müritz L.
BREMEN
Bremen
R. Weser
R. Elbe
Wittstock
BRANDENBURG
Werben
Havel
Brandenburg
BERLIN
R. Spree
MAGDEBURG
HALBERSTADT
Frankfort
Oder
R. Netze
R. Warthe
R. Bug
R. Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
R. Pilicia
R. Bartsch
R. Bober
LUSATIA
Silesia
R. Oder
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
UNITED PROVINCES
R. Ems
OSNABRÜCK
MINDEN
RAVENSBERG
R. Aller
Lutter
Dessau
Breitenfeld
Lützen
SAXONY
DRESDEN
CLEVE
MARK
R. Meuse
Cologne
Liege
Aix-la-Chapelle
Namur
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Rhine
Erfurt
Eisenach
Werra
Frankfort
R. Main
Mainz
Treves
R. Mosel
Rocroi
Würzburg
Bamberg
Eger
Prague
Bohemia
UPPER PALATINATE
Jankow
R. Moldau
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Verdun
Metz
Toul
FRANCE
Strasburg
ALSACE
Heidelberg
Philipsburg
Nuremburg
Ratisbon
Nördlingen
Ingolstadt
R. Isar
Budweis
Passau
Ulm
R. Danube
Augsburg
R. Lech
BAVARIA
MUNICH
Inn
VIENNA
Breisach
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Basel
R. Rhine
Lake Constance
SWITZERLAND

Besides this loss of imperial territory, *there were various political rearrangements within Germany*, which made clear the weakness of the empire. The states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers.* The imperial Diet became a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, but not for government. No state was to be bound by its decisions without its own consent.

412. Summary. — The religious wars filled a century — from the struggle between the German princes and Charles V (1546) to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). They left the *Romance South* Catholic, and the *Teutonic North* Protestant. Politically, France emerged, under the Bourbon branch of the Capetians, stronger and more united than ever, *quite equal in power to any two states of Europe.* England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces; and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." The danger of a universal Hapsburg empire was forever gone. Spain had sunk from the first place in Europe to a third-rate power. The Holy Roman Empire was an open sham. The Austrian Hapsburgs were now to turn to their proper task of defending Europe from the Turk. Far to the east loomed indistinctly a reviving Russian state, which had recovered its independence from the Tartars.

For Further Reading. — **England** is covered by previous references. It is not worth while for the student to read on the **French Wars**, except for some brilliant story like Willert's *Henry of Navarre*. For **Holland** the references on page 304 should be continued — one of them at least. For **Germany**, Henderson's *Short History* gives enough material. Some source material can be found in Robinson's *Readings*, II.

EXERCISES

1. *Dates:* add to previous lists, 1520, 1588, 1648.

2. Review the Reformation as a whole in each country to the close of the religious wars.

PART IV

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXIII

REVIEW OF THE CHANGES BETWEEN 1450 AND 1600

413. The century and a half from 1450 to 1600 was filled, in England, by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor reigns. It was a period of tremendous change, intellectual, religious, political, and economic.

(1) The Renaissance created a new intellectual life, with the spontaneous energy and the abounding self-reliance that we associate with the names of Shakspere and Elizabeth and Raleigh.

(2) The Reformation introduced new church organization and new religious feeling.

(3) On the ruins of the two chief political forces of earlier times, — feudalism and the church, — the sovereigns built up a "New Monarchy" (§ 306).

(4) Lastly, industry was revolutionized both in town and country.

The first three changes have been treated. The economic change was the most fundamental of all. It has been referred to several times and we will now look at it as a whole.

414. **The golden age for English peasants** was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of villeinage. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue (§ 299) boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry: —

> "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

The large landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage, they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while, under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small (§ 134).

415. But by 1500 a change had begun which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the peasants. This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets (§ 323), and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, so that the high wages mattered less; and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the large landholders; and *even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields."* Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, *in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture.*

Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia* (§ 341), lamented these conditions bitterly: "A careless and unsatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Then he gives this piteous picture of the peasants who have been driven from their homes: —

> "By one means or another, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor wretched souls — men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with young babes. . . . All their household stuff . . . suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or else go about begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, — whom no man will set to work though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Other statesmen bewailed that sheep should take the place of the yeomanry who had won Crécy and Poitiers, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing. Nor did the peasant risings and riots (§§ 376, 379) help. On the other hand, Henry VIII's transfer of monastery lands (a fifth of England) to greedy private landlords increased the inclosure movement tremendously; and it went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of town populations raised the price of grain. These towns, as we shall explain (§ 417) became the basis for a new sort of prosperity for England, and the land changes created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics.

But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps); *and all laborers were thrust down to a lower standard of life*, because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages.

More than before even, rural England had become a landlord's country. One reason why wages stayed so low was that the gentleman "justices of the peace"[1] were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hung them in batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakspere and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

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[1] The justices were *appointed* by the crown.

These conditions explain in part why so many Englishmen were eager to go to America. John Winthrop, the great Puritan leader of the Massachusetts colony (himself from the prosperous landlord class), declared "England grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man, who is the most precious of God's creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon and of less prize among us than a horse or an ox."

416. Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up there their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Raw English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

417. This manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600, England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products, to distant markets. "Merchants"[1] increased in wealth and in numbers, so as to form a new class in society. In 1350 a royal inquiry could find a list of only 169 important merchants in England. In 1601 more than twenty times that number were engaged in the Holland trade alone.

By purchase of land and by royal gifts from the confiscated church property, the members of this class rose into the new gentry, and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

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[1] A "merchant" was a trader who sent goods to a foreign country. Companies were formed to trade to Russia, or India, or other distant parts of the world; and sometimes a single merchant owned a considerable fleet of ships for such trade (cf. Shakspere's Antonio, in *The Merchant of Venice*).

418. The rapid growth of manufactures brought with it a revolution in the position of the workers. *The old gild system broke down* and was replaced by the so-called *"domestic system" of manufacturing.* The work was still carried on by hand, and mostly in the master's house; but the masters demanded liberty from the old gild control. This greater freedom permitted the more rapid introduction of improved methods; but on the other hand, the gap between master and journeymen grew wider now that they were no longer members of a common, self-governing union.

419. The growth of towns had underlain the other great changes named in § 413. The towns gave victory to the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses — and so brought about *the final overthrow of feudalism.* They were the *centers of the intellectual life* of the Renaissance, and also the *strongholds of the Reformation.* And now they become the *chief home of Puritanism*, the greatest force in English life in the century we are next to study.

420. The burning questions in English politics and religion, after 1600, **had to do,** not with Catholicism, but **with Puritanism** (§ 387). *Puritanism was more than a religious sect.* It was an ardent aspiration for reform, personal and social. In politics, it stood for an advance in the rights of the people; in conduct, for a stricter morality; in theology, for the stern doctrines of Calvin; and in church government, for an extension of the movement which had cut off the English church from Rome.

421. In this matter of church government, two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition, — an influential *"Low-church" element within* the established church, and the despised *Independents* (" Separatists ") *outside* of it.

422. It is the Low-church Puritans with whom we are chiefly concerned for nearly fifty years. They had no wish to separate church and state. They wanted one national church (their idea of a church) to which all Englishmen should be *forced* to conform. They desired to make the church a more far-reaching moral power; and, to that end, they wished to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called "Romish," — the use of the surplice, and of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book. They did not as yet care to change radically the established *form of church government;* but they looked upon all church machinery not as divinely instituted, as the High-churchmen did, but as of human origin. Some of them had begun, indeed, to speak with scant respect of bishops, and there was *a subdivision among them inclined to the Presbyterian church government*, as it existed in Scotland.

The *Independents* (or "Puritans of the Separation") believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious society should be wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even *independent* of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. They were the germs of later Congregationalism. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "Pilgrims" of 1620).

423. Political liberty in England had fallen low under the Tudors. True, no law could be made without consent of parliament, and that body controlled all new grants of money. But the monarch (or his ministers) prepared nearly all measures that came before parliament; he could veto any act of parliament, and, after a law had been made, he sometimes nullified it by special proclamations. Moreover, the monarch had so many ways of injuring a private man that it was extremely hazardous for any one persistently to oppose him.

But, *after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely, only because they made use of constitutional forms* (§ 306) and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils were past, *the tone of parliament began to rise again.* Men spoke boldly of checks upon the royal power; and parliament and the courts forced the great Queen to give up her pet practice of granting trade monopolies[1] to her favorites. It was plain to keen observers that only the reverence for Elizabeth's age and sex, and the gratitude due her for her great services to the kingdom, held off an open clash between sovereign and parliament. Upon her death, the clash began, — to last eighty-five years.

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[1] Special report upon the dispute over monopolies.

CHAPTER XXIV

UNDER THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

At every moment, some one country, more than any other, represents the future and the welfare of mankind. — EMERSON.

424. "Divine Right" of Kings. — Elizabeth was succeeded by *James I* (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, page 339). James was learned and conceited, — "the wisest fool in Christendom," as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the "divine right" of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God's anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him not only *practised* absolutism, but they also *preached* it on every occasion. They were despots on principle.

The nation had been growing restive under the cloaked, beneficent, elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it rose in fierce opposition against the noisy, needless, and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts. *From 1603*, when the first James mounted the throne, *until 1688*, when his grandson, the second James, ignominiously ran away from it, *England was engaged in strife between this "divine right" of kings and the right of the people.*

425. Through all that seventeenth century, too, **this little patch of land was the last remaining battle ground for liberty.** In all other important states, — in Spain, in France, in Austria, in the Scandinavian lands, in the petty principalities of Germany and Italy, — despotism was supreme. In England both sides recognized this fact. Said the second Stuart king, Charles I, in a crisis of his reign, "I am ashamed that my cousins of France and Spain should have completed what I have scarce begun." And at the same time a patriot exclaimed in exhortation to his party, "England is the last country which retains her ancient liberties; let them not perish now."

426. The issue was soon stated. In the first few weeks of his new sovereignty, James gave several practical proofs of his disregard for law and of his arbitrary temper. On his royal entry from Scotland, he ordered a thief to be hanged *without trial;* and when he summoned his first parliament he ordered that contested elections should be settled, *not by parliament* as formerly, but by his courts. And then in a famous utterance, he summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party.[1]

When parliament assembled, it took the first chance to answer these new claims. The king, as usual, opened parliament with a "speech from the throne." As usual, the Speaker of the Commons replied; but, in place of the usual thanks to his majesty, he reminded James bluntly of his limited powers. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of parliament." The Commons backed up this speech by a long paper, setting forth popular rights in detail, asserting that the privileges of Englishmen were their inheritance "no less than their lands and goods."

427. Wrangling. — James seldom called parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Whenever he did, there was a clash.

Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes.

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[1] There were, as yet, no organized political parties. But there was a "court party," devoted to the royal power, consisting of most of the nobles and of the "High Church" clergy, and an opposition "country party," consisting of the mass of country gentry, some Puritan nobles, and the Puritan element generally.

Thus parliament was able to hold its own. It insisted stubbornly on its control of taxation, on freedom of speech, and on its right to impeach the king's ministers. In the parliament of 1621, the Commons expressed dissatisfaction with a marriage that James had planned for his son Charles with a Spanish princess. James roughly forbade them to discuss such "high matters of state." "Let us resort to our prayers," said one of the members, "and then consider this great business." The outcome of the consideration was a resolution,

> "(1) that the liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; and (2) that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, the church, the defense of the realm, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, which happen daily within this realm, are proper subjects for debate in parliament; and (3) that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member of the Commons* . . . *has freedom of speech* . . . to bring to conclusion the same."

James tore out this page of the records and dissolved parliament. But Charles was personally insulted by the Spanish court, where he had gone to visit the princess; and in the last year of James' life the prince succeeded in forcing him into war with Spain, to the boundless joy of the nation.

428. The First Parliaments of Charles I. — In March, 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died. In May, *Charles I* met his first parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Ignominious failure, instead, forced him to meet his second parliament in 1626.

429. It is now that Sir John Eliot stands forward as leader of the patriots. Eliot is the "first great Commoner." In her earlier struggles with her kings, England had depended upon nobles for leaders. The Tudor monarchs had begun to use members from the rising gentry as ministers of the crown. Now one of this class was to lead the opposition to the crown.

Eliot was a Cornish gentleman, thirty-three years of age, courtly in manner, ardent and poetic in temper. His mind was enriched by all the culture of the "New Learning," and afterward in weary years of imprisonment he found consolation in his Tacitus, Livy, Epictetus, and Seneca. He was an athlete and a courtier, and at the same time a deeply religious Puritan; but his mind was never tinged with the somber feeling of later Puritanism.

Eliot stood for the control of the king's ministers by parliament. Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. The *king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached;* and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny under James. Charles stopped the proceedings *by casting Eliot into prison* and dissolving parliament.

430. The king fell back upon "benevolences" (§ 306) to raise a revenue. These benevolences were now asked of *all* tax payers, *through the county courts.* But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for parliament. Some sheriffs refused to *ask* for the "free gift." The County of Cornwall (Sir John Eliot's county) answered "that if they had but two kine, they would sell one to supply his majesty, — *in a parliamentary way.*"

431. Then Charles tried a "forced loan." This was really a tax levied by the usual tax machinery. It was a tax thinly disguised by the false royal promise to repay it. The king's party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the "High Church" clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal*.'"

Charles, however, made use of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes; and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons, to subdue their obstinacy. One young squire, John Hampden, who had based his refusal to pay upon a clause in Magna Carta, was rewarded with so close an imprisonment that, his kinsman tells us, "he never did look the same man after." Equal heroism was shown by hundreds of unknown men. George Radcliffe wrote from his prison to his "right dear and loving wife" (who was eager to have him submit in time to have Christmas with her), "Shall it be thought I prejudice the public cause by *beginning* to conform, which none yet hath done of all that have been committed [imprisoned], save only two poor men, a butcher and another, — *and they, hooted at like owls among their neighbors?*"

The forced loan raised little revenue; and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France, with which his blundering policy had brought England into war. For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to no purpose; and, sunk in debt and shame, Charles met his third parliament in 1628.

432. "The Petition of Right." — The imprisoned country gentlemen were released before the elections, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new parliament,* in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election.

Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. Finally the House passed the *Petition of Right*, a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and against forced loans and benevolences. Then it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

The Lords tried to save the king's dignity by adding an evasive clause to the effect that parliament did not intend to interfere with "that sovereign power wherewith your majesty is intrusted." But the Commons rejected the amendment after a striking debate. "Sovereign power," said one, "would mean power above condition; they could not leave the king that, for he had never had it." "The king's *person* I will call sovereign," said another, "but not his power"; and a third added, "Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign." Finally, the Lords, too, passed the Petition, and Charles, after evasive delays, felt compelled to sign it.

In form, the document was a petition: *in fact*, when passed, and assented to by the king, *it became a revision of the constitution down to date*, so far as the personal rights of Englishmen were concerned. Almost at once, however, in recess of parliament, Charles broke its provisions regarding taxes.

433. Eliot's Resolutions. — Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in the recent infringements of the Petition of Right. Then the Speaker stopped business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1] Men knew that it would not be permitted to meet again, and there followed a striking scene. Two of the patriots (Holles and Valentine) bounded to the Speaker, thrust him back into his chair and held him there.[2]

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[1] The king could *adjourn* the parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no parliament could meet until he had called for new elections. Students should notice this distinction in all their reading on this period.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

Sir Miles Hobart locked the doors against the king's messenger, putting the key in his pocket; and Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions, which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members cried, Traitor! Traitor! Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in innovations in religion without the consent of Parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

And in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the doors swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But Eliot's friends remembered his words; and, when another parliament did meet, where he had left off, *they began again.*

434. Eliot could have had his liberty if he had bent to acknowledge himself wrong. His wife died; friends fell away; consumption attacked him, and his enemies knew that he must yield or die. His son petitioned for his release, on the ground that doctors had certified that without it he could not live. The king refused: "Though Sir John be brought low in body, yet is he as high and lofty in mind as ever." A month later, Eliot was dead. His son presented another petition, that he might have his father's body for burial. This request too was refused, and there was inscribed on the paper, — a mean act of a mean king, — "Let Sir John's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died." So Eliot's body rests in the Tower, and the spot is not marked.

435. Eleven Years of "No Parliament." — On the dissolution of the third parliament of Charles, England entered a gloomy period. The king issued royal edicts in place of laws, and no parliament met for eleven years (*1629–1640*). During this period, in many ways, the government sought the welfare of the nation, and it gave particular attention to the needs of the poor; *but its methods were thoroughly despotic.*

To avoid the necessity of calling parliaments, Charles practised rigid economy. He sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and, among other devices, his lawyers invented "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard countries had now and then been called upon by the kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money* tax" from *all* England in *time of peace.*

436. John Hampden refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and the famous *ship-money case* went to the courts (1637). James, in his time, had turned the courts into servile tools, by dismissing the only judge (Sir Edward Coke) who dared oppose his will. And now the slavish judges decided for the king, as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions"; but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers *attracted wide attention*, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, — "For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of parliament makes any difference.*" The nature of the Stuart rule was now clear to all men.

437. The chief servants of the crown during this period were *Archbishop Laud* and *Thomas Wentworth*. Wentworth had been one of the leaders in securing the Petition of Right, but soon afterward he passed over to the side of the king and became Earl of Strafford. His old associates regarded him as a traitor to the cause of liberty; but it is possible that he sincerely expected to secure the good of England best through upholding the royal power.

Laud was an extreme High Churchman and a conscientious bigot. He reformed the discipline of the church and ennobled the ritual; but he persecuted the Puritan clergy cruelly, with imprisonment and even by the cutting off of ears.

As a result of this and of the political discouragement, that sect founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Practically all the immigration this colony received came in the ten years 1630-1640, while Charles ruled without parliament.

438. In 1638 Laud tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland.[1] But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayerbook in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool[2] at his head, crying,—"Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]?" The service broke up in wild disorder, and there followed a strange scene in the churchyard where stern, grizzled men drew blood from their arms, wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives.

This Covenant spread swiftly over all lowland Scotland, and the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border. *Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards.* He could get no help from England without a parliament; and (November, 1640) he called the famous body known as the *Long Parliament.*

439. The Long Parliament. — The great leaders of the Long Parliament were the commoners *Pym, Hampden, Sir Harry Vane,*[3] and, somewhat later, *Cromwell.* Pym took the place of Eliot, and promptly indicated that the Commons were the real rulers of England. When the Lords tried to delay reform, he brought them to time by his veiled threat: he "should be sorry if the House of Commons had to save England *alone*."

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[1] Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament, laws, and church; the union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king. This remained the theory until 1707 (§ 463).

[2] Churches had no pews. People who wished to sit during the sermon carried their own stools.

[3] Vane had spent some time in Massachusetts and had been governor there.

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote.* Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought in innovations in religion," and Wentworth, who had advised and helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship-money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment. And forty committees were appointed, one for each county, to secure the punishment of the lesser officers concerned in the illegal acts of the government. Then parliament abolished the *Court of the Star Chamber* and the *High Commission*, — two rather new courts which worked without juries and which, therefore, Charles had been able to use as instruments of tyranny. Meanwhile, the many martyrs whom Laud had imprisoned were freed from their dungeons, and welcomed to London by a joyous multitude that strewed flowers beneath the feet of their horses. These measures filled the first year,[1] and so far the Commons had been united — in punishing and redressing past grievances.

440. But now a split began. *Moderate men*, led by the broad-minded *Hyde* and the chivalrous *Falkland*, thought enough had been done. Parliament had taught the king a stern lesson; to do more would mean *danger of revolution* and anarchy, for which these men had no wish. So they drew nearer to the king.

On the other hand, *more far-sighted leaders*, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing *safeguards for the future*, since to them it was plain that the king's promises were worthless. Moreover, a small Presbyterian and Independent party ("Root and Branch" men), under Vane and Cromwell, wanted to overthrow Episcopacy.

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[1] The trial of Laud came later, but he was already a prisoner.

441. **Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance,** — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king and the High-church party. In particular it proposed (1) that a synod of clergy should meet to reform the church; and (2) that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of parliament. After an all-day and almost all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes,* amid a scene of wild confusion (November 22, 1641). Said Cromwell, as the House broke up, "If it had failed, I should have sold all I possess tomorrow, and never seen England more."

442. **Charles tried to reverse this small majority** against him by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges; and *so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize "the five members."*

News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. Charles did not know this, and ordered the Speaker to point them out. The Speaker protested that he had "no eyes to see, nor tongue to speak," but as the House should direct him. "Well, well!" said the king; "my eyes are as good as another's"; and standing in the Speaker's place he looked over the room. "I see the birds are flown," he added, in a different tone, — and walked out baffled, followed by angry shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!"[1]

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[1] Referring to the privilege of members of parliament to be free from arrest, except on the order of the House itself (§ 298).

Charles' despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition. London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard parliament. And parliament now demanded that the king give it *control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes.* Charles withdrew to the conservative North, and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

443. The Civil War. — Many men who had gone with parliament in its reforms, now chose the king's side rather than rebellion and the danger of anarchy. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the trading and manufacturing classes and the yeomanry fought for parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war,"[1] dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "Cavaliers" from the court nobles; while the parliamentarians were called "Round Heads," in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads.[2]

At first Charles was successful. The shopboys of the city trainbands could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But (1) *Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accordingly, *he drew his recruits from the Independents* of the east of England, — mostly yeomen farmers. They were men of godly lives, free from the usual license of a camp. They fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of *Marston Moor* was won.

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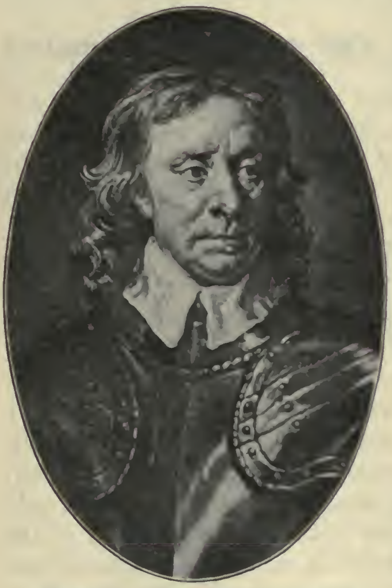
[1] An instructive contrast may be drawn between the civilized nature of this war and the character of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which was going on at the same time. In England non-combatants were rarely molested, and as a rule property rights were respected.

[2] The portraits of Cromwell and Vane (pages 384, 386) show, however, that Puritan *gentlemen* did not crop their hair. Short hair was a "class" mark.

(2) Then Cromwell was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*"; and soon after, the victory of *Naseby* virtually closed the war (1645).

Says John Fiske: "If we consider merely its territorial area or the number of men slain, the war of the English Parliament against Charles I seems a trivial affair . . . but if we consider the moral and political issues involved, and the influence of the struggle on the future welfare of mankind, we soon come to see that there never was a conflict of more world-wide significance than that from which Oliver Cromwell came out victorious. . . . If ever there were men who laid down their lives in the cause of all mankind, it was those grim old Ironsides, whose watchwords were texts from Holy Writ, and whose battle cries were hymns of praise."



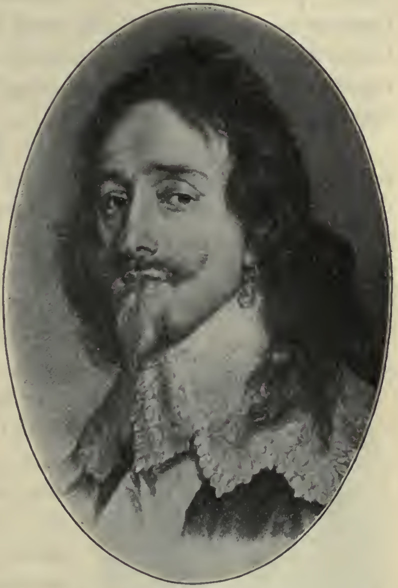
CROMWELL. — After Lely's portrait.

444. When the war began, many Episcopalians in parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. They were strengthened still further soon by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland. **Then parliament made the English church Presbyterian.**

Soon, it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship. On this point, the Presbyterian parliament and the Independent "New Model" quarreled. Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other, — intending, with shameless duplicity, to keep promises to neither. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter [the badge of an honorary order of knighthood] I will fit them with a hempen halter."

445. These dissensions and intrigues led to a "Second Civil War." But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for their head, prepared plans; and the whole army "sought the Lord" regarding them in monster prayer-meetings.

The army quickly stamped out the royalist and Presbyterian risings. Then, under order from the council of officers, *Colonel Pride* "purged" the House of Commons by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty (out of an original membership of some five hundred). These were all Independents, and their leader was Vane. Pym and Hampden had both died some time before.



Charles I. — After a famous portrait by Van Dyck.

446. The remnant of parliament, backed by the army, **abolished monarchy and the House of Lords**, and brought "Charles Stuart, that man of blood" to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Then the "Rump" parliament abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, and **declared England a republic**, under the name of *the Commonwealth. "The people,"* said a famous resolution, "*are, under God, the original of all just power;* and the Commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."

The Scots were not ready for such radical measures, and they were angry at the overthrow of Presbyterianism. So they *crowned the son of the dead king as Charles II*, and invaded England to place him on the throne. Cromwell crushed them at *Worcester*, and the young "King of Scots" escaped to the continent.

447. Cromwell and the Rump.— The Rump continued to rule for four years more. But it was only a shadow of a parliament, and it had been elected *thirteen years before.* Cromwell and the army grew anxious to see the government put on a permanent basis, and they felt that this could be done only by a real parliament. The Rump was unwilling to dissolve; but at last, under Cromwell's insistence, it agreed to give way to a new parliament.

But Cromwell learned that it was hurrying through a bill which would make its members a part of the new parliament without reëlection, and which, indeed, would give them power to reject elected members if they chose. Cromwell felt that he was being tricked. Hurrying to the House with a file of musketeers, he dispersed it (1653), with an unusual burst of passion. "Come," he said, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no parliament! I say, you are no parliament!" His old friend, Vane, reproached his violence loudly. Cromwell turned with savage contempt: "Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" And after his officers had led the

HARRY VANE.

Speaker from the chair, Cromwell added to the remaining members, — "It's you that have forced me to this. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would slay me rather than put me upon the doing of this work."

448. The Protectorate, 1654–1660. — Cromwell's outburst of temper at the Rump was natural. He saw that it was going to be almost impossible for him to preserve the form of parliamentary government, when the only representatives of the nation had failed him — poor representatives though they were. There was no power that could even claim the right to *call* a parliament. Cromwell and the army, however, summoned a *national convention*, to make a new constitution, and he made two other sincere attempts at parliaments. But all these bodies proved dilatory and factious; and Cromwell grew more and more hasty and arbitrary.

Finally he and the army officers impatiently took the construction of new machinery of government into their own hands. Cromwell assumed the title of *Lord Protector* (1654); and the following six years are the period of the Protectorate.

The real difficulty was that the Independents were only a small fraction of the nation. They had won mastery by war, and they kept it through the discipline of the army. Cromwell became practically a dictator, with greater power than Charles had ever had. His rule was stained by cruelties in Ireland;[1] but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad; and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island.

At the best, however, Cromwell's rule was the rule of force, not of law. The noble experiment of a Republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends; and, on Cromwell's death, the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II (1660).

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[1] As were his earlier campaigns there in even greater degree. Special report, Cromwell in Ireland.

449. Religious Toleration. — Cromwell's toleration in religion, though it did not extend to Catholics, was ahead of the age. This is a good point at which to note the slow growth of religious freedom.

The Puritan Long Parliament, *in 1641* (while still led by broadminded men like Pym, Hampden, and Hyde), demanded from Charles I certain reforms in the church; but it protested that it did not favor religious toleration:

> "We do declare it to be far from our purpose to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine worship they please. **For we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin.**"

This is as good a statement as was ever made for the almost universal opinion. Even people who no longer thought any one religion essential to salvation did think *one form essential* to good order in society.

True, in that same year, Lord Brooke (a Puritan nobleman with *Independent* convictions) wrote nobly in a treatise on religion: —

> "**The individual should have liberty.** No power on earth should force his practice. One that doubts with reason and humility may not, for aught I see, be forced by violence. . . . Fire and water may be restrained; **but light cannot.** It will in at every cranny. Now to stint it, is [to-morrow] to resist an enlightened and inflamed multitude. **Can we not dissent in judgment, but we must also disagree in affection?**"

Only a few rare spirits anywhere in the world, however, reached this lofty view. Few had advanced as far as Cromwell. The world was not ready for religious freedom.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's histories as before (cf. page 143 above). George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* and Scott's *Woodstock* are excellent fiction for the Civil War, and they present somewhat different views.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

450. With the Restoration, the great age of Puritanism closed. The court, and the young cavaliers all over the land, gave themselves up to shameful licentiousness. Of course, among the country gentry and the middle class of the towns, there continued to be large numbers of religious, God-fearing homes; and in places even the somber morality of the Puritans survived. But fashionable society followed largely the example of the court circle.

Court literature, too, was indescribably corrupt and indecent. But, in just this age of political defeat, Puritanism found its highest expression in literature. *John Milton*, years before, had given noble poems to the world — like his *L'Allegro* — but for many years he had abandoned poetry to work in Cromwell's Council and to champion the Puritan cause in prose pamphlets. Now, a blind, disappointed old man, he composed *Paradise Lost.* And John Bunyan, a dissenting minister, lying in jail under the persecuting laws of the new government, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress.*

451. The established church became again Episcopalian, as it has since remained. In the reaction against Puritan rule, the new parliament passed *many cruel acts of persecution.* Two thousand Puritan preachers were not only driven from their pulpits, but were forbidden to earn a living by teaching, or even to come within five miles of any city or borough in England. *All dissenters* — Catholic and Protestant — *were excluded from the right to hold municipal office.* And all religious worship except the Episcopalian was punished with severe penalties.

452. In spite of all this, **the great political principles for which the early Puritan parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious, and were adopted by their old enemies.** The parliament that was elected in the fervor of welcome to the restored monarch was wildly enthusiastic for king as for church. Charles knew he could never get another so much to his mind; and so he shrewdly kept this "Cavalier Parliament" through most of his reign — till 1679. *But even the Cavalier Parliament insisted strenuously,* and successfully, *on parliament's sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church, and control foreign policy.* And Charles' second parliament adopted the great *Habeas Corpus Act*, which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles' father. The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Charta; but the law of Charles' time first provided *adequate machinery,* much as we have it in our States to-day, to enforce the principle.

453. Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the "Merry Monarch." One of his courtiers described him in a jesting rhyme as a king "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one."

But though lazy, Charles had real ability. He said lightly that he "had no mind to go on his travels again," and at any cost he avoided a clash with parliament. However, in return for secret grants of money from Louis XIV of France, he shamefully made England a mere satellite of that country in foreign affairs; and at home he cautiously built up a standing army. There is reason to think that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father's; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

454. Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of parliament introduced a bill to exclude him from the throne; and their supporters throughout

England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The Catholics and the more conservative part of parliament, especially those who believed that parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These "Abhorrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists, with their sour faces. The Whigs called their opponents *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic and royal policy in the Civil War.

The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. It was a long time before there was any regular organization, or precise platform; but, in general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while the Tories sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people.*

455. James II lacked his brother's tact. He arbitrarily "suspended" the laws against Catholics, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that he meant to make the established church Catholic; and this belief prepared England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a few troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army; and fled to France (1688).

456. The *story* of the Revolution of 1688 is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. William of Orange is the only fine character on either side. There is no longer a patriot Eliot or Pym or Hampden, or a royalist Hyde or Falkland. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures* and *little men*"; and the term "glorious," which English historians have applied to the Revolution, must be taken to belong to results rather than to methods.

Those *results* were of mighty import. A Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant, drew up the great Declaration of Rights,[1] the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties," and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns, *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration.* The supremacy of parliament over the king was once more firmly established. *The new sovereigns,* like the old Lancastrians, *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne.

The Bill of Rights stated once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen, as Magna Carta and the Petition of Right had done. The final clause declared that no Roman Catholic should ever be eligible to ascend the throne. It fixed the order of succession (1) in the children of William and Mary, if any; (2) in Mary's sister *Anne*, and her children, if any. A few years later (1701), another law (the Act of Settlement) declared the next heir to be a grand-daughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover, and her children. It was by virtue of this law that the crown passed to George I in 1714, and to each English sovereign since (note on page 395). The law excluded nearer heirs by blood — descendants of James II — who were Catholics.

To understand the results of the Revolution at the close of the seventeenth century, we must carry the political story in part into the eighteenth.

457. Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War." — *William III* was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings. But he was unpopular, as a foreigner; and his reign (1688 – 1702) was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While only Stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes (§ 473); and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This began a series of wars between France and England. With slight intervals of peace, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. During the next century and a quarter, there were great changes in England, especially in farming and manufactures; but they were changes made *by the people*, without notice by the government. These changes will be studied in later chapters.

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[1] The next regular parliament turned this document into the "Bill of Rights." The other two great documents that rank with it are, of course, Magna Carta and the Petition of Right.

458. Just in the first years, however, some remarkable reforms were made by parliament, both in politics and in religion. These were properly part of the Revolution. *The religious reform* was embodied in the *Act of Toleration of 1689*. The Revolution of 1688 was essentially the work of the English church. But the persecuted Protestant dissenters had rallied to its aid — against the Catholic James; and William insisted that parliament should now grant them freedom of worship. This was done.

The law, however, did not apply to Catholics, Jews, or Unitarians. These three classes remained excluded not only from all right to worship in their own way — under severe penalties — but also *from the right to hold office or attend the universities*. Indeed the Protestant dissenters were not allowed to do either of these last things. Still, for a country like England to permit by law the public exercise of more than one religion was a great step forward.

459. The chief gains in political liberty, connected with the Revolution, come under four heads: —

(1) The Stuart kings had frequently interfered shamelessly with the independence of the courts. Now the judges were made removable only by parliament, not by the king.

(2) A triennial bill ordered that a new parliament should be elected at least once in three years. This put an end to such abuse as the long life of the Cavalier Parliament. In 1716 the term was changed to *seven years*, and in 1911, to five. A parliament may dissolve itself sooner than this; but it cannot last longer.

(3) Parliament hit upon a simple device which, indirectly, has put an end completely to the old way in which kings abused their power of dissolving parliaments. After the Revolution, *parliaments determined to pass "revenue bills"* (furnishing

money for government expenses) *only for a year at a time* — instead of for the life of the sovereign, as had been customary — and to put off their consideration until other business had been attended to. In like fashion, the *Mutiny Act*, which gives officers authority over soldiers, was passed henceforth only for short periods. That is, parliament adopted the regular policy of *delegating power of purse and sword for only one year at a time.* Thenceforward, parliaments have been assembled each year, and they have practically fixed their own adjournments.

(4) The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to parliament *easily* and *at all times.* The story of this gain — a whole peaceful revolution — deserves a section to itself.

460. This desired "Cabinet Government" was secured *indirectly* through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to unite the kingdom, and balance Whigs and Tories, by keeping the leaders of both parties among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which parliament felt toward his measures. Sometimes, too, there were dangerous deadlocks between king and parliament at critical times.

Then a shrewd political schemer suggested to the king that he should choose *all* his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had a majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support their proposals, instead of blocking all measures. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by replacing his "cabinet" with leading

Tories. *This was the* ***beginning*** *of ministerial government, or cabinet government.*

William, however, was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers, the "king's ministers" — to carry out his policy. Queen Anne (1702–1714) tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. But, like William and Mary, she too died without living children; and the crown passed (§ 456) to the German George I, who was already Elector of Hanover.[1]

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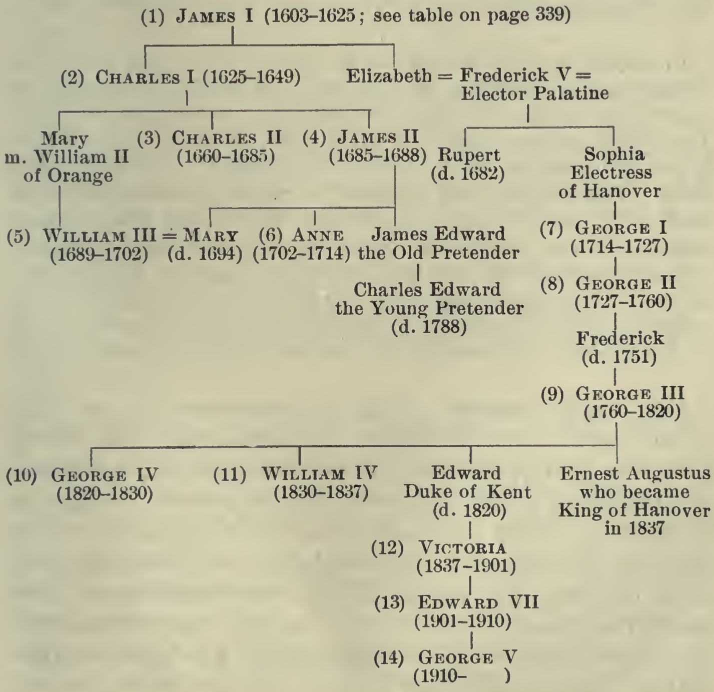
[1] Hanover was given a vote in the imperial electoral college in 1691. The following table shows the relationship of the Hanoverians to the Stuarts:


(1) JAMES I (1603–1625; see table on page 339)
(2) CHARLES I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth = Frederick V = Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
(3) CHARLES II (1660–1685)
(4) JAMES II (1685–1688)
Rupert (d. 1682)
Sophia Electress of Hanover
(5) WILLIAM III = MARY (1689–1702) (d. 1694)
(6) ANNE (1702–1714)
James Edward the Old Pretender
(7) GEORGE I (1714–1727)
Charles Edward the Young Pretender (d. 1788)
(8) GEORGE II (1727–1760)
Frederick (d. 1751)
(9) GEORGE III (1760–1820)
(10) GEORGE IV (1820–1830)
(11) WILLIAM IV (1830–1837)
Edward Duke of Kent (d. 1820)
Ernest Augustus who became King of Hanover in 1837
(12) VICTORIA (1837–1901)
(13) EDWARD VII (1901–1910)
(14) GEORGE V (1910–)

Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English; and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. *They did not even attend "cabinet" meetings.* During their half-century (1714–1760), the government of England was left to the group of ministers, or "the cabinet." For nearly half the period (or from 1721 to 1742) the leading man in the cabinet was the Whig *Sir Robert Walpole.* Walpole selected the other ministers, and put before parliament his own plans under the king's name. He is properly called "the first Prime Minister." Thus the reigns of these two stupid German Georges gave a great impetus to true cabinet government. The "king's ministers" were fairly on the way to become the "ministers of parliament."

Unhappily, parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole sought earnestly, and on the whole wisely, to advance the material prosperity of England, and especially to build up her trade. Accordingly he clung tenaciously to a policy of peace. But he ruled largely by unblushing corruption. Said he cynically, "Every man has his price." Certainly he found it possible to buy many members of parliament with gifts of lucrative offices — oftentimes offices with no duties attached to them. During his rule, it was not a parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority. The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed parliament, and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.

461. English Society. — English upper-classes in the eighteenth century were artificial and dissipated. The middle class was hearty, bluff, and wholesomely honest; but it was also exceedingly rude and coarse and immodest. Modern refinement of feeling and conduct had hardly appeared. England was not immoral. Compared with other lands, she was a moral country. But there was little moral earnestness. The age of Puritanism had vanished. The established Episcopalian church had many "fox-hunting parsons," who neglected their duties, or made them empty forms, while they sought the companionship of the neighboring squires in sports and in drinking bouts.

462. A protest against this lack of moral earnestness in the church and in society was the great Methodist movement. The founder was John Wesley, about 1738. While a student at Oxford, some years earlier, Wesley had established a religious society among his fellow-students; and these young men were nicknamed Methodists, because of their regular habits. Wesley became a clergyman of the established church; but he soon came to place special emphasis on the idea of sudden and absolute "conversion" from sin. Aided by his brother Charles and by the powerful preacher Whitfield, he journeyed through England, holding great "revivals" in vast open-air meetings, preaching the love of Christ and its power to save from sin.

Wesley was a man of wonderful spirituality; but his fellow-clergy for the most part were shocked at his method and refused to take him into their pulpits, and his converts came almost wholly from the lower classes. Much against the wish of the original leaders, the movement finally was organized as a dissenting "Methodist church." But Wesley's work went further than merely to found a new church, mighty as that church has become. The greatest result of the Methodist movement was found in the revivifying and spiritual quickening that followed within the established church and throughout all English life.

463. Meantime "England" was becoming "Great Britain." James I (1603) joined Scotland and England under one crown (§ 424). A century later (1707) this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by "the Act of Union," adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the English parliament and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Halfway between these two dates, Cromwell completed the conquest of Ireland. And that same seventeenth century had seen another and vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.[1]

For Further Reading. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a splendid story which touches some passages in the history of the closing seventeenth century.

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[1] The "personal union" with Hanover under the Georges ceased in 1837, when a woman became the sovereign of England (§ 752). It left few consequences in English history.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE[1]

I. BEGINNINGS—SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

464. Discoveries. — We have studied several great phases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation; the century of religious wars on the continent; and, in England, the Puritan movement and the rise of political liberty. One other movement of those centuries, quite as important as any of these, is yet to be surveyed. *This is the expansion of Europe into New Worlds.*

The *beginning* we noted. Europe's growing commerce with the Orient was threatened in the fifteenth century by the Turks. To get into the rear of these barbarians, Europe, astir with the new life of the Renaissance, sought new routes to Asia. Portugal found one, to the south, around Africa. Columbus, with the aid of Spain, tried a still bolder Western route, and stumbled on America in his path.

465. These discoveries marked the end of the fifteenth century. Portugal quickly built a rich empire in the Indian Ocean and the "Spice Islands" of the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, *the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.* The story of her conquests is a tale of heroic endurance and ferocious cruelty. The details, as a Spanish chronicler said, are all "horrid transactions — nothing pleasant in any of them." Spain did not attempt settlement on the mainland until twenty years after the discovery; but, once begun, her handfuls of adventurers swooped north and south;

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[1] The chief importance of the expansion, for some centuries, lay in the expansion of England. Therefore this chapter is included conveniently in Part IV.

and, by 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), all Central America, Mexico, the Californias far up the Pacific coast, and the Floridas. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were Spanish lakes; and even the Pacific was a "closed sea." For other Europeans to venture into those waters was a crime, in Spanish eyes, to be punished by death.

Not content with this huge empire, Spain was planning grandly to occupy the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope, when she received her fatal check in Europe, at the hands of the English sea dogs, in the ruin of her Invincible Armada (1588).

Then the other seaboard countries of Western Europe tried their fortunes in America. But *Holland*, in her half-century of rebellion against Spain, turned her chief energies to seizing Portugal's old empire in the Orient, which had now become Spain's (§ 396). The Swedish colonies on the Delaware were never formidable to the claims of other nations, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (§ 409). And so *North America was left to France and England.*

II. FRANCE IN AMERICA

466. The Story of French Colonization. — After a quarter-century of exploration, Champlain founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec, in 1608. Explorers, traders, and missionaries soon traversed the Great Lakes, and established stations at various points still known by French names. Toward the close of the century (1682), after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up French claim to the entire valley. After that, New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence, in the far north, and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

At home, French statesmen aimed deliberately to build a

French empire in America. The same inspiring thought animated French explorers in the wilderness — splendid patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France, too, sent forth the most zealous of missionaries to convert the savages. **Patriotism and missionary zeal played a greater part in French colonization than in either English or Spanish colonies.** Moreover, the adaptable and genial French could deal with the natives better than the stiff and reserved English could.

467. Weak Points. — But though the French colonies were strong *in the leaders*, they were *weak* in some vital matters that depended on the *mass of the colonists.* **They lacked homes, individual enterprise, and political life.**

New France was not a country of homes or of agriculture. Except for a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these colonists turned instead to trapping and the fur trade, and adopted Indian habits.

The French government sought, in vain, to remedy this by sending over cargoes of "king's girls," and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. The easiest remedy would have been to let the Huguenots come. They were skillful artisans and agriculturists, and, while they held towns for themselves (§ 405), they had shown some fitness for self-government. But Louis XIV, while he lavished money in sending undesirable immigrants, refused to let heretics found a new state.

Government paternalism smothered private enterprise in industry. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by silly restrictions, and hampered almost as much by silly encouragements. The rulers did everything. "Send us money to build storehouses" ran the begging letters of the colonial governors to the French king. "Send us a teacher to make sailors. We want a surgeon."

And so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, ironworkers, pilots. New France got the help she asked; *but she did not learn to walk alone.*

Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism; and, in New France, as a French writer (Tocqueville) says: "this deformity was seen as though magnified by a microscope." No public meetings could be held without special license from the governor; and the governor's ordinances (not the people) regulated pew rent, the order in which dignitaries should sit in church, the number of cattle a man might keep, the pay of chimney sweeps, the charges in inns, and so on. "It is of greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

III. ENGLAND IN AMERICA

468. Colonizing Forces, and the Progress to 1690. — *Very different was the fringe of English colonies* that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the over-shadowing might of Spain. *Out of that rivalry, English America was born* — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual and adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain. More far-sighted statesmen, like Raleigh, saw that English colonies in America would be "a great bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine," and began attempts so to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth."

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh, in Elizabeth's reign, made the first attempts. These came to nothing, because the energies of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; and Englishmen began to fear lest their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers. Men said that a terrible mistake had been made when Henry VII refused to adopt the enterprise of Columbus, and all the more they insisted that England should not now abandon Virginia, — "this one enterprise left unto these days."[1]

Moreover, population had doubled in the long internal peace since the Wars of the Roses, rising to some four million people. This was still only a tenth as many people as the island supports to-day; but, under the industrial system of that time, England needed an outlet for this "crowded" population. The more enterprising of the hard-pressed yeomanry were glad to seek new homes; and this class furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies.

But captains and capitalists, too, were needed. And a new condition in England just after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure. Until James made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (§ 398) or made the "gentlemen-adventurers" who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, still attacking the old enemy in his weakest point. These young adventurers were not used to steady industry, and they were restless under discipline. But when they had learned somewhat of the needs of frontier life, their pluck and endurance made them splendid colonists.

Such were the forces in English life, then, that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, *Puritanism was added to the colonizing forces,* and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. At the time of the "Revolution of 1688," these two groups of settlements had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.

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[1] This and the two preceding quoted expressions come from Englishmen interested in colonization in Virginia.

469. Freedom. — *These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law*, with its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other *personal liberties* (such as were known in no other people's colonies for two hundred years); and almost as soon as founded, *they developed also a large degree of political liberty.* They all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English parliament. Moreover, not all England, but *only the more democratic part of English life*, was transferred to America. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop ever made part of colonial America. *And that part of English society* which did come *was drawn toward still greater democracy by the presence here of unlimited free land.*

When the Puritan *gentlemen*, who at first made up the governing body in Massachusetts colony, tried to fix wages for carpenters by law, as the gentry did in England (§ 415), the New England carpenters simply ceased to do carpenter work and became farmers. Thus wages rose, spite of aristocratic efforts to hold them down. Free land helped to maintain equality in industry, and so in politics. Thus the English colonies from the first began to diverge from the old home in the direction of even greater freedom.

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. The conflict in Europe (§ 457) between William III of England and Louis XIV of France became a hundred years' conflict (1690–1815) for empire in America and Asia.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The student should study the expansion of Europe in Woodward's *Expansion of the British Empire*, I, 1–263; Seeley's *Expansion of England;* or Caldecott's *English Colonization.*

PART V

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

of Prussia

CHAPTER XXVIII

FRENCH LEADERSHIP

470. The "Balance of Power." — The period we study in the next three short chapters covers the century and a half from the close of the hundred years of religious wars to the beginning of the French Revolution (1648–1789).[1] The last part of the Thirty Years' War, we saw, was something besides a religious conflict. The Hapsburgs had long ringed France about with peril; and so Catholic France at last aided Protestant Germany and Holland to break the power of Catholic Austria and Spain. *Such attempts to destroy a too powerful neighbor are characteristic of the next hundred years of war.*

The chief object of statesmen became to keep any one country from growing too strong for its neighbors' safety. This was called *maintaining the Balance of Power.* For many years France was the country that threatened that balance, and so league after league of other countries was organized against her. International morality was low and selfish, however, and commonly the nations were willing to let a strong Power rob a weaker neighbor, if they could find "compensation" (and maintain the "balance") by themselves robbing some other weak state.

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[1] During this 141 years the map of Europe was incessantly shifting. The student should *read* the story as told in chapters xxviii–xxx, but the teacher may find it best to conduct recitations with open books and to fix only a few summaries.

471. Another curious fact is that these wars were *dynastic* wars (wars in the interests of ruling *families*) more than any others that Europe had ever seen. And the personal likings and hatreds of kings, as well as their family interests, interfered sometimes with their devotion to the "balance of power."

During most of the long period, the stage is held by one or another of three great rulers, Louis XIV of France (1643–1715), Peter the Great of Russia (1689–1725), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786). The main influence of Peter was spent directly upon his own country; but *Louis and Frederick belonged to all Europe*, and *the period is covered by* **the Age of Louis XIV and the Age of Frederick II.**

472. In the early years of Louis XIV it seemed that his reign was to rival that of Henry IV. With his great minister, *Colbert*, he introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manufactures, built roads, introduced canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 he began a series of wars that filled most of the remaining forty years of his reign.

473. In the first twelve years of war, Louis sought to seize territory on his northeastern frontier. The Dutch Republic was his chief obstacle. Finally, Louis dropped all other plans, in order to crush that little state. The Dutch then intrusted their government to William of Orange (who afterward became William III of England). William was not a supreme genius, like his great-grandfather, William the Silent; but he was faithful, persistent, and heroic. More than any other man he foiled the ambition of France.

It was urged upon William that conflict with the mighty power of Louis was hopeless, and that he could only see his country lost. "There is a way never to see it lost," he replied quietly; "that way is to die on the last dike." With such grim determination, he finally cut the dikes, and the North Sea drove out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands.

474. During ten years of peace that followed, Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine. But the important event of this period was his treatment of the Huguenots. In 1685 he **revoked the Edict of Nantes,** and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. *Protestantism did finally disappear from France.* But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and America.[1]

The effect of this flight on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscoes (§ 400) on Spain. It was a crushing blow to the prosperity of the country. The rest of Louis' reign was a period of failure.

475. The second series of wars began in 1689, when William of Orange became king of England (§ 457). As before, the French armies seemed invincible in the field; but, as before, William checked Louis by building up a general European alliance against him. Louis had fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he made no gains.* This war is known in American history as "King William's War." *The struggle in Europe had widened into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

476. Next, Louis sought extension on his other land frontier. Charles II, the last Spanish Hapsburg, was dying. The crown would go naturally either to the Austrian Hapsburgs or to the sons of Louis XIV, who were nephews of Charles. Louis arranged a partition treaty with William of Orange, for dividing the Spanish realms among the powers of Europe. But the proud Spanish people, who had not been consulted, had no mind for such an assassination of their empire. They preferred instead the accession of Louis' younger grandson as Philip V. When Louis became sure of this (1700), he decided to snatch the whole prize. He placed Philip on the Spanish throne, and said exultantly, "The Pyrenees no longer exist."

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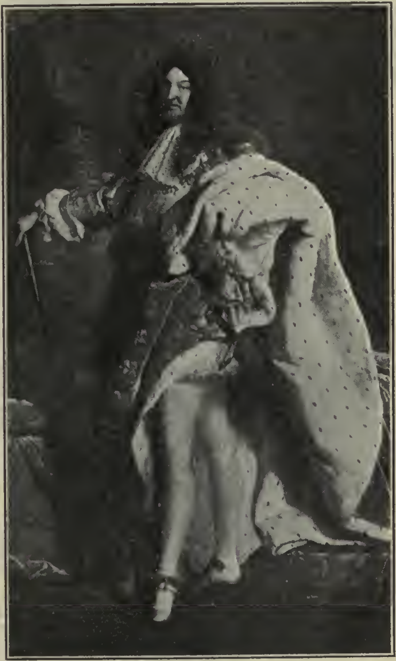
[1] In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas; but some old Virginia families trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.

But Europe united against France and Spain in the "War of the Spanish Succession," known in American history as "Queen Anne's War." In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlborough* and the Hapsburg *Prince Eugene* were two of the greatest generals of history, and they won terrible victories over the hitherto invincible armies of France, at *Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde,* and *Malplaquet.*

477. The *Peace of Utrecht* (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce all claim upon the French throne. France gained no territory in Europe, and in America *she lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England.* England also acquired command of the Mediterranean, by securing from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca.* Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula, ceding her Netherland provinces, the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, and the great Duchy of Milan in North Italy, to Austria.

478. Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*); but we can now see that his aims were mistaken, even from a purely selfish view. His predecessors had fought for security against the hostile embrace of the Hapsburgs. After 1648, that danger had passed away. Louis fought only to enlarge his borders.

In this aim he was partially successful; but his wars exhausted France, and *left the nation burdened with debt through the next century.* At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created.* And in his unjust attacks upon petty properties of his neighbors in Europe, he had wasted strength that might have intrenched France as mistress in Asia and America.



Louis XIV.

479. Intellectually France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. This continued to be true through the next century. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe, large or small, sought to form itself. French thought, French fashions, the French language, spread over Europe and became the common property of all polite society.

This admiration for France was due partly to an outburst of French poetry at this time. *It was the first great age in French literature.* The leading authors were the dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Molière. A striking illustration of the influence of this French literature is that a great English school of writers modeled themselves upon it. This is the body of "correct poets," of whom *Pope* is the most famous member. At the same time, this literature was brilliant and sparkling, rather than great. "The work is not constructive, but imitative. It is not free and strong, but careful and studied."

480. "I am the state" is a famous saying ascribed to Louis XIV. Whether he said it or not, he might have done so with perfect truth. So might almost any monarch of his day, outside of England. In that age, monarchs were everything; the people, so far as government was concerned, were nothing. Louis called the English parliament "an intolerable evil."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

481. The Russians threw off the Tartar yoke, we have noticed, about 1500. *Ivan the Terrible,* the second ruler after that event, took the title of Tsar (from *Caesar,* the old Roman title for emperors). About 1550, under Ivan, Russia was extended to the Caspian. It now covered a vast area — the great eastern plain of Europe, reaching over into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks shut Russia off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (§ 411); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany.

Thus the Russians were really Asiatic in geography. They were Asiatic also in manners and thought. They belonged to the Greek church; but they had no other tie with European life.

482 Russia was made a European Power by Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. He admired the material results of western civilization, and he determined to Europeanize his people. As steps toward this, he meant to get the Baltic coast from Sweden, and the Black Sea from the Turks, so as to have "windows to look out upon Europe."

Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland he studied shipbuilding, as a workman in the navy yards. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, gold beaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

Church of St. Basil, Moscow, built about 1575, in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (§ 170). The building was painted brilliantly, in all the colors of the rainbow.

483. Russia veneered with European Culture. — With these workmen Peter sought to introduce western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and to come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Russian and Oriental.

484. Peter also started Russia on her march toward the European seas. On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, ever since his day, Constantinople has been the goal of Russian ambition in this direction.

The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, "the Glorious Madman of the North." Sweden was a thinly populated country with no great natural resources. For a century a line of great kings and the disciplined bravery of her soldiery had made her a leading power in Europe; but such leadership could hardly be permanent. She had grown at the expense of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg; and when Charles XII came to the Swedish throne (1697) as a mere boy of fifteen, these states leagued against him.

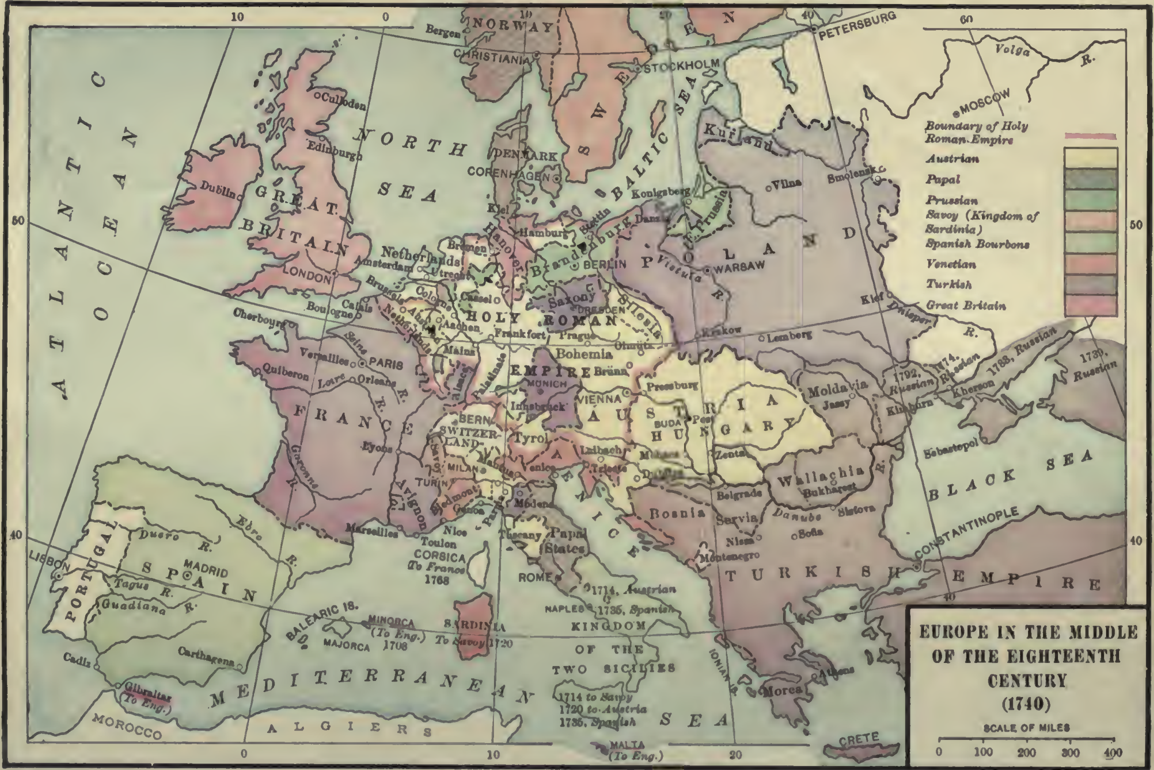
Charles was a military genius, and for a long time he was victorious against this overwhelming coalition. But he wore out his resources in winning victories that did not destroy his huge antagonists. Early in the struggle he defeated Peter the Great at *Narva*, with an army not more than an eighth as large as the Russian force; but while Charles was busied in Poland and Germany, Russia recovered herself, and in 1709 Peter crushed Charles at *Pultava.*

As Peter had foretold, the Swedes had taught him how to beat them. *Sweden never recovered her military supremacy.* Russia secured the Swedish provinces on the east coast of the Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. These districts had been colonized, three centuries before, by the Teutonic Knights (§§ 247, 251), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. Thus the acquisition not only gave Russia a door into Europe, but actually brought part of Europe inside Russia. It was in this new territory that Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd.*

PETRO
CATHARINA
MDCCLXXXII

PETER THE GREAT.

485. The next important acquisition of territory was under the *Empress Elizabeth,* daughter of Peter, who seized most of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under *Catherine II*, Russia made great progress **along the Black Sea** and on the west at the expense of Poland (§ 500). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.



EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NORWAY
Bergen
CHRISTIANIA
SWEDEN
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
MOSCOW
Volga R.
Kurland
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Stettin
Danzig
Konigsberg
E. Prussia
Brandenburg
BERLIN
POLAND
Vilna
Smolensk
WARSAW
Vistula R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Krakow
Lemberg
GREAT BRITAIN
Culloden
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
Netherlands
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Brussels
Calais
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Austrian Netherlands
Cologne
Aachen
Cassel
Mainz
Frankfort
Saxony
DRESDEN
Silesia
Prague
Olmütz
Bohemia
Brünn
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Palatinate
Alsace
MUNICH
Innsbruck
Tyrol
VIENNA
Pressburg
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
BUDA
Pest
Zenta
Laibach
Trieste
Mohacs
Moldavia
Jassy
1792, Russian
1774, Russian
1783, Russian
1739, Russian
Kherson
Kinburn
Sebastopol
Wallachia
Bukharest
Danube
Sistova
Belgrade
Servia
Nish
Sofia
Bosnia
Montenegro
TURKISH EMPIRE
CONSTANTINOPLE
Athens
Morea
IONIAN IS.
CRETE
FRANCE
PARIS
Versailles
Seine R.
Loire
Orleans
Quiberon
Lyons
Garonne R.
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Savoy
TURIN
Piedmont
MILAN
Mantua
Venice
VENICE
Genoa
Parma
Modena
Tuscany
Papal States
ROME
NAPLES
1714, Austrian
1735, Spanish
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
1714 to Savoy
1720 to Austria
1735, Spanish
MALTA (To Eng.)
CORSICA (To France 1768)
SARDINIA To Savoy 1720
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA (To Eng.) 1708
MAJORCA
SPAIN
MADRID
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Carthagena
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
PORTUGAL
LISBON
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
10
0
10
20
40
60
50
40

CHAPTER XXX

PRUSSIA IN EUROPE—ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

486. Growth of a Mark into an Electorate.—One of the German "marks" established in the tenth century as bulwarks against the Slavs (§ 202) was Brandenburg. Under a race of fighting margraves it grew from century to century, and during the Hohenstaufen period its ruler became one of the Electors of the Empire.

487. Accession of the Hohenzollerns. — In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out, and *Frederick of Hohenzollern*, a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), *bought* Brandenburg from the *emperor.* The new family was to play a part in North Germany even greater than that of the Hapsburgs in the South.

488. Prussia.—Shortly after 1600 came the next important acquisition of territory. By family inheritance, the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to two considerable principalities,—the duchy of Cleves on the extreme west of Germany, and the *duchy of Prussia* outside the Empire on the extreme east. Prussia was the name given to a district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century from the heathen Slavs, and which had been partly colonized by Germans.

Thereafter the Hohenzollern Electors ruled three widely separated provinces,—on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Vistula (map, page 417). *The object of their politics was to unite these regions by securing intermediate lands.* To do this, an army was necessary; and the army of the little Prussian state was soon among the largest and best in Europe.

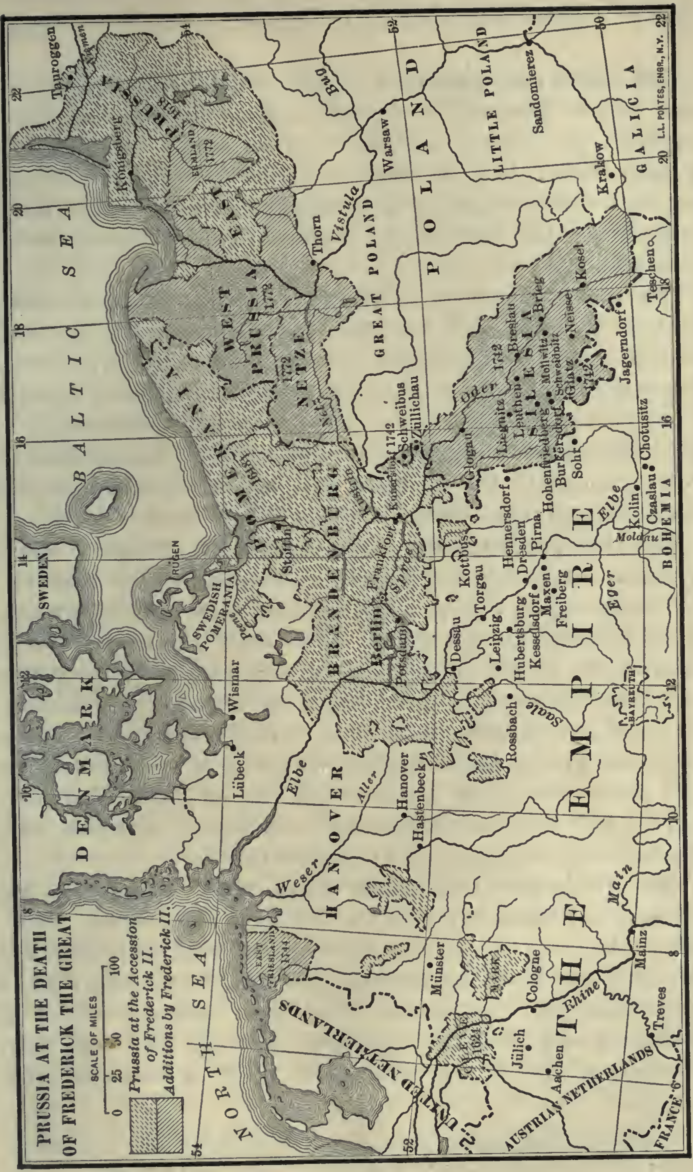
489. The "Great Elector." — Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William, the "Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg. He at once took a leading part in the struggle; and, as his reward, at the Peace of Westphalia, he secured eastern Pomerania. *This brought Brandenburg to the sea.* The chief services of the long reign of the Great Elector, however, were rendered not in war but in peace. He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture, and welcomed the Huguenot fugitives from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

490. Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, in return for aid against Louis XIV, secured the emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "**King in Prussia**" (1701).

491. War of the Austrian Succession. — The second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great and as the builder of the magnificent army which his son was to use magnificently.

Frederick II (*the Great*) ascended the Prussian throne in 1740. In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war. With his perfectly prepared army, he seized Silesia, an Austrian province. This high-handed act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI, displayed courage and ability. Her subjects, especially the gallant Hungarian nobles, rallied loyally to her support and, a little later, England and Holland added their strength to the Austrian side.

This *War of the Austrian Succession* closed in 1748. Frederick II kept Silesia, but Austria lost no other territory. Frederick had shown himself the greatest general of the age. Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany; and had become the one great rival of Austria in Germany.


PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RÜGEN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
1618
ERMLAND 1772
WEST PRUSSIA 1772
NETZE 1772
POMERANIA 1648
BRANDENBURG
SILESIA 1742
GLATZ 1742
POLAND
GREAT POLAND
LITTLE POLAND
GALICIA
BOHEMIA
THE EMPIRE
HANOVER
UNITED NETHERLANDS
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
EAST FRIESLAND 1744
MARK
CLEVE 1614
BAYREUTH
Tauroggen
Niemen
Königsberg
Thorn
Vistula
Warsaw
Bug
Sandomierz
Krakow
Teschen
Jagerndorf
Kosel
Neisse
Brieg
Breslau
Mollwitz
Schweidnitz
Leuthen
Liegnitz
Hohenfriedberg
Burkersdorf
Sohr
Glogau
Oder
Kunersdorf 1742
Schweibus
Züllichau
Küstrin
Netze
Stettin
Peene
Frankfort
Spree
Berlin
Potsdam
Dessau
Kottbus
Torgau
Leipzig
Hennersdorf
Dresden
Pirna
Maxen
Freiberg
Kesselsdorf
Hubertsburg
Rossbach
Saale
Elbe
Moldau
Kolin
Czaslau
Chotusitz
Eger
Main
Mainz
Rhine
Treves
Cologne
Jülich
Aachen
Münster
Hanover
Hastenbeck
Aller
Weser
Lübeck
Wismar
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22
50 52 54

492. Much more important, though less striking, **was the contest outside Europe.** In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, *Dupleix*, saw the chance to secure an Asiatic empire for his country, and, though greatly hampered by home indifference and jealousy, he captured the English stations in that country.

The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, both in America and Asia, but the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast realms outside Europe. Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New Worlds.

493. In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. His swift action and his supreme military genius saved his country, in the victories of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen*. The next year England entered the struggle as his ally. *England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars;*[1] and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

494. In America this "Seven Years' War" is known as the "French and Indian War." — The struggle was literally worldwide. Red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America, and Black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. The most tremendous and showy battles took place in Germany; and, though the real importance of the struggle lay outside Europe, still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results.

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[1] Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval, before any formal declaration of war between France and England.

William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive in India.

495. The story of the conquest of India calls for a brief outline. Dupleix had been recalled by the short-sighted French government, and no French commander was left in India able to cope with the English leaders. *Clive* was an unknown English clerk at Madras. The native Nabob of Bengal treacherously seized the English post at Calcutta, induced the garrison to surrender on the promise of good treatment, and then suffocated them horribly by packing the one hundred and forty-six Europeans in a small, close dungeon, the famous Black Hole of Calcutta, through the hot tropical night. The young Clive was moved to vengeance. He organized a small expedition of a thousand Englishmen and two thousand faithful native troops, and at *Plassey* (1757) he overthrew the Nabob's Oriental army of sixty thousand men. Soon after, English supremacy was thoroughly established.

496. The treaty of peace *left Europe without change. In India*, the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America*, England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred as her ally; and, except for her West Indian islands, *she herself* *ceased to be an American power.* England had dispossessed her there as she had in India.

Spain still held South America and half North America; but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. *England stood forth as the leading world-power.*

497. The struggle in America was really a war not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization. The better kind won. Man for man, the French settlers were more successful woodmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals; but *they could not build a state so well.* They got a good start first, and they had much the stronger position. But, after a century of such fostering care as we described in § 467, *the French colonies did not grow.* When the final conflict began, in 1754, *France, with a home population four times that of England, had only one twentieth as many colonists as England had in America* — 60,000 to about 1,200,000.

Moreover, despite her heroic leaders, the mass of French colonists had too little political activity to care much what country they belonged to, so long as they were treated decently. French centralization did make it possible for a capable governor to wield effectively all the resources of New France[1]; while among the English there were interminable delays and disastrous jealousies. *But the English needed to win only once.* If Montcalm had conquered Wolfe, and had then been able to occupy Boston and New York, he could never have held them even as long as King George did a few years later. The colonists would have fought the French with vastly more determination than they did England in the Revolution. But, on the other hand, Wolfe's victory at Quebec settled the fate of the continent.

The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: *"It is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance."*

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[1] The advantage was offset by a tendency to corruption which always threatens a despotic system. Says Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, 30), "Canada was the prey of official jackals." Of this his volumes give many illustrations.

498. The American Revolution is the next chapter in this series of wars. That war began because the English government unwisely insisted upon managing American affairs after the Americans were quite able to take care of themselves. Its real importance, even to Europe, lay in the establishment of an independent American nation and in teaching England to improve her system of colonial government. But at the time, France and Spain saw in the American Revolution a chance to revenge themselves upon England by helping the best part of her empire to break away.

England did lose most of her empire in America; but she came out of the war with gains as well as losses, and with glory little tarnished. She had been fighting, not America alone, but France, Spain, Holland, *and* America. Theodore Roosevelt has put finely the result and character of this wider struggle (*Gouverneur Morris*, 116):

> "England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. In her veins the Berserker blood was up, and she hailed each new enemy with grim delight, exerting to the full her warlike strength. Single-handed she kept them all at bay, and repaid with crippling blows the injuries they had done her. In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East, Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [§ 477] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged."

499. The secession of the American colonies did not injure England, as her friends and foes had expected it to do. The commerce of the United States continued to be carried on mainly through England, and, very soon, the new nation, with its growing wealth, was buying more English goods than the old colonies had been able to pay for. For her territorial loss, England found compensation, too, to some degree, *in the acquisition of Australia.*

500. The Partitions of Poland. — Just before the American Revolution began, Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland, so as to divide the carcass. The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors excuse. The population consisted of about twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto.*

Under such conditions, the other Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. *Catherine II* of Russia determined to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded Austria to join him in compelling Catherine to share the booty.

The "First Partition," in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. The Second and Third Partitions, which completed the work and "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland (1793, 1795). The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made an heroic defense under their hero-leader *Kosciusko;* but the great robbers *wiped Poland off the map.*

Russia gained far the greatest part of the territory, **and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.** Plainly the true policy of the Germans, early and late, would have been the honest one of supporting the "buffer states" — Poland and Charles the Bold's Burgundy — against the greed of Russia and France. Failure to do so has left Germany exposed to immediate attack by powerful enemies and has compelled her to build up artificial frontiers of fortresses and bayonets.

501. The True Greatness of Frederick. — Frederick II had shown himself unscrupulous in diplomacy and a genius in war; but there was another side to his life, which, more properly than either war or diplomacy, earns him his title of "the Great." Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace, and he proved a father to his people. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps. The condition of the peasantry was im-

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

proved, and the administration in all its branches was made economical and efficient. Frederick was also an author and a patron of literature, though he admired only the artificial French style of the age.

502. **Above all, Frederick** *is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "beneficent despots,"* who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, created by a remarkable school of French writers (§ 520), government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as aristocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not for themselves. Sovereigns began to speak of themselves, not as privileged proprietors, but, in Frederick's phrase, as "the first servants of their states."

Catherine of Russia, Charles III of Spain, Leopold, Archduke of Tuscany, Ferdinand of Naples, Joseph II of Austria, all belonged to the class of philosophic, liberal-minded, "benevolent despots," of this period. In Sweden and Portugal two great ministers sought to impose a like policy upon the kings. All these rulers planned far-reaching reforms, — the abolition of serfdom, the building up of public education, and the reform of the church.

Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but *on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures.* One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy.

The most remarkable, and in some ways the greatest of these philosophic despots, was *Joseph II of Austria,* the son of Maria Theresa; and he died disheartened, dictating for himself the epitaph, "Here lies a king who designed many benefits for his people, but who was unable to accomplish any of them." The kings had failed to bring about sufficient reform; and now, in France, *the people were to try for themselves.*

Further Reading upon the subject of the last three chapters may profitably be confined to a continuation of that proposed at the close of chapter xxvii, on the expansion of Europe into the New Worlds. George Burton Adams' essay, "Anglo-Saxon Expansion," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1897, is excellent reading. For the great struggle in America, the student should read Parkman's Works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict*. The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive*, Malleson's *Dupleix* and *Lord Clive*, and Bradley's *Wolfe*.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. **Fact drills.**
    a. *Dates:* add the following with their significance: 1640–1649, 1660, 1688, 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783.
    b. *Extend list of terms* for drill.
    c. *List twenty important battles* between 843 and 1789.
2. Review by countries, with "catch-words," from 843.
3. Make a brief paragraph statement for the period 1648–1787, to include the changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states.

PART VI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Revolution was a creating force even more than a destroying one. It was an inexhaustible source of fertile influences. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

CHAPTER XXXI

ON THE EVE

503. A True "Revolution." — Italy had given the world an intellectual revolution; Germany, a religious revolution; now France was to give the political and social revolution. More than any other of the so-called "revolutions" in history, the French Revolution deserves the name. The English Revolution of 1688 swept away a temporary interference with old lines of growth. It was a "conservative revolution," restoring the nation to an old groove. The American Revolution was merely a *sudden leap* **forward** in a direction in which America had long been progressing. But the French Revolution overturned and swept away a society and institutions that had been growing up for centuries. *It cut loose from the past,* and started France upon new lines of growth.

I. THE ABUSES

504. The Privileged Drones. — In 1789 France had a population of about twenty-five millions. One out of a hundred was a noble or a clergyman. These two orders had many special privileges. Together they owned half the soil of France, with all the fine buildings. Besides, they took from the peasant, in church dues and feudal payments, more than a fourth of his income; and they received, in pensions and sinecure[1] salaries, a large part of the taxes paid by the nation.

The privileged nobles rendered no service to society. They had been useful in early times, but the kings now gave all political offices to men of the lower classes, and the nobles themselves abandoned their remaining duty, as captains of local industry, to become mere courtiers. Said Arthur Young, an English gentleman who traveled extensively in France just before the Revolution, — "Exile alone forces the French noble to do what an English noble does by preference: to reside upon his estate, to improve it."

The bishops and abbots were all from noble families. They received immense revenues for doing nothing, — paying paltry sums to subordinates who did their work, while they themselves lived at court in idle luxury or vice.

The village priests lived on mere pittances. They were not "privileged." They numbered many devoted men, and the Revolution found them mostly on the side of the people.

The quarter million of privileged drones were supported by twenty-three millions of unprivileged, overburdened workers, — the peasants and the workmen in towns.

505. The Peasants. — Arthur Young (§ 504) describes bitterly the hideous wretchedness of the peasantry. Among other piteous stories, he tells of a woman whom he talked with on the road and whom he supposed to be *seventy years old*, but who proved to be *only twenty-seven.* Toil, want, and hard fare robbed the workers of youth and life. Famine was chronic in the fertile land of France, as it has been in Russia in the nineteenth century. Taxation and feudal extortion discouraged farming. A fourth of the land lay waste. Of the rest, the tillage was poor, — little better than a thousand years before. The yield was a third less than in England, where great changes had been taking place (§ 658).

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[1] A sinecure is an office to which no duties are attached ("without care").

And if crops failed in one province, starvation followed, although neighboring provinces might possess abundance. Poor roads, and high tolls, and poverty, and the government's carelessness made it impossible for one district to draw relief from another.

At other times, when things were not so bad, great numbers lived on a coarse bread made of bran and bark and acorns — because of which, says an *official* report of the time, "the children very commonly die."

Conditions varied greatly, however, in different parts of France, and in some districts the peasants were fairly prosperous. As a whole they were far ahead of the peasants in Germany or Italy or Spain or Austria, though vastly below the English peasants. They played a part in the Revolution *because they had already progressed far enough to feel the possibility of further progress.*

506. A million and a half were still serfs, but these were nearly all in Alsace or Lorraine, the regions lately seized from Germany. **Elsewhere they had become free in person**, and many of them owned little garden spots of land.

But even when the peasant owned land, *he owned it subject to many ancient feudal obligations.* He could leave it, if he liked (with no chance to do better); and he could not be turned off so long as he made the customary payments in labor and in produce. That is, *he had advanced out of serfdom to a state of villeinage somewhat like that of the English villeins before the Peasant Rising of 1381.* Like them, a French peasant was oppressed by a lot of annoying and costly restrictions, which varied somewhat from place to place. In general, he could not sell his land without buying his lord's consent, nor sell any of his crop except in the lord's market, with tolls for the privilege. Commonly, he could still grind his grain only at the lord's mill, leaving one-sixteenth the flour, and he could bake only in the lord's oven, leaving a loaf in pay.

507. Most grievous of all the feudal burdens were the nobles' rights to hunt. The peasant must not under any circumstances injure the rabbits or pigeons or deer that devoured his crop; but the nobles at will might ride over the crops to chase the game. On penalty of death, the peasant might not carry a gun, even to kill wolves. He could not enter his own field, to till it, when the pheasants were hatching or the rabbits were young. Year after year the crops were trampled by huntsmen or devoured by game.

THE CHÂTEAU OF CHENONCEAU. A typical residence of the nobles.

508. The laborers in the towns were little better off than those in the country. Writers of the time describe them as pallid, haggard, dwarfed, — "sullen masses of rags and misery," huddled in garrets and cellars. The regulations of the gilds left the poorer workmen in the towns little chance to rise into well-paid employments, and hampered the prosperity even of the shopkeepers and small manufacturers.

509. The gild system of the Middle Ages *had lost its usefulness*, but remained in France (and elsewhere on the continent) *with all its old power to interfere with individuals.* Commonly it forbade a master to keep more than one apprentice, or to sell any goods which he had not himself manufactured. A "cobbler" who mended shoes could not make new ones. A baker could make bread, but not cakes. A hatter in Paris who improved his hats (and took trade from other hatters) by mixing silk in his wool, had his whole stock burned, because gild regulations ordered "pure wool" for hats. The "masters" decided when to admit journeymen to their class; and if a journeyman ventured to manufacture by himself before being so admitted, the government sent him to prison or to the galleys, and seized his goods.

510. The Middle Class. — We have surveyed the narrow apex and the broad base of society. Between the two came an important middle class, composed of bankers, lawyers, physicians, men of letters, merchants, and shopkeepers (gild "masters"). The middle class was smaller than in England, but much larger than in any other European country. It was to furnish most of the leaders of the Revolution, and, indeed, to make a revolution possible.

511. The bankruptcy of the government was the immediate occasion for the first movement in the Revolution. The monarchy felt no responsibility to the nation, and so it spent money extravagantly, wastefully, wickedly. Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge debt. The cynical, dissolute Louis XV wasted as much in vice as his predecessor had wasted in war. Much of the rest of the revenue was given away in pensions to unworthy favorites and needy nobles, or stolen by corrupt officials.

On the eve of the Revolution, three maiden aunts of the king received $120,000 a year for their food — most of which, of course, went to enrich dishonest servants. Some $17,000,000 went each year in grants to members of the royal family and in pensions. This amounted to about $50,000,000, in our values to-day.

512. The treasury, emptied in these shameful ways, was filled in ways equally shameful. Taxes were frightful, but the privileged orders practically escaped them. *The clergy were exempt by law,* and *the nobles escaped by their influence.* The richest man in France, the Duke of Orleans, stated the case frankly. "I make arrangements with the tax officials," he said, "and pay only what I wish." *Large numbers of the wealthier men of the middle class escaped also,* often by purchasing exemption in the form of sinecure offices connected with the royal household.

Thus payment was made only by those least able to pay, and various clumsy devices made the collection needlessly burdensome even on them (§ 513).

513. Two of the many direct taxes were especially offensive and oppressive. (1) The peasant was compelled to leave his own work, no matter how critical the harvest time, at the call of an official, to toil *without pay* on roads or other public works. This labor tax was called the *corvée.*

(2) The chief tax had once been a land tax. This now was assessed only on peasant villages, and *it had become a wholly arbitrary tax,* fixed each year by the government. On one occasion, an official wrote: "The people of this village are stout, and there are chicken feathers before the doors. The taxes here should be greatly increased next year." So, too, if a villager lived in a better house than his neighbors, the officials made him pay a larger share of the common village tax. So the peasants concealed jealously what few comforts they had, and left their cottages in ruins.

It has been estimated that on the average a peasant paid over half his income in *direct taxes to the government.* Feudal dues and church tithes raised the amount to over four-fifths his income. From the remaining one-fifth, he had not only to support his family but also to pay various *indirect* taxes.

514. The most famous indirect tax was that upon salt.[1] This was called the *gabelle.* It raised the price of salt many times its first value. No salt could be bought except from the government agents, and every family was compelled by law to purchase from these agents at least seven pounds a year for every member over seven years of age. This amount, too, was for the table only. If the peasant salted down a pig, he must buy an additional supply for that purpose. Thousands of persons every year were hanged or sent to the galleys for trying to evade the tax.

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[1] The man who *sold* the salt paid the tax to the government. The man who bought salt had of course to pay back the tax in a higher price. So it is called an *indirect* tax.

This tax was "farmed" to collectors, who paid the government a certain amount down, and then secured what they could get above that amount for their own profit. Only one-fifth the amount collected reached the treasury. Many other indirect taxes — on candles, fuel, grain, and flour — were farmed out in similar fashion.

515. Another class of vexatious indirect taxes were the tolls and tariffs on goods. These payments were required *not only at the frontier* of France, but again and again, at the border of each province and **even at the gate of each town**, as the goods traveled through the country. Workmen who crossed a river from their homes in one district to their day's work in another had to pay a tariff on the luncheon in their pockets; and fish, on their way to Paris from the coast, paid *thirteen times their first cost* in such tolls.

516. The Centralized Government. — Directly about the king was a *Council of State*. Subject to the king's approval, it fixed the taxes and the levy for the army, drew up edicts, and indeed ruled France. *Its members were appointed by the king*, and held office only at his pleasure.

France was made up of about thirty districts, which corresponded roughly to the old feudal provinces. At the head of each such province was a governor appointed by the king. Subject to the royal power, he was an unchecked despot, with tremendous power for good or evil.

In the parish the mayor or syndic was sometimes chosen by the people, sometimes appointed by the governor; but the governor could always remove him at will. The parish assembly could not meet without the governor's permission, and it could not take any action by itself. Had the wind damaged the parish steeple? The parish might *petition* for permission to repair it, — at their own expense, of course. The governor would send the petition, with his recommendation, to the Council of State at Paris, and a reply might be expected in a year or two. Tocqueville declares (*France before the Revolution*, 92) that in the musty archives he found many cases of this kind where the original sum needed for repair would not have exceeded five dollars.

517. The government could send any man in France to prison without trial merely by a "letter" with the royal seal. Such "*letters of the seal*" were not only used to remove political offenders, but they were also often given, *or sold*, to private men who wished to remove rivals. The government of Louis XV issued 150,000 such letters.

Usually the imprisonments were for a few months; but sometimes the wretch was virtually forgotten and left to die in prison, perhaps without ever learning the cause of his arrest. Arthur Young (§ 504) tells of an Englishman who had been kept in a French prison thirty years, although not even the government held a record of the reason. Very properly did Blackstone, the English law writer, class France with Turkey as countries where "personal liberty" was "wholly at the mercy of the ruler."

518. This centralized machinery was clumsy, and complicated by the fact that France was still a patchwork of territories which had been seized piece by piece by the kings. Each province had its own laws and customs, its own privileges and exemptions. France was covered with shadows of old local governments, which had lost their power for action but which remained powerful to delay and obstruct. Two classes of such survivals need attention, — the Provincial Assemblies of certain districts, and the Parlement of Paris.

Anciently, each province had had its Assembly of three estates. In the thirteenth century, the French kings began to abolish these assemblies; but several large provinces kept them until the Revolution. These "*Provinces with Estates,*" like Brittany, Languedoc, and Champagne, were all on the frontier. *They had been acquired late,* and had preserved their "Estates" by treaty. The Provincial Estates exercised considerable control over local improvements and local taxation.

The Parlement of Paris was a law court. When the king issued a new edict, it was not considered in force until it had been "registered," or put on record, by this Parlement. The Parlement could send back an objectionable edict with a remonstrance, and so *might* possibly secure a reconsideration.

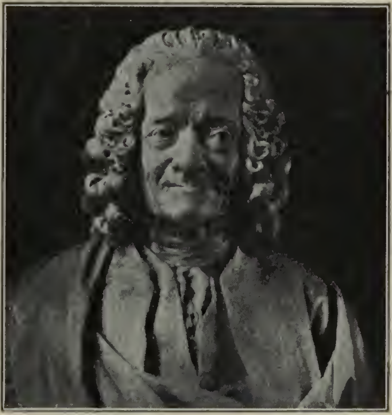
II. THE SPIRIT OF CHANGE

519. A revolution, it has been said, **requires not only abuses but also ideas.** The combustibles were ready; so were the men of ideas, to apply the match.

Science *had upset all old ideas about the world outside man.* The telescope had proved that other planets like our earth revolved around the sun, and that myriads of other suns whirled through boundless space; and the English *Newton* had shown how this vast universe is bound together by the unvarying "laws" of unseen gravitation. The microscope had revealed an undreamed-of world of minute life in air and earth and water all around us; and air, earth, water (and fire) themselves had changed their nature. The Ancients had taught that they were the "original elements" out of which everything else was made up. But the French *Lavoisier,* founder of modern chemistry, had lately decomposed water and air into gases, and shown that fire was a union of one of these gases with earthy carbon.

520. Such a revolution, in the way of looking at the material world, prepared men to ask questions about the world of men and society. Tradition and authority had been proven silly in the first field: perhaps they were not always right in the other field. England, with its freedom of speech and of the press, led in this revolt against the authority of the past, but

English writers were relatively cautious. Their speculations were carried much farther by French writers who quickly spread their influence over all Europe. **About 1750 there began an age of dazzling brilliancy in French literature and scholarship.** Never before had any country seen so many and so famous men of letters at one time. Of the scores, we can mention only four foremost ones — Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, and Rousseau.



VOLTAIRE.

521. Voltaire, in 1750, had already won his fame, and he ruled as the intellectual monarch of Europe for thirty years more. He came from the middle class. As a young man, the king had imprisoned him for libel by a "letter of the seal"; and a dissipated noble had hired a band of ruffians to beat him nearly to death. Some years of exile he spent in England, where, he says, he "learned to think." Most of his writing was destructive; but the old in Europe needed to be swept away, before new growth could start. He had biting satire, mocking wit, keen reasoning, and incisive, vigorous style. So armed, he attacked daringly the absurdities in society and the superstitions and scandals of the church.

He railed at absentee bishops of licentious lives; he questioned the privileges of the nobles; and he pitilessly exposed the iniquity of the gabelle and of the "letters of the seal." The church seemed to him the chief foe to human progress; and in his invective against its abuses he sometimes confused them with Christianity itself. So too did most of the other writers in this brilliant company. But "their glory lies not in their contempt for things holy, but in their scorn for things unjust."

Voltaire's powerful plea for religious tolerance and his life-long exposure of the folly and wrong of religious persecution had much to do with creating the free atmosphere in which we live to-day. Our American Lowell says, "We owe half our liberty to that leering old mocker"; and Professor Jowett of Oxford, an English Churchman, declares that Voltaire "did more good than all the Fathers of the Church together." He is often incorrectly called an atheist. He was not a Christian, but he was a deist, — a firm believer in a God revealed in nature and in the human soul.

522. Montesquieu, in a famous book, *The Spirit of Laws*, contrasted French despotism with political liberty in England.

523. In 1751 Diderot and a group of companions published the first volume of the great French *Encyclopedia*, a work which was completed twenty years later, in thirty-seven volumes. The purpose of "the Encyclopedists" was to gather up all the results of the new science and new thought, and to make them known to larger numbers. Their great work has been called "a rising in battle array of all the men of the new era against all the powers of the past."

524. Rousseau and Democracy. — Voltaire and his fellows admired the constitutional monarchy of England; but they looked for reform rather from some enlightened, philosophic despot. **One alone among them stood for democracy.** *This was Rousseau.* He wrote much that was absurd about an ideal "state of nature" before men "invented governments" and created an "artificial civilization"; but he taught, more forcefully than any man before him, the sovereignty of the whole people. His most famous book (*The Social Contract*, 1762) opens with the words, "Man was born free, but he is now everywhere in chains"; and it argues passionately that it is man's right and duty to recover freedom. Rousseau's moral earnestness and enthusiasm made his doctrine almost a religion with his disciples. He was the prophet of the political side of the coming Revolution.

525. Some years before the French Revolution began, the ideas, and even some of the phrases, of Rousseau began to have a powerful influence in America. They did not create the American Revolution, but they helped that great movement to justify itself in words. Passages in the Declaration of Independence, and in many of the original state constitutions about natural equality and freedom, are popularly supposed to be due to American admiration for Rousseau. Rousseau, however, drew these ideas to a great extent from John Locke and other English writers of the seventeenth century; and we cannot always tell whether an American document is affected directly by Rousseau or by the older but less impressive English literature.

526. "Liberalism" becomes Fashionable. — When the French writers *began* to attack hoary abuses, they ran extreme personal risks and played an heroic part. The same movement, however, that produced these men of letters was at work in all social circles. The writers intensified the movement, and, before long, *criticism of existing arrangements became general.*

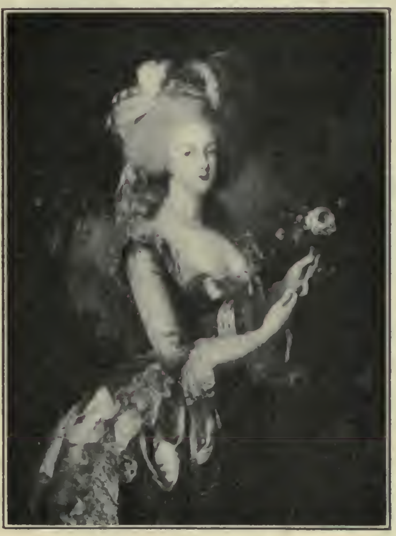
Even the privileged orders began to talk about their own uselessness. When the great noble in a popular play was asked what he had done to deserve all his privileges, and when it was answered for him, "Your Excellency took the trouble to be born," the audience of nobles in the boxes laughed and applauded.

Upon the whole, however, the mass of the privileged classes remained selfish and scornful. *The chief influence of the new philosophy was in its effect upon the unprivileged masses.* The third estate became conscious of its wrongs and of its power. Said a famous pamphlet by *Siéyès* on the eve of the Revolution, "*What really is the third estate? Everything. What has it been so far in the state? Nothing. What does it ask? To be something.*"

III. THE GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS REFORMS, 1774–1789

527. In 1774 the dissolute but able Louis XV was succeeded by the well-disposed but irresolute **Louis XVI.** This prince had a vague notion of what was right and a general desire to do it, but *he lacked moral courage and will power.* His weakness was as harmful to France as his predecessor's wickedness. He abandoned the wisest policy and the best ministers, rather than face the sour looks of the courtiers and the pouts of the queen.

528. The Queen was Marie Antoinette, daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria. She was young, high-spirited, and lovely, but ignorant, frivolous, and selfishly bent upon her own pleasures. The king was greatly influenced by her, and almost always for evil.



Marie Antoinette. — From a painting by Mme. Le Brun.

529. National Bankruptcy. — When Louis XVI came to the throne, the national debt was some five hundred million dollars, *and it was increasing each year by ten million dollars more.* This condition stirred Louis to spasmodic attempts at reform, and he called to his aid *Turgot*, a man of letters, a reformer, and an experienced administrator.

530. Turgot had been a Provincial governor for many years, and had made remarkable improvements in his district. Now he set about conferring still greater benefits on all France.

He abolished the forced labor on the roads, the internal tariffs on grain, and the outgrown gilds with their tyrannical restrictions. "The right to labor," said his public proclamation on this occasion, "is the most sacred of all possessions. Every law by which it is limited violates the *Natural Rights* of man, and is null and void." He also cut down the frivolous expenses of the court, and curtailed the absurd pension list remorselessly.

Turgot planned other vast and far-reaching reforms, — to recast the whole system of taxation, to equalize burdens, to abolish feudal dues, and to introduce a system of public education: "a whole *pacific* French Revolution in that head," says Carlyle. But the courtiers looked black; the queen hated the reformer, who interfered with her pleasures; and so Louis grew cold, and, after only twenty months, dismissed the man who might perhaps have saved France from a revolution of violence.

531. Necker. — All Turgot's reforms were swiftly undone; but, in 1776, *Necker*, another reformer, was called to the helm. Necker was not a great statesman like Turgot, but he was a good business man with liberal views, and he might have accomplished something for the treasury if his difficulties had not been tremendously augmented in an unforeseen manner. In 1778 France joined America in the war against England (§ 498). The new "loans"[1] to support the expense of the war *increased* the national debt, and made it even more impossible to pay the annual interest.

Then Necker laid before the king a plan for sweeping reform, much along Turgot's lines; but the universal outcry of the privileged classes caused Louis to dismiss him from office (1781).

532. Calonne and the Notables. — Once more, all the old abuses were restored. Then a new minister of finance, the courtly Calonne, adopted the policy of an unscrupulous bankrupt, and tried to create credit by lavish extravagance. For a time this was successful; but in 1786 the treasury was running behind to the amount of *twenty-five million dollars* a year! Even adroit Calonne could borrow no more money to pay expenses or interest. Under these conditions, the minister persuaded Louis to call together the "Notables of France."

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[1] When a nation sells bonds to raise money, the proceeding is called a loan.

The Notables were composed of such leading nobles and clergy as the king pleased to summon. To the amazed gathering, Calonne suggested that the privileged orders give up their exemption from taxation. All cried out against him, — the few Liberals for what he had done in the past, the many Conservatives for what he now proposed to do.

533. The Parlement of Paris. — Calonne gave way to a new minister, a favorite of the queen, who found himself at once driven to Calonne's plan. It was necessary to get more money, and that could be done only by taxing those who had something wherewith to pay.

As the Notables were still stubborn, they were dismissed, and the king tried to force the plan upon the nobles by royal edict. The Parlement of Paris, like the Notables, represented the privileged orders. It refused to register the edict (§ 518), and cloaked dislike to reform under the excuse that *the only power in France which could properly impose a new tax was the States General.* Louis banished the Parlement, *but it had given a rallying cry to the nation.*

534. The States General (§ 196) **had not met since 1614.** Suggestions for assembling it had been made from time to time, ever since Louis XVI became king. At the session of the Notables, *Lafayette* had called for it. Now, after the action of the Parlement, the demand became universal and imperious. Finally, August, 1788, the king yielded. He *recalled Necker* and *promised that the States General should be assembled.*

IV. SUMMARY

535. The chief institutions of France were: —

(1) *a monarchy*, despotic and irresponsible, but in weak hands and anxious to keep the good opinion of the nobles;

(2) *an aristocracy*, wealthy, privileged, corrupt, skeptical;

(3) *an established church*, wealthy and often corrupt.

Below, spread *the masses*, a necessary but ugly substructure. Like conditions existed *over the continent.* In France, as compared with the other large countries, the nobles had fewer duties, the peasantry had risen somewhat, and more of a middle class had grown up. That is, *feudal society was more decayed, and the industrial state was more advanced*, than in other continental countries. This explains why the Revolution came in France. *Revolutions break through in the weakest spots.*

536. The Causes of the Revolution Classified. — First among the causes of the Revolution, we must put the *unjust privileges* of the small upper class and the *crushing burdens* borne by the great non-privileged mass. These evils, however, were no greater than for centuries before. *But the consciousness of them was greater than ever before.* Not only was the system bad, but men knew that it was bad. The masses were beginning to demand reform, and the privileged classes and the government had begun to distrust their rights. Their power of resistance was weakened by such doubts. This new intellectual condition was due primarily to *the new school of French men of letters.*

The *bankruptcy of the national treasury* **opened the way** for other forces to act. It started the government itself upon the path of reform; and *the inefficiency and indecision of the government* led the people finally to seize upon the reform movement themselves, — a result greatly hastened by the political doctrines made popular just before by Rousseau.

The American Revolution helped *directly* to bring on the French Revolution by sinking the French monarchy more hopelessly into bankruptcy. In other *indirect* ways the American movement contributed to that in France. Lafayette and other young nobles who had served in America came home with liberal ideas strengthened; and the French regiments that had fought side by side with the American yeomanry had imbibed democratic ideas and were soon to declare themselves "the army of the nation," not of the king. Said Arthur Young in 1789, "The American Revolution has laid the foundation for another one in France."

Further, to run a centralized despotism with real success calls for a Caesar or a Napoleon. But hereditary monarchy in Europe in the eighteenth century had ceased to furnish great rulers. The American Jefferson, with some exaggeration, wrote from Paris in 1787 that not a king in Europe had ability needful to fit him for a Virginia vestryman. Louis XIV had been a tireless worker. But the selfish, indolent Louis XV said to his favorite, "Let the good machine run itself. It will last our time. After us, the deluge." On his deathbed, the same shameless king said, — "I should like very much to see how Berry will pull through." Under "Berry" (Louis XVI), the "machine" went to pieces and the "deluge" came.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Source material may be found in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No 5, and VI, No. 1 (short extracts from French writers of the time), and in Robinson's *Readings*, II. Arthur Young's *Travels in France in 1787–1789* is the best contemporary description. Students may dip into it to advantage.

Modern accounts: Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution* is the best one-volume survey, for popular purposes. Maclehose's *Last Days of the French Monarchy*, Grant's *Fall of the French Monarchy*, and Dabney's *Causes of the French Revolution*, are good. John Morley's *Lives* of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, and his essays in his *Miscellanies*, upon "France in the Eighteenth Century" (Vol. III) and "Turgot" (Vol. II), are admirable and interesting. The opening pages of most of the histories of the Revolution listed on page 460 have brief treatments of the conditions before 1789, — especially Shailer Mathews (pages 1–110), Mallet (5–50), and Gardiner (1–32). One of these three should be read.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE REVOLUTION IN TIME OF PEACE

I. MAY TO AUGUST, 1789: THE ASSEMBLY AT VERSAILLES

537. In electing the States General, the country was divided into districts. The nobility and clergy of each district *came together* to choose delegates. The delegates of the third estate were elected *indirectly* by "electoral colleges." In choosing these colleges, all *taxpayers* had a voice.

When finally chosen, the States General consisted of about 600 members of the third estate, 300 nobles, and 300 clergy. Of this last order, two-thirds were *village priests*. The delegates possessed no political experience; but the bulk of the third estate were lawyers, and, as a whole, the gathering was scholarly and cultured.

538. The States General becomes the National Assembly. — May 5, 1789, the king opened the States General at Versailles.[1] The royal address suggested some reforms, but it was plain that the king hoped mainly for more taxes, and enthusiastic Liberals were sadly disappointed. Even Necker's three-hour address, which followed the king's, dwelt only upon the need for prompt action to relieve the government's financial straits.

The nobles and the clergy then organized as *separate* chambers, after the ancient fashion. This would have given the privileged orders two votes, to one for the third estate, and would have blocked reforms. The third estate insisted *that all three orders should organize in a single chamber*, — where its membership could outvote the other orders combined. There followed a deadlock for five weeks.

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[1] Read Carlyle's account of the procession. Louis XIV had built a splendid palace at Versailles, — twelve miles southwest of Paris, — and this place remained the favorite residence of the French kings.

But delay was serious. The preceding harvest had been a failure, and famine stalked through the land. *In Paris, every bakeshop had its "tail" of men and women*, standing through the night for a chance to buy bread. Such conditions called for speedy action, especially as the ignorant masses had got it into their heads that the marvelous States General would in some way make food plenty.

Finally (June 17), on motion of Siéyès (§ 526), an ex-priest, the third estate declared that *by itself* it represented *ninety-six per cent* of the nation, and that, with or without the other orders, it would organize as a *National Assembly.*[1] *This was a revolution. It changed a gathering of feudal "Estates" into an assembly representing the nation as one whole. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent of Europe.*

539. The Tennis Court Oath. — Two days later, the National Assembly was joined by half the clergy (mainly parish priests, § 504) and by a few liberal nobles. But the next morning the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging, to prepare for a "royal session." Plainly the king was about to interfere. The gathering adjourned to a tennis court near by, and there unanimously took a memorable oath[2] *never to separate until they had* **established the constitution** *on a firm foundation* (June 20).

The idea of a written constitution came from America. Six years earlier, Franklin, our minister to France, had published French translations of the constitutions adopted by the new American States. The pamphlet had been widely read, and much talked about. The instructions[3] of delegates to the

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[1] See Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*, No. 1, for the decree.

[2] See the text in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*, No. 2.

[3] Nearly every gathering for choosing delegates to the Assembly had drawn up a statement of grievances and had suggested reforms for the guidance of its representatives. These *cahiers* (kä-yā') are the most valuable source of our knowledge of France before the Revolution. See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, for examples.

Assembly had commonly called for a constitution. To make one became now the chief purpose of the Assembly. That body, indeed, soon became known as the *Constituent Assembly.*

540. King and Assembly Clash. — On June 23 Louis summoned the three estates to meet him, and told them that they were to organize *as separate bodies*, and to carry out certain *specified* reforms. If they failed to comply with the royal wishes, the king would himself "secure the happiness of his people."

When the king left, the nobles and higher clergy followed. The new "National Assembly" kept their seats. There was a moment of uncertainty. It was a serious matter for quiet citizens to brave the wrath of the ancient monarchy. *Mirabeau*, a noble who had abandoned his order, rose to remind the delegates of their great oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reentering, asked haughtily if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "Yes," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "but go tell your master that *we are here by the power of the people*, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, *on whose part soever the same be commanded.*"

The king's weakness prevented conflict, and perhaps it was as well; for Paris was rising, and the French Guards, the main body of troops in the capital, when ordered to fire on the mob, rang their musket butts sullenly on the pavement. The next day, forty-seven nobles joined the National Assembly. In less than a week, *the king ordered the rest to join.*

541. Paris saves the Assembly. — However, the court planned a counter-revolution. A camp of several thousand veterans was collected near Paris, — largely German or Swiss mercenaries who could be depended upon. Probably it was intended to imprison leading deputies. Certainly the Assembly was to be overawed. July 9, Mirabeau boldly declared to the Assembly that this was the royal policy; and, on his motion, the Assembly requested the king immediately to withdraw the troops. The king's answer was to banish Necker, the idol of the people, who had opposed the royal policy.

This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day, the news was whispered on the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist, pistol in hand, leaped upon a table in one of the public gardens, exclaiming, "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a St. Bartholomew of patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against the charge of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking bakeshops for bread, *and gunshops for arms. Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels.* Some rude organization was introduced during the next day, and, on the day following, *the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.*

542. The Bastille was the great "state prison," like the Tower in England. In it had been confined political offenders and victims of "letters of the seal." It was a symbol of the "Old Régime," and an object of detestation to the liberals.

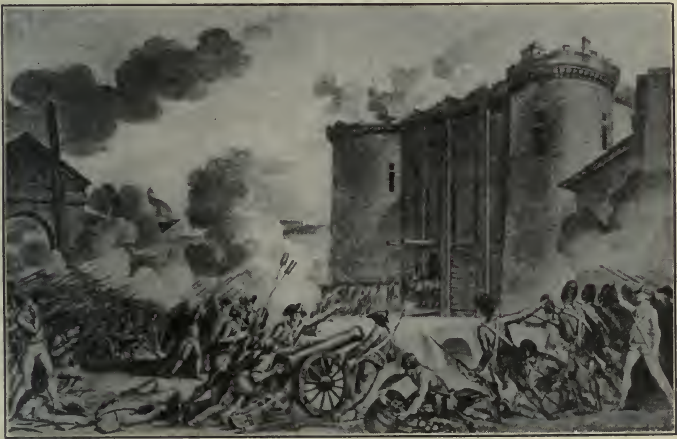
It had been used as an arsenal, and the rebels went to it at first only to demand arms. Refused admission and fired upon, they made a frantic attack. The fortress was virtually impregnable; but after some hours of wild onslaught, it surrendered to an almost unarmed force, — "taken," as Carlyle says, "like Jericho, by miraculous sound." The hangers-on of the attacking force massacred the garrison, and paraded their heads on pikes through the streets.

Out at Versailles, Louis, who had spent the day hunting and had retired early, was awakened to hear the news. "What! a riot, then?" said he. "No, Sire," replied the messenger; "a revolution." The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille (July 14) is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty.

The rising of Paris had saved the Assembly. The most hated of the courtiers fled from France. The king visited

Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away the troops, *accepted the tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, *as the national colors*, and recalled Necker.

543. The fall of the Bastille gave the signal for a brief mob-rule all over France. In towns the mobs demolished local "bastilles." In the country the lower peasantry and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles, seeking especially to destroy the court rolls with the records of servile dues, and to slay the hated deer and pigeons. Each district had its carnival of plunder and bloodshed.



THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE. — From an old print.

544. The Middle Classes Organize. — The king could not enforce the law: the machinery of the old royal government had collapsed. The Assembly did not dare interfere vigorously, because it might need the mob again for its own protection.[1]

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[1] Six days after the fall of the Bastille, the moderate Liberals proposed to issue a proclamation denouncing popular violence. From an obscure seat on the Extreme-Left, *Robespierre*, then an unknown deputy, protested vehemently: "Revolt? This revolt is liberty. To-morrow the shameful plots against us may be renewed, and who will then repulse them if we declare rebels the men who have rushed to our protection!"

But everywhere *the middle class organized locally* against anarchy. In Paris, during the disorder of July 13, the electoral college of the city (the men who chose the delegates of Paris to the States General) reassembled and assumed authority to act as a Municipal Council. In other towns the like was done, and in a few weeks, France was covered with new local governments composed of the middle class. This was the easier, because in many cases the electoral colleges, instead of breaking up after the election, had continued to hold occasional meetings during the two months since, in order to correspond with their delegates in the National Assembly.

The first act of the Paris Council had been to order that in each of the sixty "sections" (wards) of the city, two hundred men should patrol the streets, to maintain order. This, or something like this, was done in all the districts of France. This new militia became permanent. It took the name *National Guards*, and in Paris *Lafayette* became the commander. Like the new municipal councils, the Guards were made up from the middle class, and before the middle of August, these new forces had restored order.

545. Abolition of "Privilege."— Meantime, on the evening of August 4, the discussions of the Assembly were interrupted by the report of a committee on the disorders throughout the country. The account stirred the Assembly deeply. A young noble, who had served in America with Lafayette, declared that these evils were all due to the continuance of feudal burdens, and, with impassioned oratory, he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his order,— game laws, dovecotes, tithes, exclusive right to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions.

Every proposal was ratified with applause. Our American minister, Gouverneur Morris, was disgusted with the haste, and even Mirabeau called the scene "an orgy of sacrifice." No doubt much confusion and hardship resulted; but, on the whole, the work was necessary and noble, and it has never been undone. *The night of August 4 saw the end of feudalism and of legal inequalities in France.*[1]

546. May 5 to August 5. — In three months France had been revolutionized. The third estate had asserted successfully its just claim to represent the nation. Its favorite motto was the famous phrase — *Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality.* "Equality" it had won. The odious privileges of the aristocracy, and all class distinctions before the law, had been forever swept away. Toward "Liberty," much progress had been made. The local units of the country had set up new popular governments, and had organized new citizen armies to protect them. *And the Assembly was at work upon a new constitution for the nation at large.*

II. AUGUST, 1789, TO SEPTEMBER, 1791: THE ASSEMBLY IN PARIS

547. The March of the Women, October 5. — Even after the new harvest of 1789, food remained scarce and some riots continued. To maintain order, the king brought a regiment of soldiers to Versailles. The "patriots," as the liberal party called themselves, feared that he was again plotting to undo the Revolution. Extravagant loyal demonstration at a military banquet emphasized the suspicion. It was reported that young officers, to win the favor of court ladies, had trampled upon the tricolor and had displayed instead the old white cockade of the Bourbon monarchy.

The men of Paris tried to go to Versailles to secure the person of the king, but the National Guards turned them back. Then thousands of the women of the market place, crying that French soldiers would not fire upon women, set out in a wild, hungry, haggard rout to bring the king to Paris. In their wake, followed the riffraff of the city. Lafayette permitted the movement to go on, until there came near being a terrible massacre at Versailles; but his tardy arrival, late at night, with twenty thousand National Guards, restored order. In the early morning, however, the mob broke into the palace, and the queen's life was saved only by the gallant self-sacrifice of some of her guards. The king yielded to the demands of the crowd and to the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris,—the mob dancing in wild joy along the road before the royal carriage, carrying on pikes the heads of some slain soldiers, and shouting, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." The king's brothers and great numbers of the nobles fled from France; and many of these "Emigrants" strove at foreign courts to stir up war against their country.

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[1] Anderson, No. 4, and *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 5, give the decrees as finally put in order a few days later.

548. The Assembly in Paris was no longer in danger of interference from the king, but during the two years more that it spent in making a constitution, it was threatened often with violence from the mob. The sessions were all open to the public, and the galleries jeered and hissed and threatened speakers whom they disliked. Sometimes, too, after the meeting, the mob attacked conservative delegates on the street. Very soon, nearly a fourth of the members withdrew from the Assembly, declaring that it was no longer free.

549. Political clubs arose, too, and became a mighty power outside the Assembly. The most important of these clubs was the *Jacobins*, which took its name from the fact that it met in a building belonging to the Dominicans. In Paris that order was called Jacobins, because its first home in that city had been at the church of St. Jacques.

In this Jacobin club some of the radical members met to discuss measures about to come before the Assembly. Some others besides deputies were admitted, and the club became the center of a radical democratic party.

Lafayette tried to organize a "Constitutionalist Club," with more moderate opinions, and various attempts were made at royalist clubs. But the clubs, like the galleries, were best fitted to add strength to the radicals.

550. Meantime the Assembly divided into definite political parties. On the Speaker's right, the place of honor, sat the extreme Conservatives, known from their position as the *Right*. They were reactionists, and stood for the restoration of the old order.

Next to them sat the *Right-Center*. This party did not expect to restore the old conditions, but they did hope to prevent the Revolution from going any farther, and they wished to keep political power in the hands of the wealthy landowners.

The *Left-Center*, the largest body, wished neither to restrict power to the very wealthy, nor to extend it to the very poor, but to intrust it to the middle class. In this group sat Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Siéyès. Both parties of the Center wished a constitutional monarchy.

The *Extreme-Left*[1] comprised some thirty deputies who were disciples of Rousseau. They wished manhood suffrage. In this group sat Robespierre.

551. Mirabeau. — One man in the Assembly was really a party in himself. Mirabeau was a marvelous orator, a statesman of profound insight, and a man of dauntless courage. He never hesitated to oppose the mob if his convictions required it; and often he won them to his side. But he had lived a wild and dissolute life, and so could not gain influence over some of the best elements of the Assembly. His arrogance, too, aroused much jealousy. Both Necker and Lafayette hated him.

Mirabeau was resolutely opposed to anarchy, and he wanted a strong executive. After the "march of the women," he felt that the danger to the Revolution lay not so much in the king as in the mob. Thereafter, he sought to preserve the remaining royal power — and to direct it. He wished the king to accept the Revolution in good faith, and to surround himself with a liberal ministry chosen from the Assembly. As the mob grew more furious, he wished the king to leave Paris and appeal to the provinces of France against the capital.

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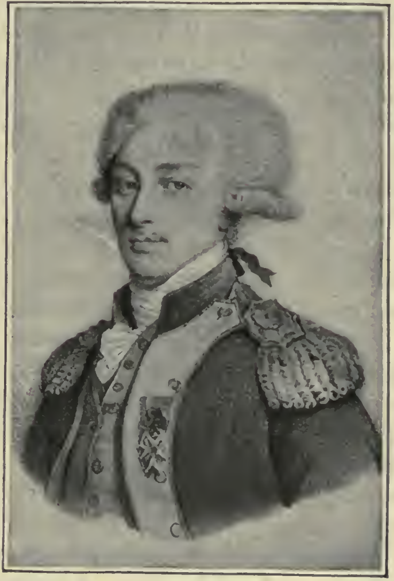
[1] In the legislatures of *continental Europe* a like arrangement of parties is still customary. The Conservatives sit on the right, the Liberals on the left; and they are still known as the Right and the Left. *In England* the supporters of the ministry sit on the right, and the opposition on the left, and the two parties change place with a change of ministry; so in that country the "Left" and the "Right" are not party names.

552. Flight of the King. — The king hesitated, and Mirabeau died (April 2, 1791), broken down by the strain of his work and by dissolute living. Then Louis decided to flee, not to the French provinces, *but to Austria*, to raise war, not against the Paris mob, but against France and the Revolution. The plot failed, because of the king's indecision and clumsiness. The royal family did get out of Paris (Louis in disguise as a valet), but they were recognized and brought back prisoners.



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

553. This attempt of the king led to another popular rising. This time the purpose was *to force the Assembly to dethrone the king*. A petition for such action, and *for the establishment of a republic*, was drawn up, and crowds flocked out from Paris to the Champs de Mars[1] to sign it. Some disorder occurred. The municipal authorities seized the excuse to forbid the gathering, and finally Lafayette's National Guards dispersed the jeering mob with volleys of musketry.

This "Massacre of the Champs de Mars" (July 17) marks a sharp division between the mob and the middle class. For the time, the latter carried the day. In the next six weeks the victorious Assembly completed and revised its two-years' work; and September 14, 1791, after solemnly swearing to uphold the constitution, Louis was restored to power.

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[1] An open space near the city where a great celebration of the fall of the Bastille had just been held.

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1791

554. A noble "Declaration of the Rights of Man" came first in the new constitution — after the example of the Bills of Rights in some of the American State constitutions. The Declaration had been put in form some months before, as a completion of the "night of August 4" (§ 545). It proclaimed, —

(1) "Men are born equal in rights, and remain so."
(2) "Law is the expression of the will of all the people. Every citizen has a right to a share in making it; and it must be the same for all."

And so on, through a number of provisions. It made all Frenchmen equal before the law, and equally eligible to public office. It abolished hereditary titles and confirmed the abolition of all special privileges. It established jury trial, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press. The great Declaration has justified the boast of the Assembly — that it "shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."[1]

555. Political Provisions. — The Declaration of Rights cared for *personal* liberties. The arrangements concerning the government secured a very large amount of *political* liberty. There was established a *limited monarchy*, with a large degree of *local self-government*, under *middle-class control*.

556. The Central Government was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of *one* House. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures decided against him on any measure.[1] A new Assembly was to be chosen each second year.

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[1] Read the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 5, or in Anderson, No. 5.

557. Local Government. — The historic provinces, with their troublesome peculiar privileges and customs, were wiped from the map. France was divided into eighty-three "departments" of nearly equal size. The departments were subdivided into districts and the district was made up of communes (villages or towns, with their adjacent territory). The map of France still keeps these divisions.

Each department and district elected a "General Council" and an executive board, or "Directory." The forty thousand communes had each its elected Council and mayor. So much authority was left to the communes, that France under this constitution has been called "a loose alliance of forty thousand little republics."

558. The franchise was not given to all, despite the second statement quoted above from the Declaration of Rights. About one-fourth of the men had no vote. A voter had to have enough property to pay taxes equal to three days' wages of an artisan.

Then these "active citizens," or voters, were graded further, according to their wealth, into three divisions. The first class could only vote. The second could hold offices in communes and districts, and be chosen to electoral colleges. Only the third, and wealthiest, class could be chosen to the higher offices.

Thus political supremacy was secured to the middle class by two devices, — (1) graded property qualifications, and (2) indirect elections. Both these devices to dodge democracy were used in the American States of that day. No American State then had manhood suffrage.

559. The Church. — In the disorders of 1789 people ceased to pay the old and unjust taxes. It was some time before new ones could be arranged for. Meanwhile the Assembly secured funds by seizing and selling the church lands — more than a fifth of all France.

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[1] The new American States had just begun to try another way to limit the old absolute veto — permitting a two-thirds vote to override the President or governor. The French plan of a "suspensive" veto has been most popular in free countries in Europe.

When the government took the revenue of the church, of course *it also assumed the duty of paying the clergy and maintaining the churches.* This led to national control of the church. The number of higher clergy was greatly reduced, and the clergy of all grades were made elective, in the same way as civil officers. Unfortunately they were required to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution in a form repulsive to many sincere adherents to the pope. Only four of the old bishops took the oath; and two-thirds the parish priests, including the most sincere and conscientious among them, were driven into opposition to the Revolution. The greatest error of the Assembly was in arraying religion against patriotism.

On the other hand, vast good followed from the sale of the church lands. At first, sales were slow; and so, with these lands as security, the Assembly issued paper money (assignats), which was received again by the government in payment for the lands. This currency was issued in such vast amounts that it depreciated rapidly — as with our "Continental" currency a few years before. Serious hardships followed; but in the final outcome, the lands passed in small parcels into the hands of the peasantry and the middle class, and so laid the foundation for future prosperity. *France became a land of small farmers, and the peasantry rose to a higher standard of comfort than such a class in Europe had ever known.*

IV. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO THE WAR

(September, 1791, to April, 1792)

560. Election of the Legislative Assembly. — Thus France had been made over in two years, on the whole with little violence. The bulk of the nation accepted the result enthusiastically, except as to some portions of the new organization of the church. Most men believed that the Revolution was over. The moderate Liberals very largely withdrew from active politics, and did not even vote on the next elections.

On the other hand, a small vigorous minority of radical spirits was dissatisfied with the restrictions on the franchise and with the restoration of monarchy. This minority possessed undue weight, because of its organization in political clubs. The original Jacobin club had set up daughter societies in the chief towns all over France; and these daughters were strictly obedient to the suggestions of the mother-club in Paris. *No other party had any political machinery whatever.* Moreover, the Jacobins had the sympathy of the large class that had no votes; and in many cases these citizens proved an important factor in the election, terrorizing the more conservative elements by mob-violence.

561. Parties. — The Constituent Assembly had made its members ineligible to seats in the Legislative Assembly, where their political experience would have been of the utmost value. *The seven hundred and forty-five members of the Legislative Assembly were all new men.* They were mostly young provincial lawyers and journalists; and there was not among them all one great proprietor or practical administrator.

There was no party in the new Assembly corresponding to the old Right and Right-Center of the Constitutional Assembly. The new *Right* corresponded to the old *Left-Center.* Its members were known as *Constitutionalists,* because they wished to preserve the constitution as it was. *Outside* the House this party was represented by Lafayette, who, since the death of Mirabeau, was the most influential man in France. In the Assembly the party counted about one hundred regular adherents, but, for a time, the four hundred members of *the Center,* or "The Plain," voted with it on most questions. The Plain, however, was gradually won over to the more radical views of the Left.

This *Left* consisted of about two hundred and forty delegates, many of them connected with the Jacobin clubs. The greater part were to become known as *Girondists,* from the

Gironde, the name of a department from which the leaders came. *They wished a republic,* but they were unwilling to use force to get one. They feared and hated the Paris mob, and they wished to intrust power to the provinces rather than to the capital. The leaders were hot-headed, eloquent young men, who spoke fine sentiments, but who were not fit for decisive action in a crisis.

The members of the Extreme-Left, known from their elevated seats as the "Mountain," were the quintessence of *Jacobinism.* This party *wished a democratic government by whatever means might offer,* and it contained the men of action in the Assembly.

562. Foreign Perils. — The Emigrants, breathing threats of invasion and vengeance, were gathering in arms on the Rhine, under protection of German princes. They were drilling mercenary troops, and they had secret sympathizers within France. In the winter a treacherous plot to betray to them the great fortress of Strassburg all but succeeded. The danger was certainly real. The Assembly sternly condemned to death all Emigrants who should not return to France before a certain date; *but the king vetoed the decree.*

And back of the Emigrants loomed the danger of foreign intervention. The attempted flight of Louis in June had shown Europe that he was really a prisoner. His brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold, then sent to the sovereigns of Europe a circular note, calling for common action against the Revolution, inasmuch as the cause of Louis was "*the cause of kings*"; and a few days later, Leopold and the King of Prussia joined in asserting their intention to arm, in order to aid their "brother" Louis.

Thus war was almost inevitable. The Revolution stood for a new social order. It and the old order could not live together. Its success was a standing invitation to revolution in neighboring lands. If the cause of Louis was "the cause of kings," so was the cause of the Revolution "the cause of peoples"; and the kings felt that they must crush it before it spread.

563. The Legislative Assembly welcomed the prospect of war. It demanded of Leopold that he disperse the armies of the Emigrants and that he apologize for his statements. Leopold replied with a counter-demand for a change in the French government such as to secure Europe against the spread of revolution. Then in April, 1792, France declared war.

The insolent attempts of German princes to dictate the policy of the French people rightly aroused a tempest of scorn and wrath; but the light-heartedness with which the Legislative Assembly rushed into a war for which France was so ill-prepared is at first a matter of wonder. The explanation, however, is not hard to find.

The Constitutionalists expected war to strengthen the executive (as it would have done if Louis had gone honestly with the nation), and they hoped also that it would increase their own power, since Lafayette was in command of the army.

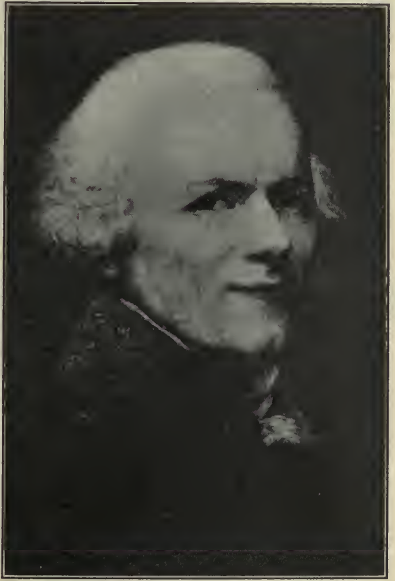
On the other hand, *the Girondists and the bulk of the Assembly* suspected Louis of being in secret league with Austria (suspicions only too well founded), and they knew that France was filled with spies and plotters in the interests of the Emigrants. The nervous strain of such a situation was tremendous, and the majority of the Assembly preferred open war to this terror of secret treason. Moreover, the Girondists hoped vaguely that the disorders of war might offer some good excuse to set up a republic.

564. The only voices raised against the war *were from the Mountain and its sympathizers in the Jacobin club.* Constitutionalists and Girondists were to find their ruin in the war they recklessly invited; while the three men most active in opposing war — *Robespierre*, *Danton*, and *Marat* — were to be called by it to virtual dictatorship.

Marat was a physician of high scientific attainments. He was jealous and suspicious, and he seems to have become half-crazed under the strain of the Revolution. Early in the days of the Constituent Assembly, his paper, "The Friend of the People," began to preach the assassination of all aristocrats.

But Marat was moved by sincere pity for the oppressed; and he opposed war, because, as he said, its suffering always fell finally upon the poor.

Robespierre before the Revolution had been a precise young lawyer in a provincial town. He had risen to the position of judge, the highest he could ever expect to attain; but he had resigned his office because he had conscientious scruples against imposing a death penalty upon a criminal. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau. He was narrow, dull, envious, pedantic but logical, incorruptible, sincere. "That man is dangerous," Mirabeau had said of him; "he will go far; he believes every word he says." In the last months of the Constituent Assembly, Robespierre had advanced rapidly in popularity and power; and now, although without a seat in the Assembly, he was the most influential member of the Jacobin Club. He opposed the war, because he feared — what the Constitutionalists hoped — a strengthening of the executive.



ROBESPIERRE.

Danton was a Parisian lawyer. He had early become prominent in the radical clubs; and next to Mirabeau he was the strongest man of the early years of the Revolution. He was well named "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." He was a large, forceful, shaggy nature, and a born leader of men. Above all, he was a man of action. Not without a rude eloquence himself, he had no patience with the fine speechifying of the Girondists, when deeds, not words, were wanted. He opposed the war, because he saw how unprepared France was, and how unfit her leaders. When it came, he brushed aside these incompetent leaders and himself organized France.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The three best one-volume histories of the Revolution are those by Shailer Mathews, Mallet, and Mrs. Gardiner; the two latter are somewhat conservative. Mrs. Gardiner's is perhaps the most desirable, upon the whole, as well as the briefest. There are excellent brief treatments in H. Morse Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, and Morris' *French Revolution.* The best of the larger works in English is H. Morse Stephens' *History of the French Revolution* (3 vols.). Carlyle's *French Revolution* remains the most powerful and vivid presentation of the forces and of many of the episodes of the Revolution, but it can be used to best advantage after some preliminary study upon the age, and it is sometimes inaccurate. Among the biographies, the following are especially good: Belloc's *Danton*, Belloc's *Robespierre*, Willert's *Mirabeau*, Blind's *Madam Roland*, and Morley's "Robespierre" (in *Miscellanies*, I). For fiction, Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* and Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three* are notable. (The last half dozen titles pertain especially to the period treated in the next chapter.) Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* and the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 5, contain illustrative source material.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE REVOLUTION IN WAR

I. FRANCE THREATENED BY EUROPEAN KINGS

565. June 20: the Mob invades the Tuileries. — At the declaration of war, the raw French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province), but were rolled back in defeat. The German powers, however, were busy robbing Poland (§ 500), and a few weeks more for preparation were given before the storm broke. The Assembly decreed the banishment of all non-juring priests (those who refused to take the oath to the constitution), many of whom were spies; and it provided for a camp of twenty thousand chosen patriots to guard the capital. Louis *vetoed both Acts*, and immediately afterward he dismissed his Liberal ministers (June 13).

Despite the veto, a small camp was formed, under the pretense of celebrating the festival of the destruction of the Bastille. Among the forces so collected were six hundred Marseillaise, sent in response to the call of the deputy of Marseilles for "six hundred men who know how to die." These men entered Paris, singing a new battle hymn, which was afterward chanted on many a Revolutionary battle field and which was to become famous as *The Marseillaise.*

The populace was convinced that the king was using his power treasonably, to prevent effective opposition to the enemies of France; and on June 20 there occurred an armed rising like those of July and October, 1789. An immense throng presented to the Assembly a monster petition against the king's policy, and then broke into the Tuileries, the palace of the royal family, to compel the king to withdraw his vetoes. For hours a dense mob surged through the apartments. Louis was crowded into a window, and stood there patiently, not without courageous dignity. A red cap, sign of the Revolution, was handed him, and he put it upon his head; but to all demands for a recall of his vetoes he made firm refusal. By nightfall the building was cleared. Little harm had been done, except to furniture; and indeed the mob had shown throughout a surprising good nature.

566. There followed an outburst of loyalty from the Moderates. Lafayette, in command on the frontier, left his troops and hastened to Paris, to demand the punishment of the leaders of the mob and the closing of the Jacobin Club. The middle class was ready to rally about him; and, if the king had been willing to join himself to the Constitutionalists, Lafayette might have saved the government. But the royal family secretly preferred to trust to the advancing Austrians; and Lafayette was rebuffed and scorned. He returned to his army, **and the management of affairs at Paris passed rapidly to the Jacobins.**

567. France was girdled with foes. The Empire, Prussia, and Sardinia were in arms. Naples and Spain were soon to join. Sweden and Russia both offered to do so, if they were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion. The French levies were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, they were utterly demoralized by the resignation of many officers *in the face of the enemy* and by a justifiable suspicion that many of those remaining sympathized with the invaders.

Within France were royalist risings and plots of risings, and the king was in secret alliance with the enemy. The queen had even communicated the French plan of campaign to the Austrians.

Brunswick, the Prussian commander, counted upon a holiday march to Paris. July 25 he issued to the French people a famous proclamation declaring (1) that the allies entered France to restore Louis to his place, (2) *that all men taken with arms in their hands should be hanged*, and (3) that, if Louis were injured, he would "inflict a memorable vengeance" by delivering up Paris to military execution.[1]

568. This blustering insolence was fatal to the king. France rose in rage, to hurl back the boastful invader. But before the new troops marched to the front, *some of them insisted upon guarding against enemies in the rear.* The Jacobins had decided that Louis should not be left free to paralyze action again, at some critical moment, by his veto. They demanded his deposition; but the Girondists were not ready for such extreme action. Then the Jacobins carried their point by insurrection.

Led by Danton, they forcibly displaced the middle-class municipal council of Paris with a new government; and this "Commune of Paris" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for **August 10.** If Louis had possessed ability or decision, his Guards might have repulsed the mob; but, after confusing them with contradictory orders, the king and his family fled to the Assembly, leaving the faithful Swiss regiment to be massacred. Bloody from this slaughter, the rebels forced their way into the hall of the Assembly to demand the king's instant deposition. Two-thirds of the deputies had fled, and the "rump" of Girondists and Jacobins decreed *the deposition* and imprisonment *of Louis,* and *the immediate election,* **by manhood suffrage,** *of a Convention* to frame a new government.[2]

Lafayette tried to lead his troops against Paris to restore the king. He found his army unwilling to follow him, — ready, instead, to arrest him, — and so he fled to the Austrians.[3] The French nation at large had not desired the new revolution, but accepted it as inevitable. The nation was more concerned with repulsing foreign foes than with balancing nice questions as to praise or blame in Paris.

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[1] Anderson, No. 23, gives the Proclamation.

[2] *This was the first trial of manhood suffrage in any modern nation.* The decree is given by Anderson.

[3] Lafayette was cast into prison by the Austrians, to remain there until freed by the victories of Napoleon several years later.

569. The September Massacres. — The rising of August 10 had been caused by the fear of foreign invasion *and of treason at home.* The same causes three weeks later led to one of the most terrible events in history. The "Commune of Paris," under Danton's leadership, had packed the prisons with three thousand "suspected" aristocrats, to prevent a royalist rising. Then, on August 29 and September 2, came the news of the shameful surrender of Longwy and Verdun, — two great frontier fortresses guarding the road to Paris.

Paris was thrown into a panic of fear, and the Paris volunteers hesitated to go to the front, lest the numerous prisoners recently arrested should break out and avenge themselves upon the city, stripped of its defenders. So, while Danton was pressing enlistments and hurrying recruits to meet Brunswick, the frenzied mob attacked the prisons, organized rude lynch courts, and on September 2, 3, and 4 massacred over a thousand of the prisoners with only the shadow of a trial.[1] These events are known as the "September massacres."

Whether the Jacobin leaders had a secret hand in *starting* the atrocious executions at the prisons will probably never be known. Certainly they did not try to stop them; but neither did the Assembly, nor the Gironde leaders, nor any other body of persons in Paris.

> Says Carlyle: "Very desirable indeed that Paris had interfered, yet not unnatural that it stood looking on in stupor. Paris is in death-panic . . . gibbets at its door. Whosoever in Paris hath heart to front death finds it more pressing to do so fighting the Prussians than fighting the slayers of aristocrats."

The Jacobins, however, did openly *accept* the massacres, when committed, as a useful means of terrifying the royalist plotters. When the Assembly talked of punishment, Danton excused the deed, and urged action against the enemies of France instead. "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid," he cried, ". . . Blast my memory, but let France be free."

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[1] The fairest account in English of these massacres is that by Stephens, II, 141–150.

II. SEPTEMBER, 1792, TO JUNE, 1793: THE GIRONDISTS

570. France at War with Kings. — After August 10, Danton became the leading member of an executive committee of the Assembly. At once he infused new vigor into the government. "We must dare," his great voice rang out to the hesitating Assembly, "and dare again, and ever dare, — and France is saved!" In this spirit he toiled, night and day, to raise and arm and drill recruits. France responded with the finest outburst of patriotic enthusiasm the world has ever seen in a great civilized state. September 20 the advancing Prussians were checked at *Valmy;* and November 9 the victory of *Jemmapes*, the first real pitched battle of the war, opened Belgium to French conquest. Another French army had already entered Germany, and a third had occupied Nice and Savoy.

These successes of raw French volunteers over the veterans of Europe called forth an orgy of democratic enthusiasm. The new National Convention met September 21 (1792), and became at once, in Danton's phrase, "a general committee of insurrection for all nations." It ordained a manifesto *in all languages*, offering the alliance of the French nation to all peoples who wished to recover their liberties; and French generals, entering a foreign country, were ordered "*to abolish serfdom, nobility, and all monopolies and privileges, and to aid in setting up a new government upon principles of popular sovereignty.*"[1] One fiery orator flamed out, — "Despots march against us with fire and sword. We will bear against them Liberty!"

Starving and ragged, but *welcomed by the invaded peoples*, the French armies sowed over Europe the seed of civil and political liberty. *The Revolution was no longer merely French.* It took on the intense zeal of a proselyting religion, and its principles were spread by fire and sword.

571. The Republic Declared. — When the new Convention met, the Constitutionalist party had disappeared.[2] *The Giron-*

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[1] The decrees are given by Anderson, No. 28.

[2] Note the progress of the Revolution: the old Royalists who made the Right of the First Assembly had no place in the Second; while the Constitu-

dist leaders (the Left of the preceding assembly) now *sat upon the Right* and seemed to have the adherence of the previous Plain, and indeed of the whole Convention, *except for a small party of the Mountain*, where sat Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, with the rest of the deputies of Paris and the organizers of the Revolution of August 10. On its first afternoon the Convention declared monarchy abolished, and enthusiastically established "The French Republic, One and Indivisible."[1]

572. The Mountain was bent also upon punishing Louis. They were satisfied of his treason, and they wished to make reconciliation with the old order of things impossible. Said Danton: "The allied kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gage of battle, the head of a king." The Girondists wished to save Louis' life, but their majority was intimidated by the galleries; and "Louis Capet" was condemned to death for "treason to the nation."

573. Early in 1793 the Convention proposed a new written constitution for the Republic. This document was extremely democratic. It swept away all the checks of indirect elections and property qualifications, and made all citizens "equally sovereign." Further, it made all acts of the legislature subject to a "referendum" — a veto or adoption by a popular vote. This *Constitution of the Year I*[2] was it-

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tionalists who made the Left of the First Assembly and the Right of the Second had vanished from the Third.

[1] The student should keep distinct the three great assemblies: First, the *Constituent Assembly* (or the National Assembly) which made the first constitution; Second, the *Legislative Assembly*, which declared war and called for the election of its successor by manhood suffrage; and, Third, the *Convention*, which deposed Louis, declared a Republic, and made war on kings.

[2] The Convention adopted a new Calendar. September 22, the first day of the Republic, was made "*the first day of the Year One* of a new era." There followed twelve months of thirty days each, and then five great holidays dedicated to liberty. Each month was divided into three *decades*, and each tenth day was a holiday (in place of the Seventh day of rest and worship). The months took their names from the seasons, — Vintage month, Fog month, Frost month for autumn; Snow, Rain, Wind months, for winter; Budding, Flower, and Meadow months for spring and early summer; and Harvest,

self submitted to such a referendum, and *was adopted by the nation.*[1]

The constitution, however, never went into operation. The Convention suspended it, declaring that France was in danger and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until war was over.

574. New Enemies and new Treason. — France was indeed in danger. The execution of the king was one factor in deciding England, Spain, Holland, Naples, and Portugal to join the war against France, and it offended many French patriots. Dumouriez, an able but unscrupulous general, who had succeeded Lafayette as the chief military leader, tried to play traitor, in the spring of 1793, by surrendering Belgian fortresses to the Austrians and by leading his army to Paris to restore the monarchy. *His troops refused to follow him*, and he fled to the enemy; but Belgium was lost for a time, and once more the frontier was in danger.

575. The Girondists attack the Mountain. — Ever since the Convention met, dissension had threatened between the Gironde majority and the Mountain. The Mountain was supported by the masses of Paris. Outside the capital, the Girondists were much the stronger. They wished to remove the Convention from Paris; and the Mountain *accused* them of desiring to break up the "Indivisible Republic" into a federation of provinces.

The Girondists took the moment of foreign danger, in the spring of 1793, to press the quarrel to a head. They accused Marat of stirring up the September massacres, and persuaded the Convention to bring him to trial. Then they were mad enough to charge Danton with *royalist* conspiracy.

Heat, and Fruit months, to close the year. Holidays were no longer dedicated to saints, but to the plow, the cow, the grape, and so on. This is an interesting illustration of the way in which the Convention cut loose from the past.

[1] No country had ever had so democratic a constitution. *Nor had any great nation ever adopted its own government by direct vote before.* Four years earlier, the much less democratic constitution of the United States was ratified *indirectly*, — by State conventions; and only two of the State constitutions had been submitted to the people.

576. **Danton**, who was straining his mighty strength to send reinforcements to the armies of France, **pleaded at first for peace** and union; but, when this proved vain, he **turned savagely upon his assailants.** "You were right," he cried to his friends on the Mountain, who had pressed before for action against the Girondists, "and I was wrong. There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them, saved in spite of them."

While the Assembly debated, the Mountain acted. It was weak in the Convention, but it was supreme in the galleries and in the streets and above all in the Commune of Paris. The Commune, which had carried the Revolution of August 10 against the Legislative Assembly, now marched its forces against the Convention, June 2, 1793, and held it prisoner until it passed a decree imprisoning thirty of the leading Girondists. Others of that party fled, and *the Jacobin Mountain was left in power.*

The fate of the Girondists has aroused much sympathy; but the Jacobin victory was the only means to save the Revolution with its priceless gain for humanity. Says John Morley (*Essay on Robespierre*), "The deliverance of a people beset by strong and implacable foes could not wait on mere good manners and fastidious sentiments, when those comely things were in company with the most stupendous want of foresight ever shown by a political party."

III. JUNE, 1792, TO MARCH, 1793: JACOBIN RULE

577. Gironde Rebellion and Foreign Invasion. — Fugitive Girondists roused the provinces against the Jacobin capital. They gathered armies at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Caën, and Lyons. Lyons, the second city in France, even raised the white flag of the monarchy, and invited in the Austrians, — whereupon the Girondists in the city threw down their arms, gallantly choosing death rather than alliance with the enemies of France. Elsewhere, too, royalist revolt reared its head. In the remote province of Vendée (in ancient Brittany), the simple, half-savage peasants were still devoted to king, priest, and hereditary lord, and they rose now in wild rebellion against the Republic. The great port of Toulon even admitted an English fleet and army. The Convention, with Paris and a score of the central departments, faced the other three-fourths of France as well as the rest of Europe.

578. So far, all the Revolutionists but Mirabeau had been afraid of a real executive, as a danger to freedom; but these new perils forced the Convention to intrust power to a great "**Committee of Public Safety.**" Said one member, the Convention "established the despotism of liberty, in order to crush the despotism of tyrants." The Committee consisted of twelve members, — all from the Mountain. The Convention made all other national committees and officers its servants, and ordered even the municipal officials to give it implicit obedience.

CHÂTEAU AT BLOIS.

The Committee were not trained administrators, but they were men of practical business sagacity and of tremendous energy, — such men as a revolution must finally toss to the top. In the war office, *Carnot* "organized victory"; beside him, in the treasury, labored *Cambon*, with his stern motto, "War to the manorhouse, peace to the hut"; while a group of such men as *Robespierre* and *St. Just* sought to direct the Revolution so as to refashion France according to new ideals.[1]

579. Nearly a hundred "Deputies on Mission"[2] were sent out to all parts of France to enforce obedience to the Committee. They reported every ten days to the Committee; but, subject to its approval, they exercised despotic power, — replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money or supplies for the national use, imprisoning and condemning to death by their own courts. To secure energy in the management of the war, and to prevent further treachery like that of Lafayette and Dumouriez, two Deputies on Mission accompanied each of the fourteen armies of the Republic, with authority to arrest a general at the head of his troops.

580. Energy and Victory Abroad. — Never has a despotism been more efficient than that of the great Committee and its agents. In October Lyons was captured. On the proposal of the Committee the Convention ordered that the rebel city should be *razed to the ground.* Toulon was taken, despite English aid, and punished sternly. Other centers of revolt, paralyzed with fear, yielded. Order and union were restored, and Carnot could send a million of men to join the armies of France. Before the year closed, French soil was free from danger of invasion, and French armies had taken the offensive on all the frontiers. *Peril from without was past.*

"All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said the Committee, in a stirring proclamation to the nation (August 23, 1793).[3] "The Republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle; it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence ; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint ; the old men shall have themselves carried into public places, and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young and preach hatred to kings and unity for the Republic."

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[1] Stephens' *French Revolution*, II, 285 (and also his *Revolutionary Europe*, 133) has an admirable account of the men of the Committee. A dramatic account of their meetings is given by John Morley in his "Robespierre."

[2] They were "deputies" in the Convention, sent out by the great Committee on special "missions."

[3] The decree is given in full by Anderson.

"In this humor, then, since no other will serve," adds Carlyle, "will France rush against its enemies ; headlong, reckoning no cost, heeding no law but the supreme law, Salvation of the People. The weapons are all the iron there is in France ; the strength is that of all the men and women there are in France. . . . From all hamlets towards their departmental town, from all departmental towns toward the appointed camp, the Sons of Freedom shall march. Their banner is to bear 'The French People risen against Tyrants.'. . .

"These soldiers have shoes of wood and pasteboard, or go booted in hay-ropes, in dead of winter. . . . What then? 'With steel and bread,' says the Convention Representative, 'one may get to China.' The generals go fast to the guillotine, justly or unjustly. . . . Ill-success is death ; in victory alone is life. . . . All Girondism, Halfness, Compromise, is swept away. . . . Forward, ye soldiers of the Republic, captain and man ! Dash with your Gallic impetuosity on Austria, England, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, Pitt, Coburg, York, and the Devil and the World !

"See accordingly on all frontiers, how the 'Sons of Night' astonished, after short triumph, do recoil ; the Sons of the Republic flying after them, with temper of cat-o-mountain or demon incarnate, which no Son of Night can withstand. . . . Spain which came bursting through the Pyrenees, rustling with Bourbon banners, and went conquering here and there for a season, falters at such welcome, draws itself in again, — too happy now were the Pyrenees impassable. Dugomier invades Spain by the eastern Pyrenees. General Mueller shall invade it by the western. '*Shall*,' that is the word. Committee of Public Safety has said it, Representative Cavaignac, on mission there, must see it done. 'Impossible,' cries Mueller ; 'Infallible,' answers Cavaignac. 'The Committee is deaf on that side of its head,' answers Cavaignac. 'How many want'st thou of men, of horses, of cannon ? Thou shalt have them. Conquerors, conquered, or hanged, Forward we must.' *Which things also, even as the Representative spake them, were done.*"

581. The Reign of Terror at Home. — The Committee had not hesitated to use the most terrible means to secure union and obedience. Early in September of 1793 it adopted "Terror" as a deliberate policy. This "Long Terror" was a very different thing from the "Short Terror" of the mob, a year before. The Paris prisons were crowded again with "Suspects"; and *each day* the Revolutionary tribunal, after farcical trials, sent batches of the condemned to the guillotine. Among the victims were the queen, many aristocrats, and also many Constitutionalists and Girondists—heroes of 1791 and 1792. In some of the revolted districts, too, submission was followed by horrible executions; and at Nantes the cruelty of *Carrier*, the Deputy on Mission, half-crazed with blood, inflicted upon the Revolution an indelible stain.

Over much of France, however, the Terror was only a name. The rule of most of the great Deputies on Mission was bloodless and was ardently supported by the popular will. In all, some fifteen thousand executions took place during the year of the Terror,—nearly three thousand of them in Paris.

This terrible policy proved effectual. After two months of the Terror, Paris was tranquil and resumed its usual life. There were no more riots and almost no crime, even of the ordinary kind. France was again a mighty nation, united and orderly at home and victorious abroad. Says Carlyle, —

> "Overhead of all of this, there is the customary brewing and baking. Labor hammers and grinds. Frilled promenaders saunter under the trees, white-muslin promenadresses, with green parasols, leaning on your arm. . . . In this Paris, are twenty-three theaters nightly [and] sixty places of dancing."

The Terror was a sure weapon, ready to hand in a moment of death peril to the Fatherland and to liberty. The Convention did not shrink from using it. That much may be said in explanation. Still the "Reign of Terror" remains a terrible blot on human history.

At the same time it does not stand all by itself. John Morley, a cultivated English scholar, calls it "*almost* as horrible" as the scenes the English enacted six years later in Ireland (§ 773) without such mighty reason. And it was far less terrible than the *needless* vengeance inflicted by the conservative government of Paris in 1871 upon *twenty thousand* victims of the Commune (§ 792), — over which the world shudders very little.

582. A study of the Revolution must notice this bloodshed, but **ought not to put much emphasis on it.** *It is not in any way the significant thing about the Revolution.* Indeed, it was not the product of the Revolution itself, but of foreign war. The significant thing about the Revolution is the national awakening which swept away an absurd, tyrannical society, founded on ancient violence and warped by time, to replace it with a simpler society based on equal rights. Literature has been filled with hysterics about the violence. It is well for us to shudder — but there is no danger that we will not, for those who suffered were *the few* who "knew how to shriek," and so arouse sympathy for their woe. The danger is that we forget the relief to the *dumb multitudes* who had endured worse tortures for centuries, but whose inarticulate moanings hardly attract attention in history. As Carlyle justly says, not for a thousand years had any equal period in France seen so little suffering as just those months of revolution and "terror."

583. If the Convention destroyed much, it built up vastly more. *It made the Revolution a great and fruitful reform.* The grim, silent, tense-browed men of the Committee worked eighteen hours out of every twenty-four. Daily, they carried their lives in their hands; and so they worked swiftly, disregarding some niceties of detail, and cutting knots that did not easily loosen. While Carnot, "Organizer of Victory," was creating the splendid army that saved liberty from despots, his associates were laying the foundations for a new and better society. They were "organizing" civilization.

Mainly on their proposals, the Convention made satisfactory provision for the public debt that had crushed the old monarchy. It adopted the beginning of a simple and just code of laws. It accepted the metric system of weights and measures, abolished slavery in French colonies, instituted the first Normal School, the Polytechnic School of France, the Conservatory of France, the famous Institute of France, and the

National Library, and planned also a comprehensive system of public instruction, the improvement of the hospitals and of the prisons, and the reform of youthful criminals. As Shailer Mathews says, "No government ever worked harder for the good of the masses"; and says H. Morse Stephens: —

> "It is probable that as the centuries pass, the political strife . . . may be forgotten, while the projects of Cambacérès and Merlin toward codification, the plans of Condorcet and Lakanal for a system of national education, and Argobast's report on the new weights and measures, will be regarded as making *great and important steps in the progress of the race*. . . . The Convention laid the foundations upon which Napoleon afterward built. In educational as in legal reform, the most important work was done during the Reign of Terror."

FOR FURTHER READING. — One of the three first histories named at the close of the last chapter ought to be used for library work as far as the close of this chapter. Carlyle should surely be read, now or later, in high school life. Other references are named on page 460.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE REVOLUTION IN DECLINE, 1794–1798

I. RUIN OF THE JACOBINS

584. The Jacobins had established their supremacy over all other parties by the "Terror"; but after some months they themselves **broke up into factions**. The Committee of Public Safety continued to uphold the inner circle of its members (led by Robespierre) who had charge of carrying on the Terror; but, outside the Committee, their policy was attacked violently from both sides.

585. The Paris Commune, led now by the coarse *Hébert*, clamored for *more* blood. This group wished to level rich and poor by wholesale confiscation, and to execute all who might be feared as opponents of such measures. In Paris they carried another part of their program to success for a time. They *closed all Christian worship*, and substituted for the worship of God a "worship of Reason," with ribald blasphemy.

This atheism aroused Robespierre to denounce the Hébertists in the Convention as dangerous to the Revolution. Twice the Commune had reversed the control of a national assembly by insurrection (§§ 558, 576). Now it tried a third time, but failed; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his leading friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

586. On the other hand, Danton was weary of bloodshed. He was the only man in France whose popularity and influence rivaled that of Robespierre. For months he had been urging in the Convention that "Terror" was no longer needed, now that France was victorious without and tranquil within. And Danton's friend, Camille Desmoulins (§ 541), started a witty news-paper to criticize the policy of the great Committee, suggesting in its place a "Committee of Mercy," to bind up the wounds of France. In April Robespierre accused both men of "conspiracy," and sent them to death.

Danton's danger had been plain, and his friends urged him to strike first. "Better to be guillotined than to do more guillotining," he answered. As he mounted the scaffold, he faltered a moment at the thought of his wife, whom he loved tenderly. "My darling," he murmured, "shall I see you never again?" But rallying, he said to the executioner, — "Show my head to the people. It is worth while. They do not see the like every day."

587. Robespierre, for the next three months, **seemed sole master**[1] **of France.** He reopened the churches, and offset Hébert's Festival of Reason by making the Convention solemnly celebrate a "Festival to the Supreme Being."[2] He aimed to create a new France, with simple and austere virtues, like those Rousseau pictured in his ideal "state of nature." This he believed could be done by education. He secured from the Convention a decree for a system of universal public education. The opening sentences of the decree read: —

"The rise of an oppressed nation to democracy is like the effort by which nature rose out of nothingness to existence. We must entirely refashion a people whom we wish to make free, — destroy its prejudices, alter its habits, limit its necessities, root up its vices, purify its desires. The state must therefore lay hold on every human being at his birth and direct his education with powerful hand."

The most enthusiastic follower of Robespierre was St. Just; and the fragments of St. Just's *Institutes* express the ardent hopes of these Terrorists.

Boys of seven were to be handed over to the "school of the nation," to be trained "to endure hardship and to speak little." Neither servants nor gold or silver vessels were to be permitted. The nation was to possess "the happiness of virtue, of moderation, of comfort, — the happiness that springs from the enjoyment of the necessary without the superfluous. The luxury of a cabin and of a field fertilized by your own hands, a cart, a thatched roof, — such is happiness." St. Just declared that he would blow his brains out if he did not believe it *possible to remodel* the French people along such lines.

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[1] Marat had been murdered by Charlotte Corday. The story may be presented as a special report.

[2] Robespierre was not a Christian; he was a deist, like Voltaire.

During his three-months' rule, Robespierre coupled the proclamation of these fine theories with a terrible increase in the policy of the "Terror" — to clear the field. The number of executions rose to two hundred a week. The Convention trembled for its own safety, and at last it turned savagely on Robespierre. On July 27, when he began to speak, he was interrupted by shouts of "Down with the tyrant!" Astounded, he stammered confusedly; and a delegate cried, — "See, the blood of Danton chokes him." Quickly he was tried and executed, with a hundred close adherents.

588. The "Terror" now came to an end, and some extreme laws were repealed. In December, 1794, encouraged by the reaction against the radicals, the fugitive members of the Right once more appeared in the Assembly; and in March, 1795, even the survivors of the expelled Girondists were admitted. The Jacobins roused the populace of Paris in a desperate attempt to undo the reaction; but the middle classes had rallied, and the mob was dispersed by troops and by organized bands of "gilded youth." The populace was disarmed, the National Guards were reorganized, and there followed over France a "White Terror," wherein the conservative classes executed or assassinated many hundreds of the Jacobin party.

II. 1795–1799: THE DIRECTORY

589. A new "Constitution of the Year III" (1795) replaced the constitution of the Year I and confirmed middle class rule. The government established by this document is called "The Directory." This was the name of the *executive*, which consisted of *a committee of five*, chosen by the legislature. The legislature consisted of *two* Houses. Property qualifications for voting were restored.

590. The Last Insurrection. — The constitution was submitted to a popular vote, but before the vote was taken, at the last moment, the expiring Convention decreed that two-thirds of its members should hold over as members of the new Assembly.[1] This arrangement was submitted to the people, along with the constitution, and was practically made a condition to the latter. It was carried by a small majority, while the constitution was ratified by an overwhelming vote. In Paris the secret Royalists took advantage of the dissatisfaction to stir up a revolt. They were joined by twenty thousand National Guards. The Directory was in terror. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Convention hall, and mowed down the attacking columns with grapeshot (October 5, 1795). The Directory remained in power for four years. The chief interest for this period centers in the rise of the officer who had saved it, and whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

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[1] Cf. the story of the Rump Parliament, § 447.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

591. In 1795, when the government of the Convention was merged in the Directory, **France had already made great gains of territory.** On the northeast, *Belgium* had been annexed, with the vote of its people. *Nice* and *Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. *The eastern frontier had been moved to the Rhine*, by the seizure of all the territory of the Empire on the west side of the river. *Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally, as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

592. Bonaparte in Italy. — The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously, both in Germany and Italy.[1] Two splendid armies were sent into Germany, and a small, ill-supplied force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. The wonderful genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By rapid movements, he separated the Austrian and Sardinian forces, beat the latter in five battles in eleven days, and forced Sardinia to conclude peace. Turning upon the brave but deliberate Austrians, he won battle after battle, and by July he was master of Italy. Austria, however, clung stubbornly to her Italian provinces; and during the following year, four fresh armies, each larger than Napoleon's, were sent in succession from the Rhine to the Po, only to meet destruction. In October, 1797, Austria agreed to accept Venice from Bonaparte, in exchange for Lombardy and Belgium, which she had lost, and war on the continent closed with the *Peace of Campo Formio.*

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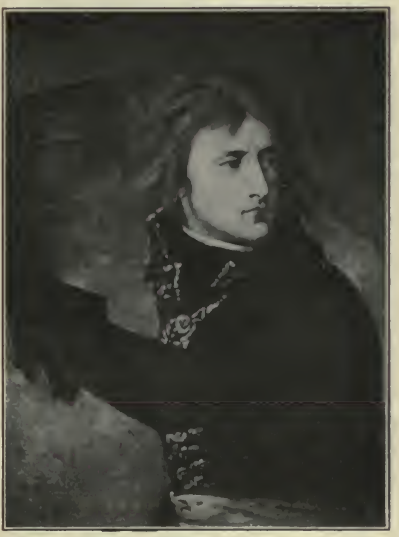
[1] Austria at this time held a considerable part of North Italy. Cf. § 477.

593. To the Italians, Bonaparte posed at first as a deliverer, and his large promises awoke the peninsula to the hope of a new national life. Something was accomplished. Oligarchic Genoa became the *Ligurian Republic*, and the Po valley was made into the *Cisalpine Republic.* Napoleon swept away feudalism and serfdom and the forms of the old Austrian despotism, and introduced civil equality and some political liberty. At the same time, however, with amazing perfidy, Napoleon tricked the independent state of Venice into war, seized it by a French army, and afterward coolly bartered it away to Austria.



NAPOLEON AT ARCOLA, in a critical moment in his Italian campaign. After the painting by Gros.

Upon even the friendly states, Bonaparte levied enormous contributions, to enrich his soldiers and officers, to fill the coffers of France, and to bribe the Directory. His proclamation upon taking command of the Army of Italy had been significant of much to come: —

> " Soldiers, you are starving and in rags. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fruitful plains of the world. Teeming provinces, flourishing cities, will be in your power. There you may reap honor and glory and wealth."

Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts Bonaparte ravished from Italian libraries and galleries, and sent to Paris, to gratify

French vanity; and when the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate cruelty.

594. Napoleon Bonaparte. — The Italian campaigns first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was born in Corsica in 1769. His parents were Italians, poor, but of noble descent. In the year of Napoleon's birth, Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (§ 580) and, chancing to be in Paris at the time of the rising against the Directory, in 1795, he had been called upon to defend the government. In reward he was given, the next year, the command of the "Army of Italy."

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of all history. He was also one of the greatest of civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," and his success was largely due to his wonderful grasp of masses of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but he was utterly unscrupulous, and he deliberately rejected all claims of morality. "Morality," said he, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of movement, and in massing his troops against some one weak point of an enemy. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins his victories with our legs." Moreover, the French army was superior to any army in Europe. Elsewhere military office came by birth or by purchase. In the Revolutionary armies of France, it came by merit and genius. All of Napoleon's great lieutenants had risen from the ranks. One of his most dashing generals (Jourdan) had been a tailor; another (Murat) a waiter. Napoleon always cherished this democratic character of the army. "Every soldier," said he, "carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack."

In early life Bonaparte may have been a sincere Republican; but he hated anarchy and disorder, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the army's earlier ardor for liberty into a passion for military glory and plunder. He became the idol of the soldiery, and then used the military power to overthrow the civil authority.

Before Campo Formio he had said to a friend, "Do you suppose I conquer for the lawyers of the Directory? . . . Do you think I mean to found a Republic? What an idea! . . . *The nation wants a head*, a chief illustrious for great exploits; it does not care for theories of government. . . . The French want glory. As for liberty, of that they have no conception. . . . I am everything to the army. Let the Directory try to take my command from me, and they will see who is master."

595. Bonaparte in Egypt. — England alone continued the war against France; and the next year (1798) Bonaparte persuaded the Directory to let him attack Egypt, as a step toward attacking England's power in India. He won a series of brilliant battles in Egypt; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under *Nelson*, in the *Battle of the Nile*, and his gorgeous dreams of Oriental empire faded away.

596. Bonaparte overthrows the Directory. — Then Bonaparte deserted his doomed army, and escaped to France, where he saw new opportunities. War on the continent had been renewed. In 1798 the Directory had brought about a change in the government of Switzerland and had organized that country as the *Helvetic Republic*. They had also driven the pope from Rome and dispossessed other Italian rulers, to make way for new republican states. The Great Powers of Europe were alarmed at these measures. England succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; and so far, in the new war, the campaigns had gone against France. Bonaparte's failure in distant Egypt was not comprehended, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

The Directory had proven disgracefully corrupt. Each of three years in succession — 1797, 1798, 1799 — the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*,[1] or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état* against it. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plan; and a Rump, made up of Bonaparte's adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *Consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and to Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred, the French people accepted the constitution that virtually made Bonaparte dictator. France was not really ready for the freedom she had won so unexpectedly by revolution. If Bonaparte had not seized power, some other military chief surely would soon have done so.

For Further Reading.— High school students will hardly get time to read upon the Directory period, apart from Napoleon's story. For that, see references on page 499.

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[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (§ 442) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France; and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE CONSULATE, 1799–1804

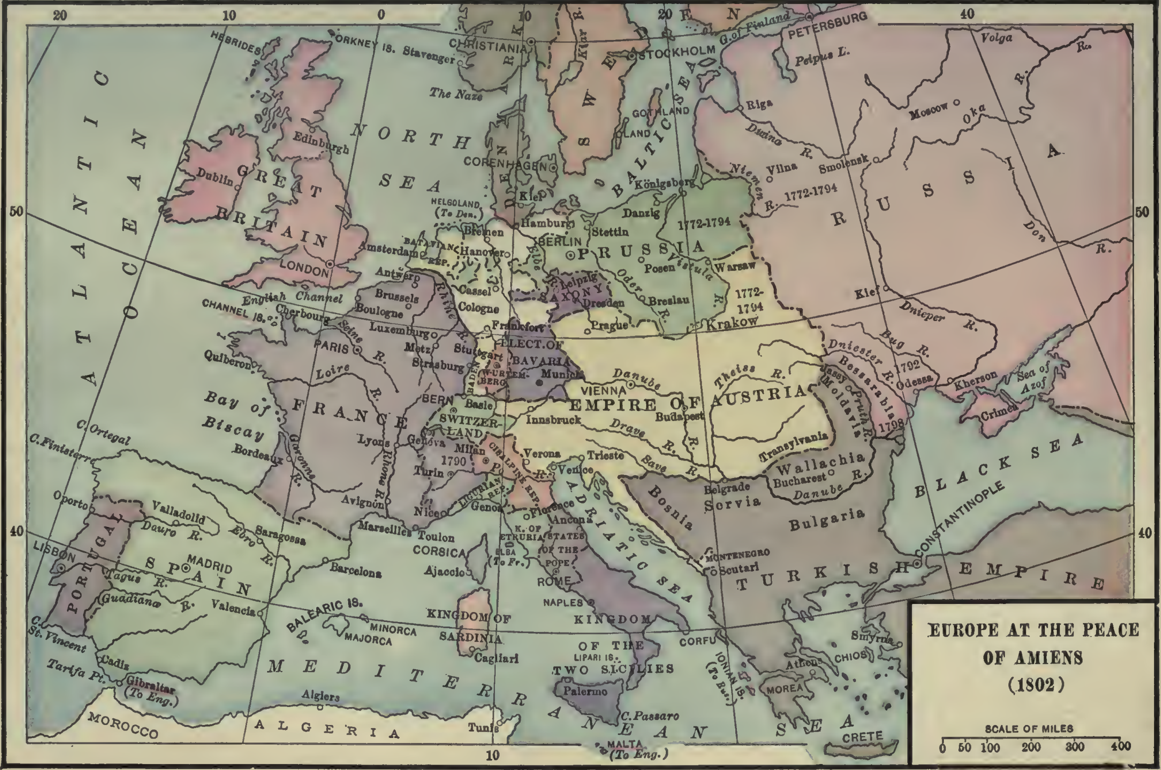
597. Marengo and Hohenlinden. — Bonaparte's first work as consul was to crush foreign foes. In 1800 he won the great battle of *Marengo* over the Austrians in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army in Bavaria at *Hohenlinden*. Austria and Russia made peace; and two years later **the Peace of Amiens** (1802) closed the war between France and England. For a brief period, the world was free from war. Napoleon appeared a conqueror, with dazzling victories, and also the restorer of the long-desired peace.

598. The Consulate was confirmed by the Constitution of the Year VIII (1800). The government was to *rest on manhood suffrage*, but that suffrage was to be "*refined by successive filtrations.*" The adult males, some five million in all, were to choose one-tenth their number; the five hundred thousand "Communal Notables," so chosen, were in turn to choose one-tenth *their* number; these fifty thousand "Departmental Notables" were to choose five thousand "National Notables."

But all this voting was only to settle *eligibility*. **The executive was to appoint** communal officers at will out of the Communal Notables, departmental officers out of the Departmental Notables, and members of the legislature and other chief officers out of the National Notables.

The legislature was to be broken up into *four* parts: a *Council of State* to prepare bills; a *Tribunate* to discuss them, without right to vote; a *Legislative Chamber* to vote upon them, without right to discuss; and a *Senate*, with power to veto.

Siéyès, who planned this constitution, had intended to break



EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
GREAT BRITAIN
LONDON
Edinburgh
Dublin
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
CHANNEL IS.
FRANCE
PARIS
Cherbourg
Quiberon
Brussels
Boulogne
Antwerp
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasburg
Lyons
Bordeaux
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Rhine R.
BATAVIAN REP.
Amsterdam
HELGOLAND (To Den.)
Bremen
Hanover
Hamburg
Cassel
Cologne
Frankfort
ELECT. OF BAVARIA
Munich
W-URTEM-BERG
Stuttgart
BADEN
SWITZERLAND
BERN
Basle
Geneva
CISALPINE REP.
LIGURIAN REP.
Genoa
Milan
Turin
1790
Verona
Venice
Trieste
K. OF ETRURIA
Florence
STATES OF THE POPE
Ancona
ROME
ELBA (To Fr.)
CORSICA
Ajaccio
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Cagliari
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
NAPLES
LIPARI IS.
Palermo
C. Passaro
MALTA (To Eng.)
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
NORWAY
CHRISTIANIA
Stavenger
The Naze
SWEDEN
STOCKHOLM
GOTHLAND
OLAND
Klar R.
G. of Finland
PRUSSIA
BERLIN
Stettin
Danzig
Königsberg
Posen
Breslau
Warsaw
1772-1794
1772-1794
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
SAXONY
Leipzig
Dresden
Prague
Krakow
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
VIENNA
Budapest
Innsbruck
Danube
Drave R.
Save R.
Theiss R.
Transylvania
RUSSIA
PETERSBURG
Peipus L.
Riga
Vilna
Smolensk
Moscow
Kief
Kherson
Odessa
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Don R.
Volga R.
Oka R.
1792
1798
Bessarabia
Pruth R.
Jassy
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Danube R.
TURKISH EMPIRE
CONSTANTINOPLE
Bosnia
Belgrade
Servia
Bulgaria
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
CORFU
IONIAN IS. (To Rus.)
MOREA
Athens
CHIOS
Smyrna
CRETE
SPAIN
MADRID
PORTUGAL
LISBON
Oporto
Valladolid
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Cadiz
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
C. St. Vincent
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
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20
40
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40
10

up the executive in like manner into one Consul for war, another for peace, and a "Grand Elector" who should appoint the consuls and other great officials, but should then have no part in the government. Here Napoleon intervened. He was willing to accept a system of elections that never elected anybody, and a legislature that could not legislate; but he changed the shadowy "Grand Elector" into a *First Consul*, with all other parts of the constitution subject to his will.

Bonaparte became First Consul. His colleagues, as he put it, were "merely counselors whom I am expected to consult, but whose advice I need not accept." Directly or indirectly, he himself filled all offices, and no law could even be proposed without his sanction.

599. Local administration was highly centralized. For each department Napoleon appointed a Prefect, and for each subdistrict a Subprefect. Even the forty thousand mayors of towns and villages were appointed by the First Consul or by his agents, and held office at his will; "nor did there exist anywhere independent of him the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village in France."

This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, the result was to be unspeakably disastrous. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen, by sharing in the local government, was lost; and the willingness to depend upon an all-directing central power was fixed even more firmly than before in their minds.

600. Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Royalist and Jacobin were welcomed to public employment and to favor; and a hundred and fifty thousand exiles, of the best blood and brain of France, returned, to reinforce the citizen body. An agreement with the pope (the *Concordat*) reconciled the Catholic church to the state. All bishops were replaced by new ones *appointed* by Napoleon and consecrated by the pope. The church became Roman again, but it was supported and controlled by the state.

601. The work of the great Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. *Public education* was organized; corruption and extravagance in *the government* gave way to order and efficiency; *law* was simplified; and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

THE VENDÔME COLUMN, — made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stood a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Students of ancient history will naturally compare this column with Trajan's (*Ancient World*, § 622).

602. The Code of 1804. — This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration, swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code.

This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana. Napoleon himself declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever." [1]

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[1] Special reports: the Legion of Honor; Napoleon's encouragement of science.

603. The material side of society was not neglected. The depreciated paper money (§ 559) was restored to a sound basis, and industry of all kinds was encouraged. Paris was made the most beautiful city of Europe, and it was given an excellent water supply. The narrow streets were widened into magnificent boulevards; parks and public gardens were provided; while here and there rose triumphal arches and columns. Roads, canals, and harbors were built, and old ones were improved. And, chief of all, the economic gain of the peasants in the Revolution (§ 559) was preserved. The peasantry were landowners, free from their old burdens; and workmen secured two or three times the wages they had received ten years before. Under such conditions the people displayed new energies, and, with the establishment of quiet and order, they quickly built up a vast material prosperity.

Arch of Triumph, Paris, commemorating Napoleon's victories.

In short, Napoleon destroyed *political liberty;* but he preserved *equality before the law*, along with the economic gains from the Revolution to the working classes. The burden of taxation was made to rest with fair justice upon all classes. The peasant paid not four-fifths his income in taxes, as before the Revolution, but about one-fifth; and he got much more in return than before.

604. In all this reconstruction the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habits of thought."

But the benefits that Bonaparte conferred upon France were the work of a beneficent despotism, not of a free government. He worked as a Joseph II (§ 502) of greater ability might have done. Bonaparte was the last and greatest of the benevolent despots; and it was soon plain that he meant to seize the outer trappings of royalty as well as its power.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE FRENCH EMPIRE, 1804-1814

605. "Napoleon I." — In 1802 Bonaparte had himself elected *Consul for Life.* He set up a court, with all the forms of monarchy, and began to sign papers by his first name only — Napoleon — as kings sign. Then, in 1804, he obtained another vote of the nation declaring him **"Emperor of the French,"** and he solemnly crowned himself at Paris, with the presence and sanction of the pope, as the successor of Charlemagne.

606. Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the "will of the French people"; and each assumption of power was given a show of ratification by a popular vote, or *plebiscite.* But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question *framed by the master.* The result of a No could never be foreseen; and it was not hard so to shape questions that men would rather say Yes than risk the indefinite consequences of saying No. *The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the questions upon which it was to vote;* and even the vote was controlled largely by skillful coercion. A plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism; but it was at least a standing denial of the old doctrine of "divine right."

607. Personal liberty was no longer safe. Napoleon maintained a vast network of *secret police and spies,* and he sent thousands of men to prison or into exile by his mere order. *The press* was subjected to stern and searching censorship. *No book* could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the emperor, even in matters only slightly related to politics.[1]

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[1] Madame de Staël was not allowed to say that the drama of Iphigenia by the German Goethe was a greater play than the work of the French Racine upon the same plot.

Newspapers were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects." They were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to publish only such items as were furnished them by the government.

Moreover, they were required to praise the administration. "Tell them," said Napoleon, "I shall judge them not only by the evil they say, but by the good they do not say." Even *the schools* were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." *Religion*, too, was pressed into service. Every village priest depended, directly or indirectly, upon Napoleon's will, and was expected to uphold his power. A catechism was devised expressly to teach the duty of all good Christians to obey the emperor.[1]

608. The Empire meant war. In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. Europe, he declared, needed a single head, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among lieutenants. *He felt, too, that victories and military glory were neeedful to prevent the French nation from murmuring against his despotism.*

Moreover, other nations felt that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions as these, war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and there was to be no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall. During the next eleven years, Napoleon fought also three wars with Austria, two with Prussia, two with Russia, a long war with Spain, and various minor conflicts.

The European wars from 1792 to 1802 belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Those from 1803 to 1815 are *Napoleonic wars*, due primarily to the ambition of one great military genius. In the first series, *Austria was the chief opponent of the Revolution*: in the second series, *England was the relentless foe of Napoleon.*

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[1] Extracts are given in Anderson, No. 65.

609. Austerlitz. — On the breaking out of war with England, Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne. England was threatened with overwhelming invasion if she should lose command of the Channel even for a few hours; but all Napoleon's attempts to get together a fleet to compete with England's failed. In 1805 Austria and Russia joined England in the war. With immediate decision, Napoleon transferred his forces from the Channel to the Danube, annihilated two great armies, at *Ulm* and *Austerlitz* (October and December), and, *entering Vienna as a conqueror*, forced Austria to a humiliating peace. That country gave up her remaining territory in Italy, and her Illyrian provinces, and surrendered also many of her possessions in Germany.

610. Jena. — Prussia had maintained her neutrality for eleven years; but now, with his hands free, Napoleon goaded her into war, crushed her absolutely at *Jena* (October, 1806), *occupied Berlin*, and soon afterward dictated a peace that reduced Prussia one-half in size and bound her to France as a vassal state.

611. Less decisive conflicts with Russia were followed by the *Peace of Tilsit* (July, 1807). The Russian and French emperors met in a long interview, and Tsar Alexander was so impressed by Napoleon's genius, that, from an enemy, he became a friend and ally. France, it was understood, was to rule Western Europe; Russia might aggrandize herself at the expense of Sweden, Turkey, and Asia; *and the two Powers were to unite in ruining England by shutting out her commerce from the continent.*

612. The "Continental System." — England had proved as supreme on the seas as Napoleon on land. In 1805, at *Trafalgar*, off the coast of Spain, Nelson destroyed the last great fleet that Napoleon collected. Soon afterward a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit agreed that Denmark (then a considerable naval power) should be made to add her fleet to the French; but the English government struck first. It demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet into English hands until war should close, and finally it compelled the delivery by bombarding Copenhagen.

After this, Napoleon could not strike at England with his armies, and *he fell back upon an attempt to ruin her by crushing her commerce.* All the ports of the continent were to be closed to her goods. Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the goods shut out of the continent. One valuable result followed. The English cruisers prevented the importation into France of West-India cane sugar; but it was discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of the sugar-beet became a leading industry of France.

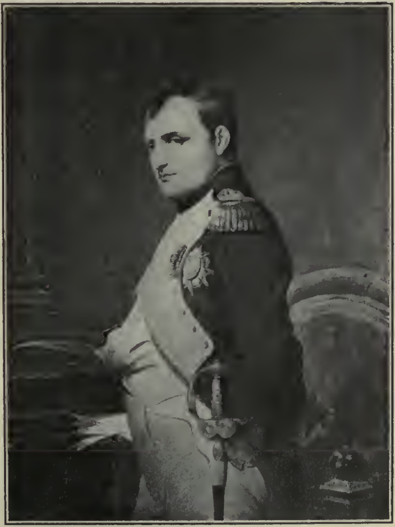
This "Continental System" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. At times, even the French armies had to be clothed in smuggled English goods, and they marched into Russia, in 1812 (§ 621), in English shoes.

England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures, both France and England ignored the rights of neutral states; and one result was the War of 1812 in America — a story that does not need telling here.

On the other hand, Napoleon's attempts to enforce his System led him from one high-handed measure to another, until Portugal and Russia rose against him, and so gave Central Europe another chance to win freedom (§§ 613, 621).

613. From Tilsit to Wagram: the Peninsular War. — Portugal refused to confiscate the English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon's armies occupied the kingdom. From this act, Napoleon passed to the seizure of Spain, placing his brother Joseph upon the throne. But the proud and patriotic Spanish people rose in a "War for Liberation," and it was soon plain that a new force had appeared. *Hitherto, Napoleon had warred against* **governments,** *and had dictated peace when the rulers were* *in his power: now, first, he had to fight with a* **people** *in arms.* Brilliant victories merely transferred the outbreaks from one quarter to another and called for more and more of his energies. England seized her opportunity, too, and sent an army under Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington) to support the Peninsular revolt. To the end this struggle continued to drain Napoleon's resources. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

In 1809, encouraged by the Spanish rising, Austria once more entered the lists, but a defeat at *Wagram* forced her again to submission. Napoleon now married a princess of Austria. He was anxious for an heir, and so divorced his former wife, Josephine, who had borne him no children, to make way for marriage with a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. This union of the Revolutionary emperor with the proud Hapsburg house marks in some respects the summit of his power.



NAPOLEON toward the close of his rule.

614. Napoleon's Changes in Territory on the North Sea and in Italy. — At the moment, the Spanish campaigns seemed trivial; and after Wagram, Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

a. The Batavian Republic (§ 591) was converted into the Kingdom of Holland, with Napoleon's brother Louis for its sovereign. Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the

Continental System rigidly, Napoleon deposed him, and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the whole north coast of Germany as far as Denmark.

b. In Italy the new republics and the old petty states were disposed of, one after another. Even the pope was deprived of his principality. When these changes were complete, Italy lay in three fairly equal divisions. *In the south* Napoleon's brother, Joseph, ruled as King of Naples.[1] *In the northeast* was the "Kingdom of Italy," with Napoleon himself as king.[2] *The rest of the peninsula* **was made a part of France**, and was organized as a French department.

c. The Illyrian provinces on the eastern coast of the Adriatic were annexed directly to France.

d. Most important of all were the changes in *Germany*. To comprehend the significance of Napoleon's work there, one must first grasp the bewildering conditions *before* his interference (§ 615).

615. Before Napoleon *there was no true political Germany.* The Holy Roman Empire was made up of

(1) two "great states," Austria and Prussia, each of them half Slavonic in blood;

(2) some thirty states of the "second rank," like Bavaria and Wurtemberg;

(3) about two hundred and fifty *petty* states of the "third order" (many of them ecclesiastical states), ranging in size from a small duchy to a large farm, but averaging a few thousand inhabitants;

(4) some fifteen hundred "knights of the empire," who in England would have been country squires (§ 121), but who in Germany were really independent monarchs, with an average territory of three square miles, and some three hundred subjects apiece, over whom they held power of life and death.

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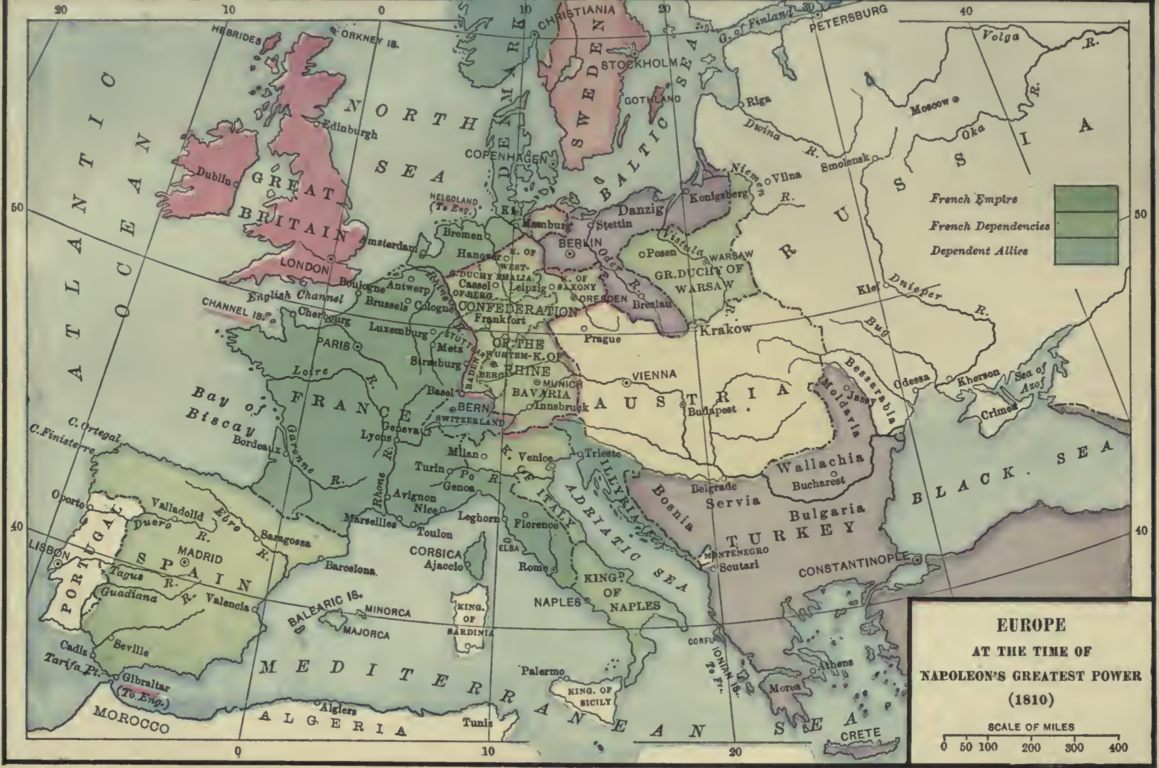
[1] When Joseph was promoted in 1809 to the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by Murat, one of Napoleon's generals.

[2] Because Charlemagne and Otto and their successors had been "kings of Italy."


French Empire
French Dependencies
Dependent Allies
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
G. of Finland
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azof
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
GREAT BRITAIN
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
CHANNEL IS.
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
CHRISTIANIA
SWEDEN
STOCKHOLM
GOTHLAND
PETERSBURG
Riga
Dwina R.
Niemen
Vilna
Smolensk
Moscow
Oka
Volga
RUSSIA
Kief
Dnieper R.
Bug
Odessa
Kherson
Crimea
Bessarabia
Jassy
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Bulgaria
TURKEY
CONSTANTINOPLE
Servia
Belgrade
Bosnia
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
Morea
Athens
CRETE
IONIAN IS. To Fr.
CORFU
ILLYRIA (Fr.)
Trieste
AUSTRIA
VIENNA
Budapest
Prague
Krakow
Konigsberg
Danzig
Stettin
BERLIN
Oder R.
Breslau
Vistula
Posen
WARSAW
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
K. OF SAXONY
DRESDEN
Leipzig
K. OF WESTPHALIA
Cassel
G. DUCHY OF BERG
Hanover
Bremen
Hamburg
Kiel
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Frankfort
WURTEM. K. OF
STUTT.
BADEN
BERG
MUNICH
BAVARIA
Innsbruck
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Basel
Geneva
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Cologne
Rhine
Boulogne
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasburg
Cherbourg
PARIS
Loire
R.
FRANCE
Lyons
Rhone
Garonne
Bordeaux
Avignon
Nice
Marseilles
Toulon
Milan
Turin
Po R.
Genoa
Venice
K. OF ITALY
Florence
Leghorn
ELBA
Rome
KING. OF NAPLES
NAPLES
CORSICA
Ajaccio
KING. OF SARDINIA
KING. OF SICILY
Palermo
Tunis
ALGERIA
Algiers
MOROCCO
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Tarifa Pt.
Cadiz
Seville
SPAIN
MADRID
Valladolid
Duero
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
PORTUGAL
LISBON
Oporto
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
40

EUROPE
AT THE TIME OF
NAPOLEON'S GREATEST POWER
(1810)

(5) About fifty-six "free cities," all in misrule, governed by narrow aristocracies.

Each of the two hundred and fifty states of the "third rank," like the larger ones, was *an absolute monarchy*, with its own laws, its own mimic court and army, its own coinage, and its crowd of pedantic officials. The "Sovereign Count" of Leimburg-Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf kept a standing army of one colonel, nine lower officers, and two privates! Each of the fifteen hundred "knights" had his own system of tariffs and taxes.

One more factor must be taken into account in order to get an idea of the indescribable confusion. *Few even of these petty principalities had their territory compact.* Many a state of the second or third order *consisted of several fragments*[1] (obtained by accidents of marriage or war), *sometimes widely scattered,* — some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation. No map can do justice to the quaint confusion of this region, about the size of Texas, thus broken into eighteen hundred governments varying from an empire to a small estate, and scattered in fragments within fragments.[2] It is little wonder that the philosopher Lessing, the greatest German between Luther and Goethe, should have said: "Patriotism I do not understand; at best it seems an amiable weakness which I am glad to be free from."

616. Napoleon had begun his rearrangement of Germany at Campo Formio (§ 592). By that treaty (and by subsequent arrangements), princes of the Empire were allowed to recompense themselves for the territories they had lost to France *by absorbing the ecclesiastical states and most of the "free cities."*

After Austerlitz and Jena, more radical changes followed. Austria and Prussia were weakened. *The first became an inland state.* The second was halved and *pushed altogether beyond the Elbe,* while its recent Polish acquisitions were turned into the Duchy of Warsaw. Besides so depressing the two great states, Napoleon proceeded to form a further check upon them by augmenting the states of the second rank. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg were made kingdoms, with territories enlarged at the expense of Austria and of smaller neighboring states; while out of old Prussian territory and of the electorate of Hanover was formed a new "Kingdom of Westphalia," for Napoleon's brother Jerome.

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[1] As indicated by the compound name of the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

[2] These conditions are suggested by the map after p. 304.

At the same time, the large states were encouraged or compelled *to absorb the territories of the knights and of the petty principalities within or adjoining their borders.* **Thus the "political crazy quilt" of eighteen hundred states was simplified to thirty-eight states.** *This tremendous consolidation, surviving the rearrangements after Napoleon's fall, paved the way for later German unity.*

617. Nearly all these German states, except Austria and Prussia, **were leagued in the "Confederation of the Rhine," under Napoleon as "Protector."** *This amounted to a dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire,* and in 1806 Francis II laid down that venerable title. Napoleon himself posed as the successor of the Roman emperors. Francis was allowed to console himself with the title "Emperor of Austria," for his *hereditary* realms, instead of his previous title, "Arch-Duke of Austria." The title *emperor* began now to lose its august meaning.

618. Social Reform. — In the Confederacy of the Rhine and in the many kingdoms of Napoleon's brothers and generals, serfdom and feudalism were abolished, and civil equality and the *Code Napoleon* were introduced. Everywhere, too, the administration of justice was made cheap and simple, and the old clumsy and corrupt methods of government gave way to order and efficiency.

619. Most striking of all was the reform in Prussia. Elsewhere the new methods were introduced by French agents or under French influence. *In Prussia, reform came from a Prussian minister,* and was adopted in order to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the French yoke.

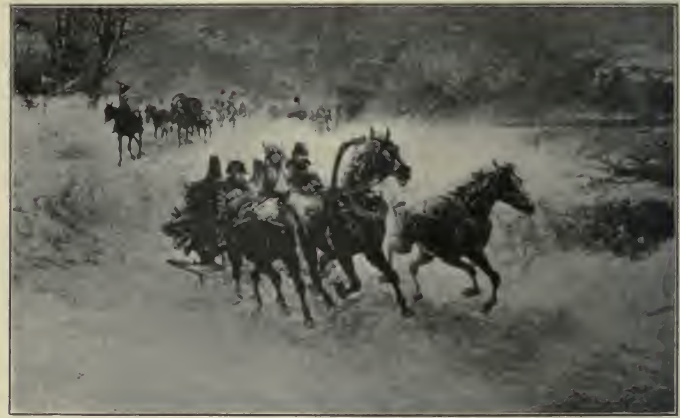
Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly rotten. The leading spirit in a new Prussian ministry was **Stein**, who labored to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were changed into free peasant-landowners. The caste distinctions in society were broken down. The old law had recognized distinct classes, — peasants, burgesses, and nobility, — and had practically forbidden an individual to pass from one class into another. Even the land had been bound by the caste system: no noble could sell land to the citizen of a town, or *vice versa;* nor could a townsman sell to a peasant. All this was now done away.

Some self-government was granted to the towns. And many of the best principles of the French reforms were adopted. Napoleon's insolence and the domination of the French armies at last had forced part of Germany into the beginning of a new national patriotism; and that patriotism began to arm itself by borrowing weapons from the arsenal of the French Revolution.

620. In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Ocean to the Rhine, including not only the France which we know, but also Belgium, half of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish Peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome. This vast territory was *all organized in French departments*. The rest of Italy and half the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

621. The "Retreat from Moscow." — *But Russia was growing hostile.* Alexander was offended by the partial restoration of Poland (as the Duchy of Warsaw). The Continental System, too, was growing more and more burdensome. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System."

Napoleon at once declared war. In 1812 he invaded Russia and penetrated to Moscow. The Russians set fire to the city, so that it should not afford him winter quarters; but, with rare indecision, he stayed there five weeks, hoping in vain that the Tsar would offer to submit. Then, too late, in the middle of October, when the Russian winter was already upon them, the French began a terrible retreat, fighting desperately each foot of the way against cold, starvation, and clouds of Cossack cavalry. Nine weeks later, twenty thousand miserable scarecrows recrossed the Niemen. The "Grand Army," a half million strong, had left its bones among Russian snows.



NAPOLEON LEAVING MOSCOW. — From a painting.

622. Battle of Leipzig. — The Russians kept up the pursuit into Germany, and the enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced the government to declare against Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students in a "war of liberation." Women gave their jewels and even their hair, to buy arms and supplies. The next summer, Austria also took up arms. By tremendous efforts, Napoleon raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France, and for a time he kept the field victoriously in Germany; but in October, 1813, he met crushing defeat at *Leipzig*, in the "Battle of the Nations."

623. From Leipzig to Paris. — Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings fled from their thrones, and most of the small states now joined his enemies. England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, acting in close concert, took to themselves the name "The Allies," and maintained a perfect understanding. After Leipzig, they proposed peace, offering to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. Like a desperate gamester, bound to win or lose all, Napoleon rejected these terms. The Allies then advanced to the Rhine, and offered peace with the French boundaries of 1792. Napoleon again refused. The Allies invaded France at several points, with overwhelming numbers; and, in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they entered Paris victoriously in March, 1814.

624. The Peace of 1814. — The Allies made Napoleon a large allowance, and granted him the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the French throne, one of the Emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, *promised a constitution*, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII.[1] The Allies avoided the appearance of imposing this king upon France, but they liked the arrangement. To make it popular, they granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as it was before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had exacted repeatedly from other countries; *nor did they even take back the works of art that French armies had plundered* from so many famous galleries in Europe.

For Further Reading. — The best brief accounts of the Napoleonic era are given in Stephen's *Revolutionary Europe*, *1789–1815* and Rose's

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[1] The son of Louis XVI had died in prison at Paris in 1795. According to the theory that he began to reign upon his father's death in 1793, he is known as Louis XVII.

Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era. The many histories of Napoleon are most of them defaced by extreme partisanship on one side or the other, or are too long for general use. Probably the best treatment is also the most recent, — Rose's *Napoleon the First.* Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* gives an admirable selection of documents. Kennan's *Folk-tales about Napoleon* is a curious and interesting volume. Robinson's *Readings*, II, continues to offer valuable source material.

PART VII

THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA: REARRANGEMENT

625. Napoleon had wiped away the *old map* of Europe, and now *his map* fell to pieces. All the districts which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without governments. The old rulers of these states were clamoring for restoration. Other rulers wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. To settle these problems, the four "Allies" invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a Congress.

The *Congress of Vienna* assembled in November, 1814. The crowd of smaller monarchs and princes were entertained by their Austrian host in a constant round of masques and revels, while the great Allies did the work in private committee. From time to time, as they reached agreements, they announced results to the Congress for public ratification.

626. **The territorial rearrangements** fall under four heads.

a. Italy was left in twelve states, and Germany in thirty-eight. These were all restored to their old ruling families.

b. The states along the French frontier were strengthened. Holland was made into the **Kingdom of the Netherlands**, under the House of Orange; and Belgium was added to it, although the Belgians wished to be independent. Nice and Savoy were given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia, to which was added also the old Republic of Genoa. The old German territory west of the Rhine, now taken back from France, was divided between Bavaria and Prussia.

c. Denmark, the ally of France, was forced to cede Norway to Sweden. This was really in the interest of Russia and Prussia; for, in return, Sweden ceded Finland to Russia, and Pomerania to Prussia. Sweden herself now retired within the northern peninsula.

d. There remained the matter of *other compensation to the Allies. England* had stood out alone for years against the whole power of Napoleon, and she had incurred an enormous national debt by acting as paymaster of the various coalitions. In some repayment, she kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial acquisitions, mainly from the old Dutch empire.[1] *Alexander of Russia* claimed his reward in Poland: he insisted that the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 616), with the Russian parts of Poland, should be made into a Kingdom of Poland, of which he should wear the crown.

Austria and Prussia had both been enlarged after the beginning of the French Revolution by the partitions of Poland (§ 500). It was understood, now, that they were to be given territory enough to make them as large as they were after those gains. Austria received back her lost provinces, accepting Venice in exchange for Belgium. But on the matter of the Prussian compensation, serious difficulty arose. Alexander promised to aid Prussia to obtain Saxony in place of Warsaw. The king of Saxony had remained faithful to Napoleon, and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to make an exception in

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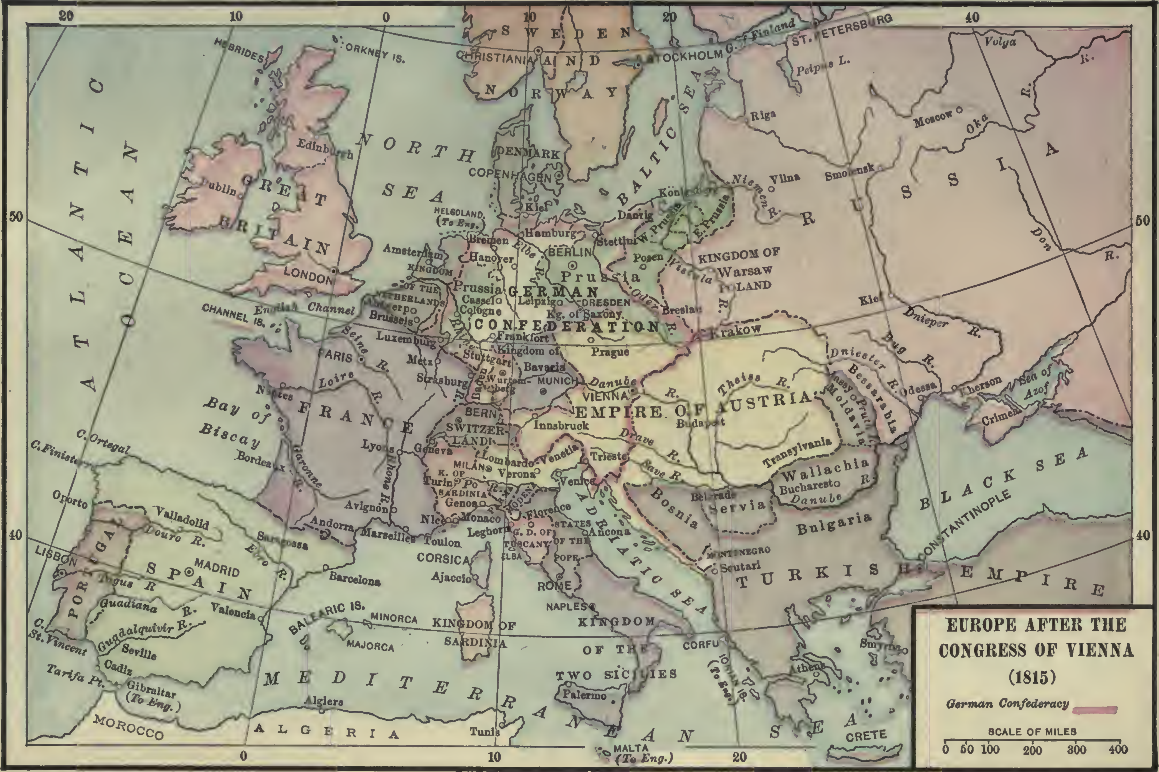
[1] **Exercise.** — The second "Hundred Years' War" (§ 457) can now be seen as a whole, in relation to world-empire. *The first period* (1689–1763) is covered in §§ 475–477, 491–497: it is known in America as the period of Intercolonial Wars. It ended with the exclusion of France from North America and India, to England's gain. *The second period* (1775–1783) is the period of the American Revolution. England lost the richest part of her American empire, but she made gains elsewhere at the expense of France, Spain, and Holland, and acquired Australia. *The third period*, the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1792–1815), left England the one colonial power.



EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815)

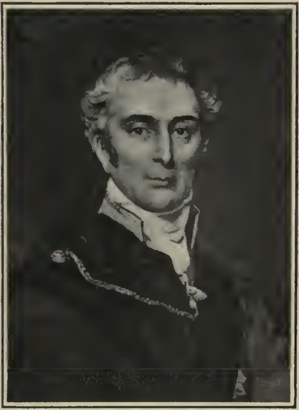
German Confederacy
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
20
10
0
10
20
40
50
40
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
GREAT BRITAIN
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
CHANNEL IS.
SWEDEN AND NORWAY
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
G. of Finland
ST. PETERSBURG
Peipus L.
Riga
Vilna
Smolensk
Moscow
Oka
Volga
R.
Don R.
RUSSIA
Niemen R.
Königsberg
E. Prussia
W. Prussia
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
Vistula R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Bessarabia
Jassy
Pruth R.
Moldavia
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe R.
Hanover
BERLIN
Prussia
Stettin
Danzig
Posen
Oder R.
Breslau
Krakow
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Amsterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Prussia
Cassel
Cologne
Leipzig
DRESDEN
Kg. of Saxony
Frankfort
Rhine R.
Kingdom of Bavaria
Stuttgart
Baden
Wurtemberg
MUNICH
Prague
Danube
VIENNA
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Theiss R.
Budapest
Transylvania
Drave R.
Save R.
Innsbruck
Trieste
Venetia
Venice
Lombardo
Verona
MILAN
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasburg
PARIS
Seine R.
Loire R.
Nantes
FRANCE
Garonne R.
Bordeaux
Lyons
Rhone R.
Geneva
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Monaco
Andorra
BERN
SWITZERLAND
K. OF SARDINIA
Turin
Po R.
Genoa
MODENA
Florence
G. D. OF TUSCANY
Leghorn
ELBA
STATES OF THE POPE
Ancona
ROME
NAPLES
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
MALTA (To Eng.)
CORSICA
Ajaccio
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
Oporto
Valladolid
Douro R.
MADRID
SPAIN
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Seville
Cadiz
LISBON
PORTUGAL
C. St. Vincent
Tarifa Pt.
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
Bosnia
Belgrade
Servia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Danube
R.
Bulgaria
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
CONSTANTINOPLE
TURKISH EMPIRE
CORFU
IONIAN IS. (To Eng.)
Athens
Smyrna
CRETE

his case to the careful respect shown by the conquerors toward all other "legitimate rulers."

But Austria dreaded the further extension of Prussia toward the heart of Germany, and opposed the plan. England and France joined her, and the Allies came to the verge of war. Finally, however, it was arranged that Prussia should have (1) half of Saxony and (2) considerable German territory recovered from France *west* of the Rhine (*b* above).

627. During these dissensions, the Congress was startled by the news that Napoleon had left Elba. A few months of Bourbon rule had filled France with unrest. The Tricolor, under which Frenchmen had marched in triumph into nearly every capital in Europe, had been replaced by the Bourbon White flag, and many Napoleonic officers had been dismissed from the army to make way for returned Emigrants, *who for twenty years had fought against France.* Thus the army was restless. The extreme Royalists were talking, too, of restoring the land of the church and of the Emigrants, though it had passed for a generation into other hands. In consequence, the peasants and the middle class were uneasy.

Napoleon, learning how matters stood, landed in France, almost unattended. The forces sent to capture him *joined his standard;* and in a few days, he entered Paris in triumph, without firing a shot, as he had foretold he would do. The king and the old Emigrants emigrated again. Napoleon offered a liberal constitution, and France accepted it.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

The Allies, however, refused even to treat with Napoleon. They declared unrelenting war upon him as "the disturber of the peace of Europe," and promptly moved powerful armies to the French frontier. No time was given Napoleon for preparation, and the odds were overwhelming. After a brief rule, known as "The Hundred Days," he was crushed at *Waterloo* by the English under *Wellington* and the Prussians under *Blücher* (June 18, 1815).

628. Second Treaty with France. — The Allies reëntered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it. Napoleon was imprisoned on the distant volcanic rock of St. Helena; and to France was dictated a new treaty, much more severe than that of 1814.

Prussia urged that France should be dismembered, as she herself had been after Jena. Some Prussian papers talked of killing off the whole French people "like mad dogs," and moderate statesmen wished to take Alsace and Lorraine and other German territory that had been seized by Louis XIV.[1] But Alexander and England insisted on milder punishment; and France was required only to give up some small strips of territory containing about a half-million people, and to pay a huge war indemnity. The works of art, too, which Napoleon's armies had plundered from European galleries were now returned to their proper homes.

629. The Verdict on the Congress. — During the Hundred Days, the Congress finished its work. Some of its later measures were highly praiseworthy. England persuaded the Powers to join in a declaration against the slave trade.[2] The navigation of rivers flowing through or between different countries was declared free to the commerce of all countries.[3] And the Powers guaranteed the neutrality of Switzerland. That is, they agreed that in future war, no country should invade Switzerland, or send troops through her territory.

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[1] This was the plan carried out by Bismarck fifty years later.

[2] Thereafter, England kept ships of war on the African coast to capture pirate slaving vessels. But, unhappily, the United States was unwilling to grant the necessary "right of search"; and so, until 1861, the horrible African slave trade continued to be carried on mainly by ships under the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

[3] A country in possession of the mouth of a river had been in the habit of closing it against the trade of other nations. Spain, while she held both banks of the mouth of the Mississippi (1783–1801), had tried to follow this policy — to the wrath of our settlers up the river and on the Ohio. The principle established at Vienna was a step forward for civilization.

Moreover, it was worth much for Europe to recognize that it had common interests, and that it could arrange them in a peaceful Congress. This was an advance from eighteenth century politics toward the Hague Congress and the "federation of the world."

The Congress, to be sure, had no thought of this great movement. *That "assemblage of princes and lackeys" stood for reaction.* As an English historian says, — "It complacently set to work to turn back the hands of time to the historic hour at which they stood before the Bastille fell." It represented kings, not peoples. All the republics which had appeared since the French Revolution, and also the old republics of the United Provinces, Venice, and Genoa, were given to monarchs. Switzerland was the only republic left in Europe, — and it was given an inefficient, loose union, far less effective than it had enjoyed under Napoleon's supremacy. *Peoples were never consulted.* The Congress transferred Belgians, Norwegians, Poles, Venetians, from freedom to a master, or from one master to another, — in every case against their fierce resentment.

Still, this selfish, despotic work contained unseen germs of progress. (1) The addition of Genoa, Nice, and Savoy to the "kingdom of Sardinia" began the consolidation of Italy. (2) Napoleon's steps toward the consolidation of Germany were not retraced. (3) Austria lost territory in central Europe, and gained it on the south. Thus this despotic Power was drawn away from German questions toward Italian and Danubian questions. And (4) regenerated Prussia, from whom a true German Union might be hoped, had lost Slav territory (Poland), and had gained German territory. With her new Saxon districts, she reached down into the heart of Germany; and with her distant isolated lands to defend on the Rhine and the Nieman (map after page 502), she stood forth as the natural champion of German independence against Slav and Gaul.

Exercise. — Add to the list of dates the following: 1776, 1789, 1815.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CENTRAL EUROPE TO 1820

The history of the nineteenth century is the history of the influences which the French Revolution left. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

No land touched by the French Revolution was ever again quite the same. — F. A. OGG.

630. The *immediate* result of the Congress of Vienna was a victory for reaction and despotism. In many states, *especially in the pettier ones*, the restoration of the old rulers was accompanied by ludicrous absurdities. The princes who had scampered away before the French eagles came back to show that they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." They set out to ignore the past twenty years. In France a school history spoke of Austerlitz as "a victory gained by General Bonaparte, a lieutenant of the king"! The Elector of Hesse censured his military Commandant for "omitting quarterly reports during the preceding ten years" — in which the Elector had been a fugitive. The king of Sardinia restored serfdom. The Papal States and Spain again set up the Inquisition. In some places French plants were uprooted from the botanical gardens, and street lamps and vaccination were abolished because they were "French improvements."

631. The statesmen of **the Great Powers** must have smiled to themselves at some of these absurd extremes; but they, too, **almost universally strove to suppress progress.** Five states — Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England — really determined the policy of Europe. The first four were "divine right" monarchies. Louis XVIII gave France a limited Charter, but it carefully preserved the theory of divine right. That theory, of course, could have no place in England, where the monarchy rested on the Revolution of 1688. But even in England the Whigs were discredited, because they had sympathized at first with the French Revolution. For some years the government was to be in the hands of the Tory party, which was bitterly opposed to progress.

632. "The rule of Napoleon was succeeded by the rule of Metternich." That subtle Austrian statesman was the evil genius of Europe from 1814 to 1848. He summed up his political creed thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. . . . Government is no more a subject for debate than religion is." Napoleon said of him that he "mistook intrigue for statesmanship," and, again, that he "narrowly missed being a statesman"; and Stein (§ 619) complained that, though he had industry and ability, he was "overfond of complications" and did not know how to do business "in the great and simple way."

Metternich was too shrewd to think it possible to return altogether to the days before the French Revolution; but he did strive to arrest all change at the lines the Congress of Vienna had drawn. The "new ideas" of democracy and equality and nationality ought never to have been allowed to get into Europe, he said; but, since they were *in*, the business of governments must be to keep them *down*.

The sentiment of nationality is the feeling among all the people of one race, speech, and country that they should make one political state, or become a "nation." This feeling tended to draw all Germans into one German state, and all Italians into one Italian state. In any conglomerate state, like Austria, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force.

633. The political reaction was the more galling to the friends of liberty because the "Wars of Liberation" in 1812–1814 had been essentially popular uprisings. The Prussian king had made repeated appeals to national patriotism, and had twice *promised* a constitution. Austria and England had held out hopes of union and freedom to the Italians. And the Spanish rebels had adopted a free constitution for their country.

Thus the Liberals of Europe had greeted Napoleon's overthrow with joyous acclaim; but they soon saw that Waterloo had done nothing toward freeing Europe. It simply "replaced one insolent giant by a swarm of swaggering pygmies." A few months after Waterloo, Byron[1] lamented that "the chain of banded nations has been broke in vain by the accord of raised-up millions"; and, "standing on an Empire's dust" at the scene of the great battle, and noting "how that red rain has made the harvest grow," he mused:—

"*Gaul* may champ the bit and foam in fetters,
But is *Earth* more free?
Did nations combat to make *one* submit,
Or league to teach *all* kings true sovereignty? . . .
Then o'er *one* fallen despot boast no more."

634. Metternich's chief victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in the new organization of Germany. Liberal Germany, represented by Stein (§ 619), had hoped for a real union, either in the revival and strengthening of the Empire, or in a new federal state. But Metternich saw that in a true *German* Empire, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of all, might play them off against one another. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because it would limit their sovereignties. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight states were organized into a "Germanic Confederation," *a loose league of sovereigns.*[2] Each state controlled its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy. They even kept the right to form alliances with foreign powers,—although they did promise not to make war upon one another.

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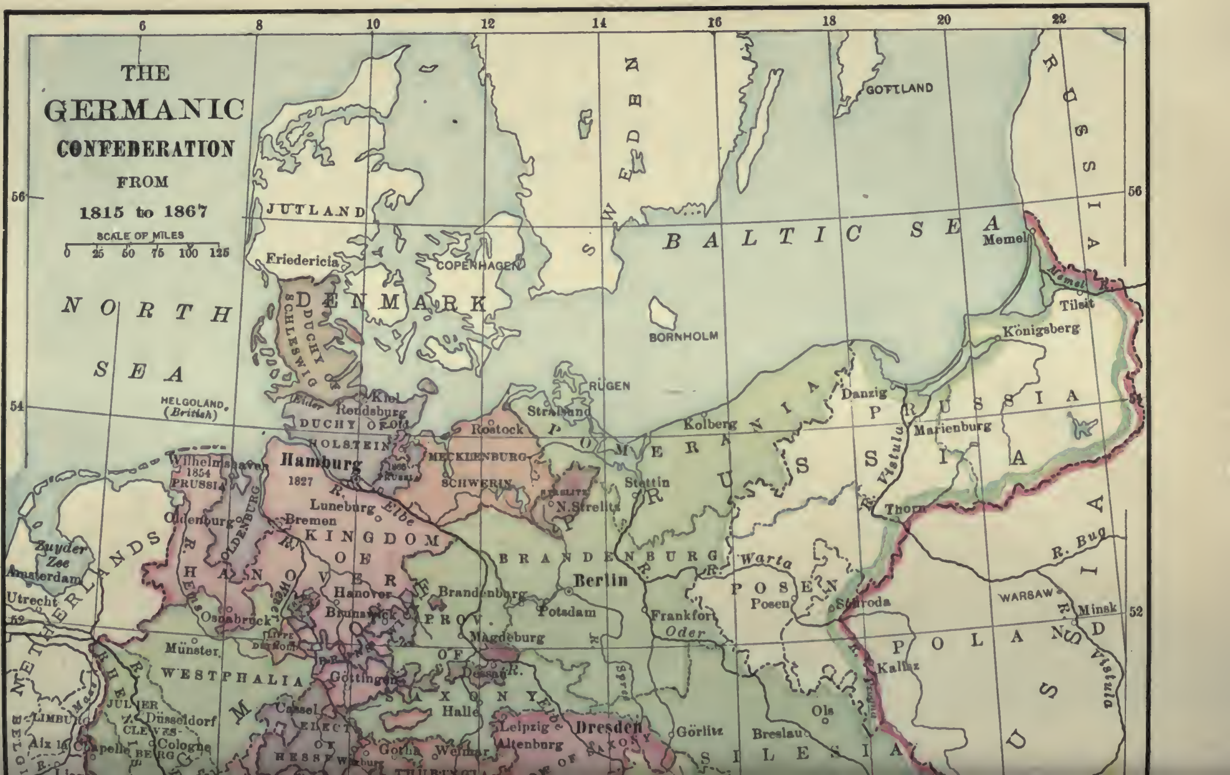
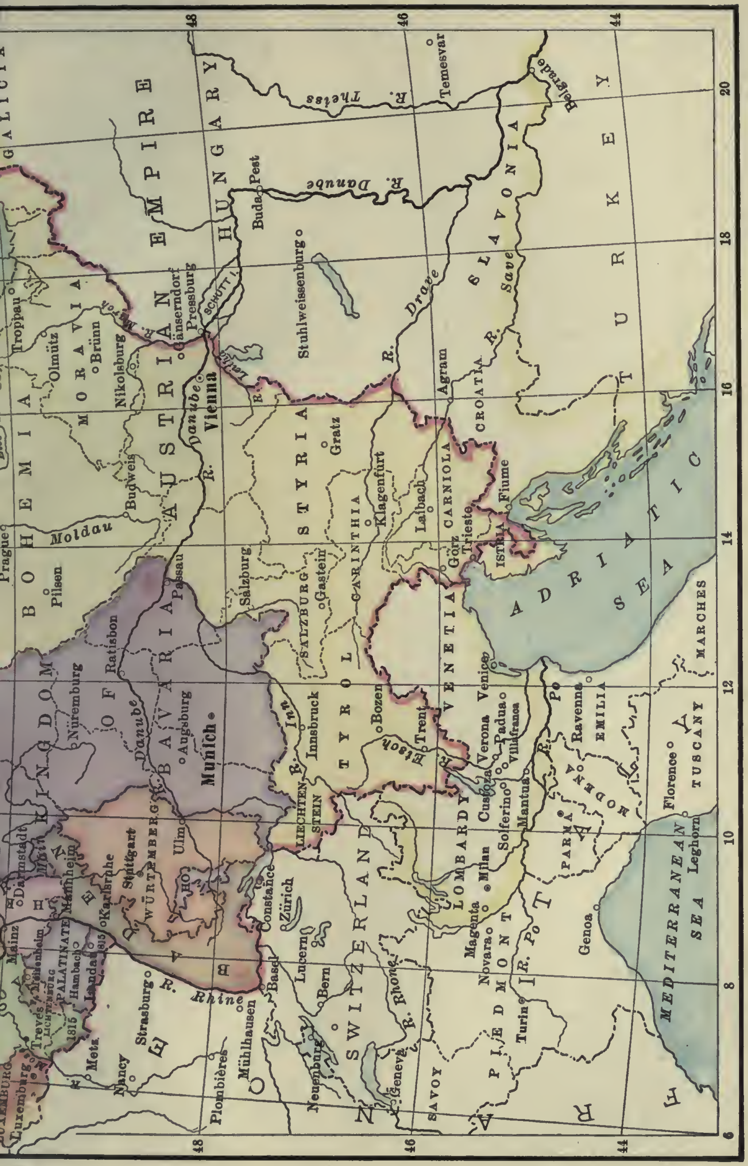
[1] An English poet of strong liberal sympathies in politics.

[2] Thirty-four of the members were sovereign princes; the other four were the governments of the surviving "free cities,"—Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort.



THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION FROM 1815 to 1867

SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
56
54
52
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
DENMARK
JUTLAND
Friedericia
COPENHAGEN
GOTTLAND
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
HELGOLAND (British)
DUCHY SCHLESWIG
Eider
Kiel
Rendsburg
DUCHY OF HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
1827
Luneburg
Bremen
Elbe R.
Wilhelmshaven 1854 PRUSSIA
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
KINGDOM OF HANOVER
Hanover
Brunswick
Osnabrück
Weser R.
Ems R.
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
LIMBURG
Aix la Chapelle
Cologne
Düsseldorf
CLEVES-BERG
JULIER
RHEINE
Münster
WESTPHALIA
LIPPE DETMOLD
Göttingen
Cassel
ELECT. OF HESSE
Gotha
Weimar
THURINGIA
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN
Rostock
STRELITZ
N. Strelitz
Stralsund
POMERANIA
Stettin
Kolberg
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Brandenburg
Potsdam
PROV. OF SAXONY
Magdeburg
Dessau
Halle
Leipzig
Altenburg
Dresden
KGD. OF SAXONY
Spree
Görlitz
Frankfort
Oder
Breslau
Ols
SILESIA
POSEN
Posen
Warta R.
Slupca
Kalisz
Prosna
PRUSSIA
Danzig
Marienburg
Vistula
Thorn
Königsberg
Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
POLAND
WARSAW
Minsk R.
R. Bug
Vistula



GALICIA
EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN
HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
TURKEY
TYROL
SALZBURG
VENETIA
LOMBARDY
ISTRIA
SWITZERLAND
PIEDMONT
SAVOY
FRANCE
ITALY
PARMA
MODENA
EMILIA
TUSCANY
MARCHES
WÜRTEMBERG
BADEN
HESSE
PALATINATE
LUXEMBURG
HO.
LIECHTENSTEIN
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
R. Danube
R. Theiss
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Morava
R. Leitha
R. Moldau
R. Inn
R. Etsch
R. Po
R. Rhine
R. Rhone
R. Main
Prague
Pilsen
Budweis
Troppau
Olmütz
Brünn
Nikolsburg
Vienna
Gänserndorf
Pressburg
SCHÜTT I.
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Temesvar
Belgrade
Gratz
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Agram
Fiume
Trieste
Görz
Salzburg
Gastein
Passau
Ratisbon
Nüremberg
Augsburg
Munich
Innsbruck
Bozen
Trent
Verona
Venice
Padua
Villafranca
Custozza
Solferino
Mantua
Milan
Magenta
Novara
Turin
Genoa
Ravenna
Florence
Leghorn
Ulm
Stuttgart
Karlsruhe
Mannheim
Darmstadt
Mainz
Rüdesheim
Treves
LICHTENBURG
Hambach
Landau
1815
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Plombières
Mühlhausen
Basel
Constance
Zürich
Lucern
Bern
Neuenburg
Geneva
Luxemburg
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The Confederacy had no distinct executive, judicial, and legislative departments. Its *one* organ was a Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely a standing conference of ambassadors appointed by the sovereigns. The Austrian representative presided; but no important action could be taken without the consent of *every* state. Before many years the Diet was the laughingstock of Europe. "It was not a government at all; it was a polite and ceremonious way of doing nothing."

635. The Promised Constitutions.— But though the chance for making a German nation had been lost at the Congress, the Liberals still hoped, for a time, for free political institutions in the separate states. Within the next four years, constitutions *were* granted by the liberal Grand Duke of Weimar, and by the rulers of Nassau and of the four South German states, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt.[1] The people in these southern districts had been greatly influenced by the French Revolution, and their rulers granted constitutions largely in order to secure popular support against possible attempts of Austria or Prussia upon their sovereignty. These constitutions left the princes still the real rulers of their states; but they provided for *equality of all classes before the law*, for *freedom of the press*, and for *representative assemblies with control over new taxes.*

The king of Prussia, also, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution he had promised (§ 633). But he was a weak, vacillating man, and greatly influenced by the nobles, who railed bitterly at the idea of free institutions. The committee dawdled along for four years, and finally the king repudiated his pledge.

636. Liberal Indignation. — Outside the Rhine districts the Liberals were not numerous, but the group was influential, — made up of writers, journalists, students, professors, and most of the rest of the small educated middle class. By 1817, they had become indignant at the delays and evasions by which promised constitutions were withheld. In October, the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's defiance of the pope and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig were celebrated together at the Wartburg castle in the Duchy of Weimar. The Jena University students turned the celebration into a demonstration of liberal feeling. They sang patriotic and religious songs, made a few ardent speeches, and, in the evening, threw some old textbooks into a bonfire, — having first labeled them with the names of reactionary works especially hated by the liberal party.

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[1] Germany south of the river Main is known as South Germany.

THE WARTBURG CASTLE.

This boyish ebullition threw sober statesmen into spasms of fear, and seemed to prelude a revolutionary "Reign of Terror." Metternich took shrewd advantage of the opportunity to wean the king of Prussia from his earlier liberalism. Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened by the foolish crimes of some Liberal enthusiasts. A small section of radical agitators preached that even assassination in the cause of liberty was right; and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to have drawn away the Tsar from liberal sympathies. Soon after, a like attempt was made upon an absolutist minister in Hesse.

637. The Carlsbad Decrees. — Austria at once called the leading sovereigns of Germany to a conference at Carlsbad. There Metternich secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he forced through the Diet at Frankfort. The "Carlsbad Decrees," so adopted, were especially directed against *free speech* in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret societies among students; they appointed a government official in every university to discharge any professor who should preach doctrines "hostile to the public order"; they set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter; and *they created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies.*

For Further Reading. — The most desirable general treatment of the nineteenth century for high schools is Hazen's *Europe Since 1815.* Students should have access also to Andrews' *Modern Europe* and Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814.*

CHAPTER XL

THE SOUTH OF EUROPE—REVOLUTIONS OF 1820

638. The Spanish Revolution.—The first attacks upon Metternich's system came from the south of Europe. To understand them we must turn back a moment to notice conditions in Spain. The Spanish patriots who rose in 1808 against Napoleon (§ 613) found themselves without a government. Their king was in the hands of the French. The insurgents set up a representative Cortes, and, in 1812, they adopted a liberal constitution. This "Constitution of 1812" was modeled largely upon the French Constitution of 1791, and it was the standard about which the Liberals of Southern Europe were to rally for a generation.

Meantime, when Napoleon seized Spain, the Spanish American states refused to recognize his authority, and so became virtually independent under governments of their own. At first, most of these new governments were in name loyal to the Spanish crown. During the next few years, however, the Spanish Americans experienced the benefits of freedom and of free trade with the world, and began to follow the example of the United States, which had so recently been merely a group of European colonies. By 1815, all the Spanish states on the continent of America had declared themselves independent nations.

After the fall of Napoleon, the Spanish king, Ferdinand, returned to his throne. He had promised to maintain the new constitution; but he soon broke his pledges, restored all the old iniquities, and cruelly persecuted the liberal heroes of the "war of liberation."

In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the revolted American colonies; but the service was unpopular, and, instead of embarking, one of the regiments raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, called a Cortes, and restored the constitution.

639. This Spanish Revolution became the signal for like attempts in other states. Before the year closed, *Portugal* and *Naples* both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. Early in the next year, the people and army of Piedmont[1] rebelled, to secure a constitution for the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy and Venetia stirred restlessly in the overpowering grasp of Austria. And the Greeks began a long and heroic struggle for independence against Turkey.

This widespread unanimity of action was due in part to secret revolutionary societies, already in existence. The most important of these was the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"). It had been formed in Italy in the time of Napoleon, to drive out the French, and was continued there to drive out Austrian rule and to unite Italy.

640. The "Holy Alliance." — We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederacy, designed for protection against foreign attack, to stifle liberalism in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted an alliance of monarchs from its original purpose in order to crush these revolutions in Southern Europe.

After Waterloo, while the four "Allies" were still in Paris (November 20, 1815), they agreed to preserve their union and to hold meetings from time to time. The purpose was to guard against any future aggression by France. But when the revolutions of 1820 began, Metternich invited France also to a Congress of the Great Powers at Troppau.

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[1] Piedmont ("Foot of the Mount") was the district between the Alps and the plains of Lombardy. It was the most important part of the Kingdom of Sardinia.

At Troppau, the *absolute* sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed a declaration that they would *intervene* to put down revolution against any established government. **This principle of "intervention" was a proclamation that the "divine right" monarchs would support each other against the nations.** It was directed against the right of a people to throw off despotic rule and to make its government for itself.

England protested against this doctrine, both before and after the meeting, and formulated in opposition to it the principle of "non-intervention." This was the doctrine that each nation should manage its internal affairs as it chose. On this issue the alliance of 1815 was broken up. Undaunted by England's protests, however, the united eastern despots, known popularly from this time as "the Holy Alliance,"[1] prepared to enforce the Troppau program.

641. "Intervention" in Naples and Sardinia. — A few months after Troppau, the three allied monarchs met again at Laibach. With them was Ferdinand of Naples, another treacherous Bourbon king. He had sworn solemnly to uphold the new Neapolitan constitution (§ 639), and had invoked the vengeance of Heaven upon his head if he should prove unfaithful. But at the moment of these protestations he was in secret correspondence with Metternich, and now he came to Laibach for help to regain his absolutism. The Laibach meeting sent an Austrian army to Naples. The Neapolitans were defeated; and Ferdinand returned, surrounded by Austrian bayonets, to glut his vengeance upon the Liberals, with dungeon and scaffold.

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[1] This name belongs strictly not to this outgrowth of the political alliance of November, 1815, but to a wholly different league organized two months earlier by the Tsar, under the influence of strong religious emotion. In September, 1815, Alexander had presented to the monarchs a brief agreement whereby the signers would promise to govern their respective peoples as "branches of one Christian nation" in accordance with "the precepts of justice, charity, and peace." (The document is printed in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, No. 3.) No one took very seriously this "pious verbiage," as Metternich called it, except the Tsar himself and his friend Frederick William of Prussia; but, from motives of courtesy, it was signed by every Christian ruler on the continent, except the pope. This League called itself the Holy Alliance. Its name has come to be applied to the Troppau league, — so different in composition and purpose. The confusion was helped by the fact that the three despotic sovereigns who signed the Troppau agreement were also the first three signers of the Holy Alliance.

Three days after the Neapolitan defeat came the revolt in Piedmont (March 10, 1821). The "Congress of Laibach" promptly marched eighty thousand Austrians into North Italy, while one hundred thousand Russians were held ready to support them; and the Piedmontese were easily crushed.

642. Flushed with success, the Holy Alliance determined to overthrow also the Spanish constitution, from which the "contagion of liberty" had spread. In 1822 the Great Powers were summoned to a *Congress at Verona.* England again protested vigorously;[1] but France now joined the eastern Powers, and, with the sanction of the "crowned conspirators,"[2] a French army restored the old absolutism in Spain. Then the Bourbon Ferdinand in Spain, like his namesake in Naples, busied himself for many months in a reactionary "Reign of Terror."

643. The next wish of the Holy Alliance was to restore monarchic control in the revolted Spanish colonies. But here they failed. England's protests they had been able to disregard as long as only the continent of Europe was concerned; but on the sea England was supreme. The Allies could not reach America without her consent, and she made it known that she would oppose the intended expedition with all her great might.

America shares in the credit of checking the despots. Canning, the English minister, urged the United States to join England in an alliance to protect Spanish America. The

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[1] The French representative tried to reconcile England by pleading that a constitution might be all very well in Spain, but that it should be a constitution *granted by the king*, not one *forced upon him* by rebels against his authority. Wellington, the English representative, Tory though he was, fitly answered this "divine right" plea: "Do you not know, sir, that it is not kings who make constitutions, but constitutions that make kings?"

[2] Sidney Smith, an English Liberal, called the allied Powers at the Congress "the crowned conspirators of Verona."

United States chose to act without formal alliance, but it did act along the same lines. President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 announced to the world that this country would oppose any attempt of the despotic Powers to extend their "political system" to America.[1] Probably the decided position of either England or the United States would have caused the Powers to abandon their project. Acting together, the two nations were certainly irresistible in America; and the Holy Alliance quietly dropped its plan.

When reproached afterward, in parliament, for not having done more to preserve constitutionalism in Spain, Canning replied with the proud boast, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." It is possible to argue that both America and England acted from selfish motives, rather than from love of liberty. England wanted to keep her commerce with the free Spanish states; and the United States objected to the neighborhood of a strong Power that might interfere with her leadership or with her safety. There is no doubt, however, that, along with these proper though selfish motives, both countries were actuated also by principle and by sympathy with freedom. The accusation against Canning and the tone of his reply show what the real feeling of the English people was.

644. Intervention in Greece, *for Freedom.* — Almost at once Metternich met another check in the affairs of Greece. The rising there had been accompanied by terrible massacres of all Turks dwelling in the country, and the exasperated Turkish government was now putting down the rebellion by a war of extermination. For a time Metternich hoped to bring about intervention by the allied Powers to restore Turkish authority; but he failed from two causes.

a. The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished mainly on the ancient Greek literature (§ 334), and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to that ancient war against the Persians which Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Æschylus had made glorious to them. The man who did most to widen this sympathy was Byron, the English poet. He closed a career of mingled genius and generosity and wrongdoing by a noble self-devotion, giving fortune and life to the Greek cause; and his poems, invoking the magic of the old names of Marathon and Salamis, stirred Europe to passionate enthusiasm.

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[1] This is one part of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

No schoolboy to-day can read the stirring lyric, "The Isles of Greece," without quicker pulse-beat; but the European youth of Byron's time were moved more deeply than the present generation can easily understand by the allusions in such passages as these: —

"Standing on the Persian's grave,
I could not deem myself a slave";

. . . .

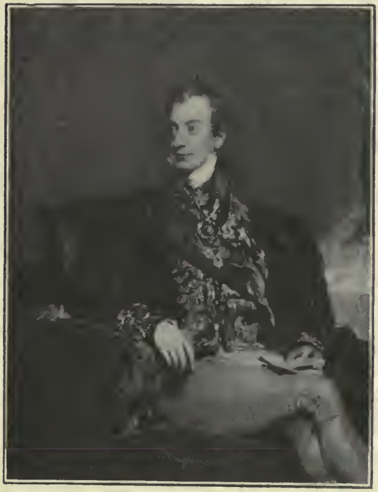
"Ye have the letters Cadmus gave;
Think ye he meant them for a slave!"

Great numbers of volunteers followed Byron to fight for Greek liberty, and before any government had taken action, the Turks complained that they had to fight all Europe.

b. *The Russian people, untouched by this Western passion, still felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists,* and a deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes; and so Metternich lost his chief ally. For though the Tsar at first discountenanced the Greek rising, and even punished Russian officers who had encouraged it, still he was too much influenced by the feeling of his people to join in open intervention against the revolution.

Finally, indeed, intervention came, but *for* the Greeks, not against them. The English, French, and Russian fleets had proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiation. The three fleets were acting together under the lead of the English admiral, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance, and *chiefly through the excited feelings of the common sailors,* the fleets came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of *Navarino* (October, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disown him. The three Powers, by war, at once forced Turkey to grant Greek independence.

645. Elsewhere Metternich was triumphant. Distant Greece did not threaten his "system" in Central Europe, and the Greek success did not come any way for many years. For ten years after the attempted Spanish Revolution of 1820, the reactionists had things all their own way from England to Greece.



METTERNICH. — From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The "Decrees of Carlsbad" (§ 637) were renewed in 1824, and remained the law of the German Confederacy, with little interruption, for a generation more. During this time, thousands of enthusiastic youths were sent into exile or to prison for long terms, for singing forbidden patriotic songs, or for wearing the colors black, red, and orange, — the symbol of German unity. "Turnvater Jahn," the organizer of the patriotic Turner societies in the time of Napoleon, and the poet Arndt, whose songs had done much to arouse the people against French rule, were both persecuted. Learned professors who would not consent to be completely muzzled were driven from the universities. Men ceased to talk politics, and left matters of government to princes.

The next attacks on the reaction came from France. That story demands that we survey the story of France from Waterloo.

CHAPTER XLI

FRANCE, 1815-1830

I. THE DIVINE RIGHT MONARCHY OF THE BOURBONS

646. The Charter of 1815. — When Louis XVIII became king (§624), he saw that France must have some guarantee of the personal rights which the Revolution had won. He refused indeed to accept a constitution which the old Senate of Napoleon tried to force upon him, but he himself *gave* to the nation a Charter. In this way he saved the theory of "divine right." The preamble expressly declared the king the source of all authority. But the provisions of the document, otherwise, closely resembled the rejected constitution, and gave the people more liberty than any other country on the continent had.

The legislature had two Houses, — the *Peers*, appointed for life by the king, and the *Deputies*. These last were elected, but a very high property qualification let only one man in seventy vote. To be eligible for election, a man had to be still more wealthy, — so much so that in some districts it was hard to find any one to send to the legislature. The king kept an *absolute veto* and *the sole right to propose laws.*

Purchasers of the *church lands* (confiscated and sold during the Revolution) were guaranteed in title. *Religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech,* and *freedom of the press* were confirmed. In *local government,* the *centralized system* of Napoleon was retained.

647. In 1824 Louis was succeeded by his brother, Charles X, who was an extreme reactionary. He wanted to restore lands to the church, to give it control of all education, and to punish all old Revolutionists. By force and fraud, aided by the limitations on voting, the government secured a reactionary legislature. Then the king and legislature curtailed the freedom of the press, closed the historical lectures of the famous *Guizot* (a very moderate liberal), joined the other crowned conspirators of Verona in overthrowing liberty in Spain, secured $200,000,000 from the national treasury for returned Emigrants, and strengthened still further the influence of the aristocracy by giving large landlords a double vote.

648. Defeats of the Ultras at the Polls. — The few Liberals in the legislature annoyed Charles by their vigorous protests; and in 1827 he dissolved it, expecting under the new law to secure a more submissive body.

The issue was drawn clearly. *Thiers*, a brilliant young journalist, preached the constitutional theory in the words "The king *reigns*, but does not *govern*," and he made repeated and significant references in his paper to the English Revolution of 1688. On the other hand, Charles announced frankly that he regarded the legislature only as an *advisory* council.

The elections showed that even the narrow body of voters was earnestly opposed to the king's doctrine. The intellect of France and the influential part of the press were with the Liberal party; and, despite all court influence, the Liberals received a decisive majority.

When Charles still tried to rule through a ministry of Ultras, the Assembly issued a bold address (March 2, 1830), calling for the dismissal of the ministry, that "menace to public safety." The address was carried by a vote of 221 to 182. Charles at once dissolved the Chamber. Public interest was intense, and the aged Lafayette journeyed through France to organize the Liberals for the contest at the polls. The new elections in June destroyed the Ultra party. *Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the Liberals gained also fifty of the remaining seats.*

II. THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

649. The "July Ordinances."— No whit daunted, the stubborn monarch tried a *coup d'état*. He suspended the Charter by a series of edicts, known as the "July Ordinances." These Ordinances forbade the publication of newspapers without royal approval, dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and promulgated a new law for elections.

Metternich had foreseen this deed, and its probable result. He lamented the free press and the representative system in France; but he warned the French ambassador that an attempt now to do away with these "plague spots" would ruin the dynasty: "*The men of lead*," said he, "*are on the side of the Constitution; Charles X should remember 1789.*"

650. The Barricades. — The Ordinances were published, July 26, 1830. Forty-one journalists of Paris at once printed a protest, declaring the ordinances illegal and calling upon France to resist them. The journalists had in mind only *legal* resistance, not violence; but there were in Paris a few old Revolutionists who were ready to go further, and they were powerful in a crisis, because of their organization in secret societies.

The same evening these radicals decided upon revolt, and appointed "Committees of Insurrection" for the various districts of the city. The next morning angry crowds thronged the streets, and threw up barricades out of paving stones. That night Lafayette reached Paris, to take charge of the revolt, and on the following morning the fighting began.

651. The "July Days." — The 28th, 29th, and 30th are the "Three Days of July." On the 28th the crowd cried, "Down with the ministry!" but, as their blood became heated with fighting, they began to shout, "Down with the Bourbons!" The regular troops lacked good leadership, and they hated to fire on the rebel flag, — the old tricolor. About four thousand men were slain in the three days. At his palace at St. Cloud, in the suburbs, the king hunted as usual; and, on each evening, messengers from the sorely beset troops were kept waiting overnight, so as not to disturb the royal game of whist, while the scepter was slipping forever from the old line of French kings. Suddenly Charles opened his eyes to his danger, and fled to England. *Outside Paris, there was no fighting, but the nation gladly accepted the "Second French Revolution."*

652. A Limited Monarchy. — The legislature, which Charles had tried to dissolve, restored the tricolor as the flag of France, made the Charter into a more liberal constitution, and then offered the crown to Louis Philippe[1] (a distant cousin of Charles), *on condition that he accept this amended Charter.* The old Charter had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added the words, "*and by the will of the nation.*" In actual fact, Louis XVIII had ruled *by hereditary title*, and *had given* a charter to France. Louis Philippe, "King of the Barricades," ruled *by election*, and *a constitution was imposed upon him.*

In this vital respect, the Second French Revolution corresponded to the English Revolution of 1688. In other respects it did not go so far. The most important of the other reforms were: (1) the right to introduce bills was given to the legislature; and (2) the number of voters was about doubled by extending the franchise to all who paid forty dollars in direct taxes. This still left twenty-nine men out of thirty without votes. It made a voting body of less than 200,000 in a total population of some 30,000,000.

III. THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 OVER EUROPE

653. Meantime, the success of this "Second French Revolution" had been followed by revolts all over Europe. For a moment, Metternich's system tottered. *Belgium* broke away from the king of Holland, to whom the Congress of Vienna had given it. *Poland* rose against the Tsar, to whom the Congress had given it. The *states of Italy* rose against Austria and the Austrian satellites, to whom the Congress had given them. And

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[1] As a youth Louis Philippe had taken the side of the First Revolution in 1789, and had fought gallantly in the French Revolutionary armies, until the extremists drove him into exile. Then, instead of joining the royalist emigrants in their attacks on France, he had fled to England and America.

in Germany there were uprisings in all absolutist states, to demand the constitutions which the Congress had *not* given.

654. Gains and Losses. — The final gains, however, were not so vast as at first they seemed. *Belgium did become an independent monarchy,* with the most liberal constitution on the continent. To that country as well as to France the Revolution brought permanent profit. Indeed France, now definitely lost to the "Holy Alliance," joined England in protecting Belgium against "intervention," — so that Metternich called London and Paris "the two mad-houses of Europe."

But Tsar Nicholas crushed the Poles, took away their constitution,[1] and made them a Russian province. Austria crushed the Italian revolts. And though four small German states secured constitutions, still the general despotic character of the Confederacy was not modified. While Austria was busied in Italy, it is true, there had seemed some hope of progress for Germany; but Metternich soon had his hands free, and at once he set about restoring "order."

655. Still, reaction had lost much of its vigor and confidence, and it was being slowly undermined by a quiet but growing public opinion. Metternich's genius sufficed to keep his system standing, as long as it was not disturbed from without; but when the next year of Revolutions came (1848), that system fell forever in Western Europe. For the beginning of that story we must go first to England and then to France.

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[1] Tsar Alexander had given a liberal constitution to his "Kingdom of Poland," but in 1825 Alexander was succeeded by Nicholas.

PART VIII

ENGLAND AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XLII

THE REVOLUTION IN METHODS OF WORK

656. What the Industrial Revolution was. — While France was giving the world her first great social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, **England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution** which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done; so we call it the "**Industrial Revolution.**"

Not all the legislation of the great French Convention of '93, nor Napoleon's "forty victories," nor even his code that would "live forever," nor the assembled statesmen at Vienna, — nor all these together, — had so much to do in deciding how you and I should live to-day as did this Industrial Revolution which we are now to study. It was not wrought by kings, or diplomats, or generals, or even by dazzling intellectual geniuses, but by humble workers, while busied in homely toil, puzzling day after day over wheels and belts and rollers and levers, *seeking some way to save time.*

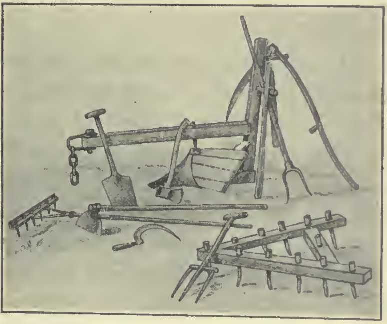
657. Industrial Conditions about 1775. — Our life and labor differs far more widely from that of our great-great-grandfathers in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Frederick the Great and Voltaire and George Washington, men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market, in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for four thousand or six thousand years. The discovery of America had added corn (maize) and the potato to the world's food plants (§ 1), and had enormously increased the production of sugar (in the West Indies) and so made its use more general. But in Europe itself a farmer rarely had as great a variety of vegetables in his garden as the ancient Egyptian or Roman farmer had. The English or American or French farmer, with strenuous toil scratched the soil with a clumsy wooden plow (not unlike those shown on Egyptian monuments six thousand years old). *He had no other machine for horses to draw, except a rude harrow and a cart,* almost as ancient in style. He sowed his grain by hand, cut it with the sickle of ancient times, and threshed it out with the prehistoric flail, if he did not tread it out on his barn floor by cattle, as the old Egyptians did.

Carpenters' tools, too, did not differ much, either in number or style, from a set four thousand years old, found recently in Crete. *Blacksmiths* and *masons* used tools as ancient in origin. The *seventeenth century* had seen the invention of *sawmills driven by water power* (like the earlier grist mills); but these only cut the logs into rough boards. All *planing* and *other dressing of lumber was still done by hand,* as was also all the work now done by machines in furniture factories and joiners' shops. *Merchandise was still carried* from place to place on pack horses or mules, or sometimes in clumsy carts sinking to the axles in muddy roads; and *travel* was mainly on horseback, though slow coaches toiled along on a few main roads, six horses to each vehicle.

No man living had ever dreamed of traveling by railway or steamship, or of communicating with absent friends by telephone or telegraph, or of reading by electric lights or even by kerosene lamps. No woman had ever cooked a meal by a stove.

Household lights were still dim, ill-smelling candles or smoky and flaring torches. If a householder carelessly let the fire in his fireplace go out, he borrowed live coals from a neighbor, or struck sparks into tinder with flint and steel. If man or child had to have an arm amputated, the pain had to be borne without the merciful aid of anæsthetics. The few cities were still medieval. London was the only town in Europe that boasted lamp posts; and there the light was supplied by a poorly burning oil. In Paris, on the main streets, the mud lay a foot deep in rainy weather. Arthur Young, in 1787, wrote of Paris, — "Walking, which in London is so pleasant and clean *that ladies do it every day* (!), is here a toil and a fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman."

658. The first improvements came in England — in agriculture. Early in the eighteenth century, landlords introduced *a better system of "crop-rotation,"* raising roots, like beets and turnips, on the field formerly left fallow (§ 134). This proved just as good for the ground, and it furnished food which made it possible to keep *more cattle.* Besides the direct profits, the additional cattle furnished more manure, which *enriched the soil* and increased all crops. English gentlemen, too, began to give much attention to *breeding better cattle and sheep*, and so produced more beef and wool.



A Complete Assortment of Farm Tools in 1800. Note the clumsy and heavy character of all but ax and sickle.

659. *Mechanical* invention in agriculture came a little later. In 1785 the *first threshing machine* was invented, and enterprising "gentlemen farmers" soon began to use it; but it was exceedingly crude. The *cast-iron plow* appeared about 1800. This was soon to work a marvelous revolution in farming —

permitting deeper plowing and more rapid work; but for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground. The *cradle scythe* — a hand tool, but a vast improvement on the old sickle for harvesting grain — was patented *in America* in 1803. Drills, seeders, mowers, reapers, binders, were still in the future; but in 1800 the era of farm machinery was just at hand.

The *bare beginnings* of change came first, then, in agriculture; but *great changes* appeared first in other lines (below).

660. The next change was in transportation. England began to improve her main *roads* about 1750, building "turn-pikes," with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from travelers to keep up repairs. A Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to *macadamized roads.* Before the American Revolution began, Englishmen were boasting of the "astounding change" in rapidity of travel and transport of goods.

In a few years they had even better reason for such boasts. The ancient Egyptians and Babylonians had dug *canals* and used them to carry goods. Louis XIV and Frederick the Great had constructed a few in France and Prussia. But now *England gave canals a wholly new importance in commerce.* The first one with a system of locks, *to permit a boat to pass from one level to another*, was built in 1761, to bring coal to Manchester from a mine seven miles away. And before 1800, England was better supplied with canals than she had been with roads in 1700. The boats were "towed" by horses driven along a tow path. One horse could draw many times the weight he could draw on land over even the best roads, and most bulky merchandise was soon carried by the new water roads.

661. The change that was really to revolutionize the working society, however, came not in farming nor in transportation, but in manufacturing, — and first in spinning. In Queen Elizabeth's time the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the distaff and spindle, as it had been for four or five millenniums. But in the seventeenth century in England, the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*,[1] — run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however (such as may now and then still be found tucked away in an old attic), drew out only *one thread at a time.* To spin thread enough to weave into the cloth for a family's clothing was a serious task. A weaver with his clumsy hand loom could weave all the thread that eight spinners could supply. Weavers didn't get thread fast enough, and soon after 1750 they began to think about swifter ways to secure it. In 1761 the English Royal Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures offered a prize for an invention for swifter spinning. Three years later, in 1764 (the last year of Louis XIV in France), an English weaver, **James Hargreaves**, noticed that his wife's spinning wheel, tipped over on the floor, kept whirling away for a surprising time. Taking a hint from this new position, he invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles, and spun *eight threads*, instead of one. Hargreaves called the new machine the "**Jenny**," from his wife's name. Soon it was improved so as to spin sixteen threads at a time.

The thread was not satisfactory, however, for all parts of cloth manufacture; but in 1771 **Richard Arkwright**, a barber and peddler, devised a new sort of spinner without spindles. He ran his wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates, to draw out the thread; *and he drove these rollers by water power*, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame.*" Four years later (1779), **Samuel Crompton**, an English weaver, ingeniously combined the best features of the "Jenny" and the "Water Frame" into a new machine which he called "**the mule**" — in honor of this mixed parentage. With "the mule," one spinner could spin *two hundred threads at a time.*

Crompton received $300 from the manufacturers, who piled up wealth from his invention! He was a shy man, who spent his life in poverty,

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[1] Note that the *seventeenth* century began the era of modern industrial inventions by producing the spinning wheel and sawmills.

making his "mule" and improving it. When he was sixty years old, parliament gave him $ 25,000 (in 1820), as a recognition of his services to England; but he spent this in attempting new inventions, and died extremely poor, in 1827.

Two hundred threads seem few enough to us, acquainted with machinery such that a man, with one or two boys, winds twelve thousand spools at once; but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, "the mule" was a revolution, and it produced other revolutions. Now *the weavers had too much thread;* they could not keep up with the spinners, and *it was necessary to improve* **their** *processes.*

662. The weavers still used the hand loom, older than any of the records of history. Threads were first drawn out lengthwise on a frame: this made the warp. Then the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads with the woof (cross threads). **Edmund Cartwright**, a clergyman of the church of England, gave his energies to discovering a better process, and in 1784 he patented a "power loom," in which the shuttle *threw itself back and forth automatically.* Then the weavers could keep up easily; and by later improvements, before 1900, it became possible for one man to weave more cloth than two hundred could in 1770.

663. The next need was more cotton ready to spin. **Eli Whitney**, in America, met this by inventing his *Cotton Gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much fiber from the seed as three hundred had been able to clean before. This was in 1793. In that year the United States exported 200,000 pounds of cotton. In 1800 the amount was 20,000,000 pounds, and in 1803, 40,000,000 pounds. All of this went to feed the new manufactures in England.

Two other minor inventions accompanied these greater ones. Instead of bleaching cloth white slowly by air and sunshine, a way was found to do it swiftly by using a chemical (*chlorine*). And instead of printing patterns on cotton cloth (calico) with little blocks, — first a block of one color, and then one of another, — the patterns were soon graven on rollers which printed all the colors at one time as the cloth passed over them.

664. The next need was a better power to drive the new machines. Water had largely replaced hand power; but water sometimes failed, and it was not present at all in many places where it would have been welcome. This need was supplied by **James Watt's** improvements on the *steam engine.*

We have noted that Roger Bacon, before 1300, speculated on the expansive power of steam as a motive power for the future. A nobleman of Charles I's time is believed to have constructed a steam engine that pumped water; but, if he did, the invention and inventor both perished in the civil war between king and parliament.[1] But in the second half of the eighteenth century, steam engines had been invented that could pump water, and they were used to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow; they wasted steam and fuel. James Watt, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed engines that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and *which could transmit their power to wheels* (and so drive machinery), by an arrangement of shafts and cranks.

In 1785 steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. *Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.*

665. One more series of inventions completed the wonderful circle of the eighteenth century, where one discovery had so led on to another. Engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from **iron**; but in 1790 the manufacture of iron was still slow and costly, and the product was poor stuff. In that year, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a *steady blast* of air, in place of the old bellows and like arrangements. This made possible more rapid and more perfect work in iron.

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[1] George McDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* tells the story.

Soon, too, new and better ways were found to change the brittle "castings" into malleable "wrought" iron.

666. Thus, by 1800, the "age of steam and iron" had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe remained closed against it for some years longer, by Napoleon's Continental System; but, on his fall it began to win its way there also.

Since prehistoric man found ways to make fire and bake pots and spin and weave (with spindle and loom) and extract iron from ore, there had been no change in man's work that compared in any degree with this tremendous revolution in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The American Revolution and even the greater French Revolution were dwarfed by the gigantic Industrial Revolution.

Before we leave this age of invention, we must note two applications of the steam engine, and also a few separate inventions, in all of which America had a large share.

667. The Steamboat.—Some of Watt's engines, we said, found their way to America before 1800. Here, in that day, *the chief need was locomotion.* And, since there was no time at first to build roads over our vast territory, we wanted first locomotion *by water.* Rivers were used to carry goods easily *down* the current; but some means to force a boat *up stream* was needed. Therefore, in America, ingenious mechanics at once sought to apply the new steam engine to navigation.

As early as 1789, *John Fitch,* a poor, unschooled carpenter with wonderful inventive genius, built a ferryboat with paddles driven by a steam engine of his own make. He even ran this boat up the river at Philadelphia, as well as down, and showed it there for some months. But men with money in America were still old-fashioned; and Fitch could not raise money to extend the use of his invention. He next tried his fortune in the new West, where such motive power was sadly needed, but with no better success; and finally, in bitter disappointment and despair, he killed himself in a Kentucky tavern.

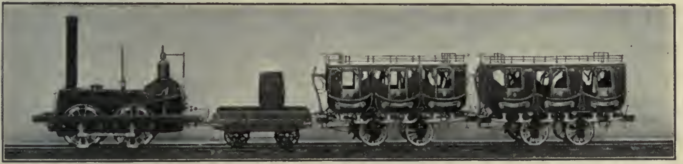
During those same years Philadelphia had another neglected genius, *Oliver Evans*, who also built a steam engine suited for locomotion; but, like Fitch, he failed to secure money to carry his invention to practical success. Soon after, however, *Robert Fulton* was more fortunate. He, too, met with one rebuff. He offered his steamboat to Napoleon as a means whereby that baffled conqueror might transport the waiting army from Boulogne to England, spite of English sailing vessels (§ 609). Happily, Napoleon repulsed him disdainfully as a faker — and so lost his best chance to become undisputed master of the world. And some three years later Fulton secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York. In 1807, amid popular jeers, Fulton launched the *Clermont*, furnished with an engine from England, and made a trial trip *up* the Hudson, from New York to Albany, at about five miles an hour. The next year a regular line of steamboats plied between the two cities, and men were eagerly waiting for them elsewhere.

FULTON'S STEAMER, THE CLERMONT.

In 1811 the *Orleans* was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg, to voyage to the distant city for which it was named. The War of 1812 interrupted steamboat building, but in 1820 sixty such vessels plied the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, and some of them were finding their way up the muddy Missouri, between herds of astonished buffalo.

668. The Railway. — If steam would drive boats, why not coaches as well, as Roger Bacon foretold five hundred years before? Experiments for land locomotives began at once.

Short *horse "tramways"* had been used in some places in England for many years. A tramway was merely a line of rails on which carts were drawn more easily than on the bare ground. By 1807 they were in use in the United States, but, as in England, they were commonly only a few rods in length. Soon after 1800, a Cornishman, *Richard Trevithick*, used a steam engine to furnish power for a short tramway; but this was really a stationary engine of the old type. What was wanted was a *"traveling"* engine. In 1811 *John Stevens*, in America, began twenty years of vain effort to interest moneyed men in his ideas of such a "locomotive"; but success was achieved first in England by *George Stephenson*, who had spent his poor, unschooled boyhood partly in herding sheep, partly in helping his father tend an engine in a coal mine.



First Steam Passenger Train in America (November 12, 1831). The engine was modeled upon Stephenson's "Rocket," which, some months before, had drawn a train from Manchester to Liverpool.

In 1814 Stephenson completed a locomotive which was used to haul carts of coal on tramways from mines to the nearest canal or river. In 1825 a passenger line *twelve miles long* was opened in England; and in 1828, in America, the aged Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, drove the gold spike that began the construction of the great *Baltimore and Ohio* line. In 1833 a railway carried passengers from London to Liverpool in ten hours, where the old stage coach had taken sixty. **The railway age had fairly begun.**

The tremendous importance of the railroad, however, did not show fully until some twenty years later. The early rails were of wood, protected from wear by a covering of iron "straps" — which had an awkward way of curling up at a loosened end. The cars were at first merely lines of "coaches," almost precisely the old stage coaches. The *name* coach still remains in England, and the *form* was kept there, and elsewhere in Europe, until very recently; but in America a more convenient form was soon introduced. Fifteen miles an hour on early roads was thought quite amazing.

669. In many other ways, mechanical inventions began to affect human life soon after 1800. The rapidity with which they appeared may be judged partly from the records of the American patent office. From 1790 to 1812 that office registered less than eighty new inventions a year. From 1812 to 1820 the number rose to about 200 a year, and in 1830 there were 544 new patents issued. Twenty years later the thousand mark was passed, and in 1860 there were five thousand.

These inventions mostly *saved time* or *helped to make life more comfortable or more attractive.* A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The *McCormick reaper* (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1834, and multiplied the farmer's efficiency in the harvest field by twenty. *Planing mills* created a new industry in woodworking. "*Colt's revolver*" (1835) replaced the one-shot "pistol." *Iron stoves* began to rival the ancient fireplace, especially for cooking. *Friction matches*, invented in England in 1827, were the first improvement on prehistoric methods of making fire. Illuminating gas, for lighting city streets, made better order possible at night, and helped improve public morals. In 1838 the English *Great Western* (with *screw propeller* instead of side paddles, and with coal to heat its boilers) *established steam navigation between Europe and America.* The same year saw the first successful use of huge *steam hammers.* In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began photography with his "daguerrotype." Still earlier, a French chemist had invented the canning of foods. In 1841 two Americans, Dr. Morton and Dr. Jackson, independently discovered the value of *ether as an anæsthetic,* — an incomparable boon to suffering men and women. The *magnetic telegraph,* invented in 1835, was made effective in 1844. The *sewing machine* was patented in 1846; and the next year saw the first *rotary printing press.*

It is not the plan of this book to treat American history, because that subject receives better attention in separate volumes. But this topic of *invention* cannot be discussed without entering the American field. In 1820 a famous English writer, influenced partly by the ugly feeling awakened by the War of 1812, had exclaimed, — "Who in the four quarters of the globe reads an American book, . . . or drinks out of American glasses, . . . or sleeps in American blankets?" But in 1841 in parliament a member of the English cabinet confessed that the great majority of helpful inventions came from America.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS' LIVES

(Capitalism and the Wage System)

670. The introduction of *machinery* and of *steam power* showed at once (by 1800) **several great results.** The fundamental one was that labor with the new machinery produced much more wealth. Robert Owen, a cloth manufacturer at New Lanark in Scotland, said in 1815 that his two thousand operatives produced more than all the workmen in Scotland forty years before.[1]

This change ought to have been purely good. It should have meant a gain for all the world. Especially it should have meant more comfort and more leisure for the workers. In practice, it meant something very different.

Part of the increased wealth did go at last, and indirectly, to the common gain *in lower prices.* Every one, the workmen included, can buy cloth or hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution began. This is a vast gain. It is the thing about the Revolution which justifies a vast deal of the suffering that it has caused. It makes possible more life and some better life.

But the revolution also resulted *directly* in much lower life for just those who, we would have supposed, would be the first benefited. This was particularly true in the beginning. To understand this we must look once more at the condition of workmen *before* the invention of machinery.

671. Under the "domestic system" (§ 418) all manufactures had been hand-made (as the word *manufacture* means). Hours of labor were long and profits were small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But *workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil.* Their condition resembled that of the farmer of to-day more than that of the modern factory worker.

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[1] Note that *wealth* is not money. It is any desirable thing produced or obtained by labor.

Thus, in England and America especially, the artisan drew part of his support from the plot of ground about his cottage. Even the iron workers of Sheffield (famous for its cutlery since 1400) lived in little homes surrounded each by its garden where the workman could spend a dull season profitably. Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, describes a like condition which he saw among the weavers in Yorkshire, about 1725: —

> "The land was divided into small inclosures of from two acres to six or seven acres each, seldom more, every three or four pieces having a house belonging to them; hardly a house standing out of speaking distance from another. . . . At every considerable house there was a manufactory. Every clothier keeps one horse at least to carry his manufactures to market, and every one generally keeps a cow or two, or more, for his family. . . . The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at their dye vat, some at their looms, others dressing the cloth; the women and children carding or spinning, all being employed from the youngest to the eldest."

672. The Hardship of Change to the Old Weavers. — But hand workmen could not match tireless iron machines driven by steam. They could not produce enough cloth — at the lower prices at which it was sold after 1800 — to support themselves, even with the aid of their garden spots. The Industrial Revolution came swiftly — upturning the whole system of manufacturing before a hale man turned into an old one. The hand weavers were people slow to accept change. Many of them could not understand the drift of the times. They had gained, in generation after generation, a skill of which they were proud and which had made them envied by other workmen. They did not see how a new contrivance of wood and iron could make that painfully gained skill of hand a worthless thing, and cast them down into the position of wholly unskilled workers. Great numbers of them kept up the losing fight, for their lifetime, under harsher and harsher conditions;[1] and, from time to time, such laborers rose in ignorant but natural riots to smash machinery and burn factories.

This sort of tragedy has been repeated time after time with millions of workers, as the Industrial Revolution (which is still in progress) has replaced one process by a quicker one in all kinds of work. It happened not long ago, when the linotype replaced hand typesetting. *Masses of workers have paid for every gain to the world by terrible personal loss* that destroyed families and ruined lives. Society, which profits so splendidly, has not yet learned how to insure its workers against this unfair loss. **But, in 1800, the thing was new.** There was no accident insurance or old-age insurance or pension system, such as many countries are now coming to have; and the class of workmen who were ruined made a larger part of the total population than have ever again been so affected at one time.

673. But the most serious evils in 1800 **fell** not upon the workmen who kept up this hopeless fight against steam and machinery, but **upon the hundreds of thousands of workmen who accepted the change and tried to work under it.**

The new machinery was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their old tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. *It all passed into the hands of wealthy men,* who hired workers ("operatives") to "operate" it. This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor. The old slave system gave way to serfdom in agriculture and to a gild organization in manufactures. Gilds gave way to the domestic system. And now the domestic system gave way to the *present Capitalist system,* or *Wage system,* or *Factory system.*

674. The capitalist manufacturer *was a new figure in European life,* appearing first in England. There, by 1800, the capitalists ranked alongside the country gentlemen and the merchant princes as the "upper" middle class, just below the titled nobility in social standing and often superior to them in wealth. The appearance of this new figure was in many ways a gain to society; but there was also a bad side.

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[1] George Eliot's *Silas Marner* is the story of such a weaver.

The capitalist manufacturer was not himself a workman, like the old "master" in the gilds or in the domestic system. He was only an "employer." *He erected great buildings called factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw material"* (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), *and paid wages.*

675. The workman *now furnished nothing but his hands.* Great numbers of men wanted work; and, moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children — especially in all cloth manufactures, where the work consisted largely in turning a lever, or tying broken threads, or cleaning machinery. So the capitalist could fix wages and hours of labor about as he pleased. The workman was at his mercy.

And if the capitalist was a new figure in middle class society, the capitalless and landless worker (proletariat) was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes."

676. Thus the new manufacturing society was made up of two distinct and hostile classes. Under the gild and domestic system, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "masters"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, shared their hardships, and had a sort of fatherly guardianship over them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class (as a villein had now and then become a noble in old days); but, on the whole, the line was drawn as distinctly between soft-handed capitalist and hard-handed workman in 1800, as between armored noble and stooped peasant in 1200. Moreover, *the capitalist had no personal contact with his workmen.* He employed not three or four, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands. He never saw them, to know them, outside the factory, and he did not even know their names except on the payroll. There was no chance for real sympathy or understanding between the two classes.

677. The workman's work was more monotonous than ever before. The use of machinery was followed by a minute *subdivision* of labor. A workman who formerly had performed many different processes at different times, now spent his long day of labor in doing some simple set of motions over and over again, standing at one place from dawn to dark.

678. These changes, *so far noted, are more or less* ***permanent*** *results of* the Capitalist system. We still have them in our society, **but in 1800,** in England, there was **another result more immediately disastrous to the worker.** He was compelled to change his whole manner of life for the worse. He must reach the factory within a few minutes after the first whistle blew, about sunrise, and stay there until sunset or dusk — all the time that it was light enough to work.[1] So the capitalist built long blocks of ugly tenements near his factory, to rent; and the workmen moved from their rural village homes, with garden spots and fresh air and varied industry, into these crowded city quarters.

The factory system produced cities with marvelous rapidity. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only four or five towns that had more than 6000 people. In 1800 cities had leaped into life everywhere. More than 100 towns counted 5000 people. And in 1891, the number of such towns was 622. In 1700 the entire population of *England and Wales* (not including Scotland or Ireland) was somewhere between four and five millions. In 1801, when the first accurate census was taken, it was 8,893,000. Most of the increase had come in the *last half of the century,* and practically *all of it had come in cities.* During the next half-century, population doubled again, rising to 17,928,000 in 1851; and in the second half of the same century it very nearly doubled once more, amounting to 32,526,000 in 1901.

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[1] **There were then no artificial lights suitable for illuminating factories.**

The factory system has helped to produce rapid growth of population and of cities *in all civilized lands;* but **nowhere else** (except in the United States, where immigration has added millions) *has the growth been so enormous as in England; and in no other country did rapid growth begin until England had faced and begun to solve its new problems.*

679. For the growth of cities, together with the factory system, **did give rise to wholly new problems**. For a time no one saw them clearly. The employers, most directly responsible, felt no responsibility, and were engaged in an exciting race for wealth. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage-collection. Science had not learned how to care for these needs properly and law had not begun to wrestle with them. The masses of factory workers and their families dwelt in den-like garrets and cellars — a family stuffed indecently into a squalid unwholesome room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and disease and misery and vice. In 1837 one-tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars. The employment of women in the factory destroyed the home for a large part of the nation.[1]

680. Hours of labor were cruelly long, especially for children. We shall appreciate this best by looking at conditions in our own land. Carpenters, in 1830, worked from sunrise to sunset; and in factories (which began to grow up here after 1815) women and children were ground down by a monotonous toil of thirteen or fifteen hours a day. Many years ago, Professor Richard T. Ely, of Wisconsin University, wrote (*Labor Movement in America*, 49): —

> "The length of actual labor [in 1832] in the Eagle Mill at Griswold [Connecticut] was fifteen hours and ten minutes. The regulations at Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at

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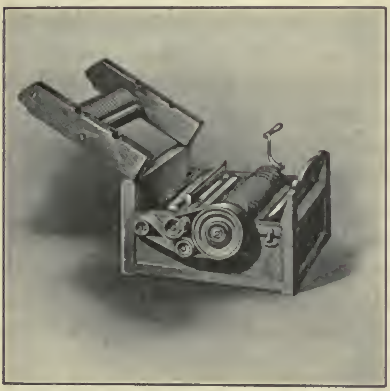
[1] Women had done most of the spinning under the old domestic system; but they had done it then at odd spells, as part of the household work.

half-past four in the morning. . . . Operatives were taxed by the manufacturers for the support of churches. . . . Women and children were urged on by the use of the rawhide."

Such conditions were the rule both in America and in England where they had begun a generation sooner. Hope Factory (Rhode Island) rang its first bell ten minutes before the "break of day" (sunrise); the second bell, ten minutes later; and in five minutes more the gates were locked upon tardy comers. Labor lasted till eight at night; and a committee of laborers claimed that by keeping the factory clock always slow, the employer lengthened this horrible labor-day by twenty or twenty-five minutes more. The only respite from work during the day was twenty-five minutes for breakfast and as much more for dinner — both meals eaten inside the walls from cold lunches brought by the workers. A Convention of New England Mechanics at Boston in 1832 declared that two-fifths of all persons employed in American factories were children, whose day of toil averaged fourteen hours, and who had no chance whatever for schooling.[1]



Whitney's Cotton Gin. — For separating the seed from cotton. Cf. § 663.

In England, conditions were at first worse than this. Parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families and apprentice them to employers; and dissolute parents sometimes sold their children into service by written contracts. In the years just before 1800, gangs of helpless little ones from six and seven years upwards, secured in this way by greedy contractors, were *auctioned off*, thousands at a time, to great factories, where their life was a ghastly slavery. They received no wages. They were clothed in rags. They had too little food, and food only of the coarsest sort. Often they ate standing at their work, while the machinery was in motion. They were driven to toil sometimes sixteen hours a day, in some places by inhuman tortures. They had no holiday except Sunday; and their few hours for sleep were spent in dirty beds, from which other relays of little workers had just been turned out. Schooling or play there was none; and the poor waifs grew up — girls as well as boys — if they lived at all, amid shocking and brutal immorality. When one batch of such labor had been used up, another was ready at little cost; and employers showed a disregard for the physical well-being of these "white slaves," such as no prudent negro-driver could ever afford toward his more costly black chattels.

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[1] More details for the United States are given in West's *American History and Government*, § 288.

In 1800 a terrible epidemic among children in factory districts aroused public attention; and parliament "reduced" the hours of labor for children-apprentices to *twelve* a day. The apprentice system, however, was abolished soon after; and the new law did not apply to the remaining child-operatives, who were supposed to be looked after by their parents. In 1819 and in 1831 laws were passed to shorten hours for these children also, but they were not enforced; and the old conditions continued with little gain until after political reforms which we are soon to study.

Lord Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury), whose championship helped finally to remedy these evils, spoke with great emotion forty years later (1873) of how he used to stand at the factory gates and watch the children come out, — "sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures," among whom "the crippled and distorted forms might be counted by hundreds." The poet Southey in 1833 declared of the factory system that the "slave trade is mercy compared with it." And the piteous story called forth a passionate protest from the heart of England's woman poet against this hideous phase of English civilization (Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*): —

"'For oh, say the children, 'we are weary,
And we can not run or leap.
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep. . . .'
"'How long,' they say, 'how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand to move the world on a child's heart —
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart!
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And our purple shows your path.
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath.'"

681. "Landlord England." — Another unhappy change during this same period destroyed the yeomen of rural England. In *America* one reason why factory workers were so at the mercy of employers was that in 1800 they could no longer find "free land," as workers could do in colonial times. Good farming land near the Eastern cities was all taken up; and the remote land in the West had not yet been opened by the government to settlement in small lots so that poor men could get hold of it.

But in England things were worse. There it was not a matter of the *absence* of just land-laws, but the presence of unjust laws. The new profits in farming (§ 658) made landlords eager for more land. They controlled parliament; and that body passed law after law, after 1760, *inclosing the "commons"* **for the benefit**, not of the *common* good, but *of their class.*[1] A popular rhyme of the day expresses the feeling of the poor at this renewal of the ancient inclosure movement: —

"The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common;
But leaves the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

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[1] These new inclosures were outwardly more decent than those of the seventeenth century. Pains were taken to "compensate" every villager for the share he lost in the village commons. But, whatever the intention of the law, the compensation proved ridiculously inadequate. Usually it was in the form of a little cash, which the peasant spent without any lasting improvement in his condition.

And Goldsmith's pathetic "Deserted Village" pictures the result and gives its stern warning: —

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture land by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who also alone had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. *Small farmers were compelled to sell out;* while the merchants and new manufacturing capitalists were eager to buy, both because of the new profits in agriculture and because social position and political power in England in that day rested on ownership of land.

In 1700, in spite of the older inclosure movement of the sixteenth century, England had still some 400,000 peasant farmers. These with their families made nearly half the total population. But by 1800, though population had doubled (§ 678), this class of *independent* small farmers had disappeared, and rural England had become a country of great landlords.* The dispossessed yeomanry drifted to the new factory towns to swell the unhappy class there already described, and to make its condition worse by increasing the competition for work. Or they remained to till the landlord's land, living on his estate as "cottagers," subject to removal at his order.

Since this change, the classes connected with the land in England are three, — landlords, *tenant*-farmers, and laborers. The first class comprise a few thousand gentry and nobles. Each such proprietor divides his estate into "farms," of from a hundred to three hundred acres, and leases them out to men with a little capital, who are known as "farmers." This second class work the land directly, with the aid of the third class, who have no land of their own, but who labor for day-wages.

The landlords as a rule pride themselves upon keeping up their estates. They introduce costly machinery and improved methods of agriculture more rapidly than small proprietors could, and they furnish some of the money necessary to put farms and buildings into good condition; while their own stately homes, encompassed by rare old parks, give a beauty to rural England such as no other country knows. The farmers, compared with the farm-laborers, are an aristocratic and prosperous class; but, of course, they have always been largely influenced by their landlords. And they do not *own* their land. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany; but in no other European country have the peasants so completely ceased to be owners of the soil as in modern England. In 1876 a parliamentary inquiry found only a quarter of a million (262,886) landowners with more than an acre apiece. France with a population only a little larger had more than twenty times as many landowners.

The "*Industrial* Revolution" applies especially to the change in *Manufacturing*, due to the use of machinery and steam, in the period from 1760 to 1820. The *Agricultural* Revolution began earlier and was of less *direct* importance. It helped on the Industrial Revolution, however, by furnishing workmen for the new factories.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On industrial conditions an excellent concise treatment, especially designed for high school students, is to be found in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*, 203–223. Fuller discussions are given in Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution*, Gibbins' *Industrial History of England*, and Cunningham and McArthur's *Outlines of English Industrial History*.

EXERCISE. — Note the transitions in rural labor in England: (1) serf and villein labor to about 1350, and then a decay of that system until it disappears, about 1450; (2) inclosures (for sheep farming), driving a large part of the peasantry from the soil, 1450–1600; then, after a prosperous period, (3) the new period of inclosures for large grain farming, 1760–1830. (Recent attempts to restore the peasantry to the soil will be noted in § 895.)

Note also the transitions in manufacturing: the gild system to about 1600; the domestic system, 1600–1760; the factory system of to-day.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE REVOLUTION IN IDEAS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

682. The "Let Alone" Idea. — The prosperous capitalist class resented all thought of interference in their business by government. Such interference in past times, they easily proved, had been foolish and harmful, even when best intended.

A group of scholars and writers put into form the new ideas about carrying on industry and producing wealth. They called their new science *Political Economy*. It was founded by Adam Smith, about the beginning of the American Revolution. The fundamental principle of the doctrine was that *government must keep hands off*, unless called in as a policeman to keep order. "Laws" of "supply and demand," it taught, were "natural laws" among men (as gravitation was in the physical universe) and could not be meddled with, except to do harm. Supply and demand must be left absolute to determine prices, quality of goods, wages, and other conditions of employment. Only so could the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" be secured.

This became known as the "*Manchester doctrine*," because it was so universal among manufacturers in that leading center of manufactures. It is also called by a French name, — *Laissez faire* ("let alone," or "let it go"). English merchants accepted it no less readily than manufacturers, in their hatred of the old tariffs which hampered their trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the *town* middle class.

683. Socialism. — It is easy now to see that this new doctrine suited the strong, but that it was totally unchristian in its disregard of the weak. It produced happiness for a few and misery for the greatest number. The horrible conditions of the factory towns (§ 679) were its first fruits. Many tender-hearted men, like John Stuart Mill in England, were so imbued with the teaching that they continued long to proclaim it. But other men first called this political economy a "dismal science," and then set up a contrary set of doctrines. These doctrines were usually some form of what is now called Socialism.

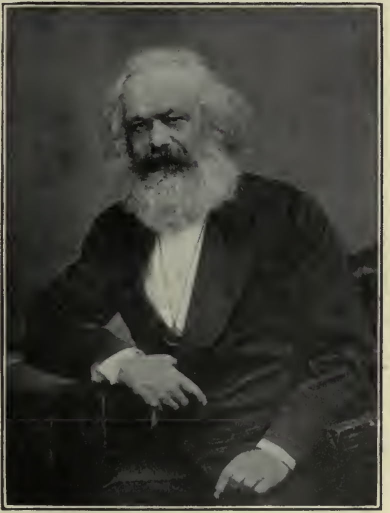
684. The first "Socialists" were very unscientific in their ideas, but they were moved by a deep love for suffering humanity. They believed that men by laws or by mutual arrangements could set up a society of common goods and brotherly love, — such as Sir Thomas More had pictured in *Utopia.* Three great names among these forerunners of real Socialism deserve mention, — Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen.

Saint-Simon was a French noble who had aided America in the Revolution. Afterward, in a lifetime of study, he taught that government ought to manage all industry and secure to each worker a reward suitable to his service. He called his great book *The New Christianity.*

Fourier also was a Frenchman. He thought government unable to manage industry on such a scale as Saint-Simon advocated. Instead, he urged that *groups of workmen* (and their families) should organize in little "phalanxes" of two thousand members each, — each phalanx to own its own capital and to divide products in nearly equal parts between the *capital, labor,* and *management.* Horace Greeley, in America, was deeply interested in this plan; and a number of New Englanders (Emerson and Hawthorne among them) tried such an experiment at Brook Farm in 1841.

Robert Owen was a wealthy English manufacturer. His ideas for reform were much like Fourier's; and he used his wealth to establish a number of such coöperative colonies in England and in America — as at New Harmony, Indiana. His colonies all failed finally; but meantime he had given an impulse to coöperative societies for buying and selling goods, which ever since have accomplished great good; and his influence did much to spread faith in human brotherhood and to arouse the men who were to lead in social reforms in the next generation.

685. Modern Socialists look back on all these early attempts as well-meant efforts of dreamers, and trace their present doctrine to *Karl Marx*. Marx was born in 1818 in Germany. He attended the University of Berlin, and was intended by his family for a University professor; but his radical ideas kept him from obtaining such a position. He began to publish his works on Socialism about 1847. Germany and then France drove him away, as a dangerous disturber of order; and he spent the last forty years of his life (died 1883) in England, where, perhaps even more than in America, men of all creeds and opinions have found full freedom of speech.



KARL MARX.

Marx threw aside the idea that benevolent persons could introduce a new era of coöperation by agreement. He believed, however, that a new coöperative organization of society was going to succeed the present individualistic organization, as inevitably as that had followed the gild and slave organization — not by humanitarian legislation, but through tendencies in human development that could not be controlled. All history, he said, had been the story of class struggles. Ancient society was a contest between master and slave; medieval society, between lord and serf; present society, between capitalist and workers. The workers, he was sure, will win, when they learn to unite, by transferring ownership of all machinery (all "means of production") to the nation as a whole, instead of leaving it and its profits in the hands of a few. He foretold the recent concentration of wealth and industry in great combines, and said that such combination would be a step toward the coöperative state, since it would make it easier for the masses to seize the "means of production."

In the name of "democracy and human welfare," Marx called to the working class of all lands to unite. "You have nothing to lose but your chains," he said. "Unite, and make the world your own," so as to inaugurate a golden future, when all shall work, but none have to work too long or too hard. Then no one will grow rich at the expense of others, but each may receive honorable reward for any service that he renders society. Then degrading poverty and insolent wealth will both vanish; and emancipated humankind will move forward grandly to unforeseen conquests over nature, and live as one vast family, in brotherly love.

Labor, the Socialist teaches, is the source of all wealth, — food, clothing, houses, machinery, books, pictures, railroads. Labor, he insists, produced the capital which now controls further production, and so controls labor. He would have labor instead own all capital — that is, all wealth employed in producing more wealth. This does not mean that the Socialists wish to divide property, or to keep individuals afterward from owning houses, libraries, carriages, jewels, clothing, of their own. They do not wish to abolish private ownership of those things which we use for ourselves, but only of those things which we use to produce more wealth.

Nor do Socialists usually wish to pay all men alike for their work. They would have the nation own the property now owned mainly by great trusts and corporations, and then pay salaries and wages, as corporations now do — except that as the nation would not try to keep most of the profits, there would be more for wages. And as all would work, no one would have to work so long.

Students who pay any attention to Socialism admit that its ideals are noble and attractive, and that the evils in present society are real and cruel. But the great majority of people do not believe that the Socialist program would work as its advocates teach.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the new Socialist doctrines were in the air, even when not clearly understood; and they had much to do with the next great period of revolution in Europe, in 1848.

PART IX

CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848-1871

(FROM THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS TO THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR)

CHAPTER XLV

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

686. The "Orleans[1] Monarchy." — Louis Philippe (§ 652) liked to be called "the Citizen King." He walked the streets in the dress of a prosperous shopkeeper, a green cotton umbrella under his arm, and he sent his children to the public schools. He had little understanding, however, of the needs of France, or of the feelings of the masses below the shop-keeping class. For eighteen years (1830–1848) the favor of the middle class upheld his throne. Only the richest citizens had any share in political power; but the whole middle class held military power, since it was organized in the National Guards — to which workingmen were not admitted.

687. In the legislature there were two main parties. *Thiers* (§ 648) led the more liberal one, which wished the monarchy to be a figurehead, as in England; *Guizot*, the conservative leader, wanted to leave the king the real executive, and to resist all further liberalizing of the government. From 1840 to 1848, Guizot (§ 647) was in control as the chief minister. Both Guizot and Thiers were famous historians.

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[1] The first break in the direct descent of the Capetian kings from father to son came with the accession of Philip VI (table on page 269). That king was a cousin of the preceding king. He had been Duke of Valois; and his successors, until Henry IV (§ 406), are known as the Valois branch of the Capetians. Henry IV began the Bourbon branch. The other kings of that Capetian branch have been named in §§ 407, 472, 527, 646, 647. Louis Philippe marks the third accession of a cousin. He had been *Duke of Orleans* until the Revolution put an end to titles, and his rule is known as the Orleans Monarchy.

France was undergoing rapid industrial growth, and needed peace and reforms. Guizot gave it tranquillity. His ministry was the most stable that France had known since the days of Napoleon. But, in his desire for tranquillity, he ignored the other great need, and opposed all reform. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt tax, to extend education, to reform the outgrown postal system, to improve the prisons, to care for youthful criminals, were alike suppressed.

Thus, after a time, **the bright, brainy public men were nearly all driven into opposition; and even the interests of the middle class suffered.** In 1842 Lamartine, another brilliant historian-statesman, attacked Guizot with a bitter speech in the legislature, declaring him so "inert" and "immovable," that "a post" would answer as well all purposes of government.

688. But Guizot could not be overthrown by lawful means. The franchise was too narrow; and he had organized the vast patronage of the government for public corruption too skillfully. In America the constitution forbids the President to appoint Congressmen to paid offices, such as postmasters or custom-house collectors. But in France it was the regular practice to make members of the legislature "placemen" of this sort, as in England a century earlier (§ 460). This evil was the greater, since in France the government appointed not only *national* officials as with us, but also all *local* officers, like our county and State officials and city mayors and chiefs of police.

Less than 200,000 men could vote. The government had 300,000 offices to buy these voters with. Then when an election was over, Guizot strengthened his majority in the legislature by appointing members to profitable offices, or by giving them lucrative business contracts from the government. At one time, half the legislature held considerable revenues at

Guizot's will, and gave their votes at his nod. Personally, Guizot was incorruptible and rather austere; but *he ruled by organizing corruption.*

689. In the matter of political reform Thiers' party asked only (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, and (2) to widen the franchise so *one man out of twenty* could vote. Guizot smothered both proposals. France already had too many voters, he declared; 'not more than 100,000 men in the country were capable of voting with good judgment.'

Finally the Liberals began to appeal to that vast part of the nation that had no vote. They planned a series of mass meetings and public demonstrations, to bring *public opinion* to bear on the legislature. According to American or English ideas, the proceeding was perfectly proper. But the French government forbade it — and brought on a revolution. This "Revolution of 1848" was the work of a class of workingmen that had been growing up, almost unnoticed by political leaders of either party.

690. Until 1825, when the **Industrial Revolution** was fairly complete in England, it **had not begun in France.** Cloth manufactures there were still carried on under the "Domestic system." But in the next ten years 5000 power-looms were installed in factories; and in ten years more (1846), the number had grown to 30,000. In 1815 there was only one steam engine in the country, aside from a dozen or so used to pump water; but in 1830 there were 625, and in 1850 there were more than 5000. The first French railway of importance was opened in 1843.

Late as all this was, the Industrial Revolution came in France sooner than in any other country of the continent. And it came soon enough so that, by 1848, a large factory-population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, more than the working class then in any other land, the French workingmen of the towns were influenced by the new teachings of socialism (§ 685).

Their chief spokesman was *Louis Blanc*, an ardent young editor, who preached especially *"the right to work."* Every man, he urged, had a right to employment. To insure that right, he wished the nation to establish workshops in different trades and give employment in them to all who wished it and who could not get it elsewhere. In the end, according to his plan, the workers would manage the workshops.

Blanc was an unselfish, high-minded man, moved by deep pity for the suffering masses; and his proposals were moderate and were urged with moderation of word and style. But among his followers there were many crack-brain enthusiasts and some criminally selfish adventurers, and a large number of ignorant men easily incited to violence. Large numbers of the workingmen of Paris, in particular, had adopted phrases, not only about the "right to work," but also about "the crime of private property," as a sort of religious creed. This class was first revealed as a political power in the revolution that followed.

Louis Blanc.

691. The "February Days." — In 1848 the Liberals had appointed a monster political demonstration in Paris for February 22 — choosing that day in honor of the American celebration. At the last moment the government forbade the meeting. The leaders obeyed, but the streets were filled all day with angry crowds shouting for the dismissal of the ministry. *The Na-*

tional Guards, when called out to disperse the mob, *themselves took up the cry.* The next day Guizot resigned.

Peace seemed restored; but that night a collision occurred between some troops and the mob; and the Socialists and Radicals seized the chance to rouse the masses against the monarchy. The bodies of a few slain men were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city in carts; and by the morning of the 24th, the streets bristled with barricades and the mob was marching on the Tuileries. Louis Philippe fled to England. His government had lost the support of the middle classes, and it collapsed.

692. The Provisional Government. — The Chamber of Deputies was about to proclaim the infant grandson of Louis Philippe as king, when the room was invaded by a howling mob, flourishing muskets and butcher-knives and calling for a republic. In the midst of this tumult the few deputies who kept their seats hastily appointed a "Provisional Government."

This body was at once escorted by the mob to the Hotel de Ville (a sort of town hall), where it found another provisional government already set up by the Radicals and Socialists. By a compromise, some of this latter body were incorporated in the first. The Provisional Government was now made up of three elements: *Lamartine,* the poet-historian, represented the Moderate Republicans; *Ledru-Rollin* was the representative of the Radical Republicans ("the Reds"), who wished to return to the "Terror" of 1793; and *Louis Blanc* represented the Socialists. On the whole, Lamartine proved to be the guiding force.

693. The difficulties before the Government were tremendous. For *sixty hours* it was in the presence of an infuriated and drunken mob. A crowd of 100,000 armed men was packed into the streets about the Hotel de Ville, and delegations from it repeatedly forced their way into the building to make wild demands upon the "Government." That Government must at once disperse this seething multitude, avert plunder and massacre, clear away barricades, bury the dead and care for the wounded, and supply food for the great city wherein all ordinary business had ceased. All this, too, had to be accomplished without any police assistance.

Time after time, during the sixty-hours' session, was Lamartine called from the room to check invasions by new bands of revolutionists. Said the spokesman of one of the bands:

> "We demand the extermination of property and of capitalists, the instant establishment of community of goods, the proscription of the rich, the merchants, those of every condition above that of wage-earners, . . . and finally the acceptance of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat, to the people its victory, to all foreign governments invasion."

Lamartine grew faint with exhaustion and want of food. His face was scratched by a bayonet thrust. But his fine courage and wit and persuasive eloquence won victory over every danger. To help appease the mob, however, the Government hastily adopted a number of radical decrees, declaring France a Republic, abolishing the House of Peers, establishing manhood suffrage, shortening the 11-hour working day to 10 hours, and *affirming the duty of the state to give every man a chance to work.*[1]

694. "National Workshops." — A few days later, the decree recognizing the "right to work" was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "national workshops" for the unemployed. In the panic that followed the Revolution, great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle.

Over one hundred thousand men, many of them from other cities, were soon enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, *the Government had no employment ready for such a number.* The majority of the Government, too, succeeded in placing the management in the hands of a personal enemy of Blanc's, and it seems to have been their intention that the experiment should fail, so as to discredit Blanc with the populace. The experiment was not in any sense a fair trial of the socialistic idea. It was a police provision and a temporary poor-law. It preserved order and distributed alms, but it also gave a formidable organization to a terrible force with which the new Republic would soon have to reckon.

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[1] A number of these decrees are given by Anderson.

695. A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but it felt no enthusiasm for a republic and it abhorred the "Reds" and the Socialists. This, too, was the temper of the Assembly. It accepted the revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals.

As soon as this became evident, the mob rose once more (May 15), and burst into the legislative hall, holding possession for three turbulent hours. At last, however, some middle-class battalions of the National Guard arrived, under Lamartine, to save the Assembly.

696. The rescued Assembly promptly followed up its victory. After making military preparations, it abolished the workshop army. A conservative French statesman has styled this "a brutal, unjust, blundering end to a foolish experiment." The men of the national workshops rose. They comprised the great body of the workingmen of Paris, and they were aided by the semi-military organization of the "workshop army." The conflict raged for four days,—the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Twenty thousand men perished; but in the outcome, the superior discipline and equipment of the Assembly's troops crushed the Socialists for another generation. Then eleven thousand prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood, or transported for life.

697. The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. The document[1] was made public in November. It was not submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one house, and for a four-year president, both to be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later (December 10) *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected the first president by an overwhelming majority.

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[1] The document is given in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*.

Napoleon's political capital was his name. A group of brilliant writers had created a "Napoleonic legend," representing the rule of the First Napoleon as a period of glory and prosperity for France, broken only by wars forced upon Napoleon by the jealousy of other rulers. These ideas had become a blind faith for great masses in France. Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become a laughing stock to Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of Socialism, Napoleon's name seemed the symbol of order and peace. He received over five and a half million votes, to about one and a half million for the next highest candidate.

FOR FURTHER READING.— Hazen (see page 511 of this volume), 114–194. (Andrews' *Modern Europe* and Seignobos' *Europe since 1814* remain good; but duplicate copies of Hazen will be better for high schools than a multiplicity of references.) On early French Socialists, Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, II. 78–80. On the national workshops of 1848, *ib.*, 80–84.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, 1852-1870

698. Preparation : Napoleon and the Assembly at Loggerheads. — Louis Napoleon had repeatedly pledged his faith to the constitution, but he plotted from the first to overthrow it. The Assembly gave him opportunity. In 1849 it passed a reactionary law which disfranchised a large part of the workingmen of the cities.

After the law had been passed, Napoleon criticised it vehemently, and so appeared to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the artisans made the middle class fear a revolution; and that class turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. Thus the chief elements in the state dreaded the approaching close of Napoleon's presidency.

The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to amend this clause was defeated in the Assembly. Thus that body had now seriously offended both the artisan class and the middle class; and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity.

699. The Coup d'État. — In semi-royal progresses through France, Napoleon had been preparing the nation for his blow. He found fault with the Assembly freely, and his speeches were filled with references to the "glory" of the former French Empire, and to the benefits conferred upon France by "my great uncle." All important offices in the army and in the government were put into the hands of his tools and his trusted friends; and on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history.

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly — were privately arrested and imprisoned;

and all the printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards. These announced the dissolution of the Assembly, proposed a new government with Napoleon at its head, and promised an appeal to the nation for ratification.

The Assembly was dispersed by soldiers, and most of the members were imprisoned. During the next few days a few Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets, but these were carried by the soldiers with pitiless slaughter, and the conflict was made an excuse for a "reign of terror." Batches of prisoners, taken at the barricades, were shot down after surrender. The radical districts of France were put under martial law. And thousands of men were transported to penal settlements, virtually without trial.

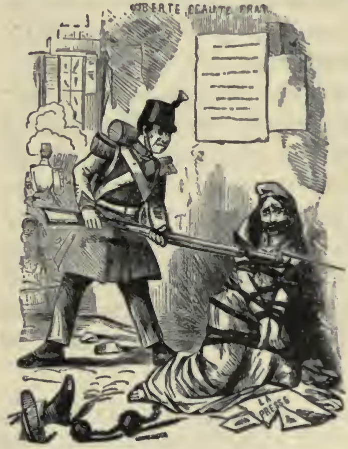
Under these conditions, a few days later, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution making Napoleon President for Ten Years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of seven and a half million out of eight million. In November of the next year, a still more nearly unanimous vote sanctioned a second step in the usurpation, and made the daring adventurer *Emperor of the French*, under the title Napoleon III. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.)

The unanimity in the vote was due partly to shameless interference at the polls. The army was voted first, for an example; and in many places the rural population was marched to the polls, under military authority. Such measures, however, were not necessary to secure a large majority. Apart from them, France threw itself into Napoleon's arms, except for a small body of Liberals and Socialists.

700. The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. The people elected a Legislative Chamber (a greater popular power than existed under the First Empire); but the emperor *appointed* a Senate and a Council of State, while for some years he kept in his hands the sole right to introduce laws. Moreover, of his own will, he filled all offices, made treaties, and declared war.

Napoleon's methods had been those of a dastardly conspirator, and his rule ignored real political liberty; but he desired to benefit France, and he honestly regarded himself as "a democratic chief." His government, he insisted, rested upon manhood suffrage in elections and plebiscites. The Restoration (1815–1830), he said, was the government of the great landowners; the Orleans Monarchy was the government of the middle class; the Empire was the government of the people.

701. During the first years of the Empire, however, political life was suspended. The government presented for every elective position an "official candidate," for whom the way was made easy. Opposing candidates could not hold public meetings, nor hire the distribution of circulars. They were seriously hampered even in the use of the mails, and their placards were torn down by the police, or industriously covered by the official bill-poster for the government candidate. Moreover, the ballot boxes were supervised by the police, and, no doubt, were sometimes "stuffed." Napoleon subsidized a large number of newspapers, and suppressed all that were unfavorable to him.



"FRANCE IS TRANQUIL" (a favorite phrase with Napoleon III). — A cartoon from *Harper's Magazine*.

Personal liberty was wholly at the mercy of the government. The servants of prominent men were likely to be the paid spies of the police. Under the "Law of Public Security" (1858), Napoleon could legally send "suspects," *without trial*, to linger through a slow death in tropical penal colonies, as he had been doing illegally before. Many thousands are said to have perished in this way. Upon the passage of this law, an order was sent to each prefect to arrest a fixed number of men in his department, *using his own choice in selecting them.* The total arrests under this order exceeded two thousand. The purpose was merely to intimidate the nation.

Napoleon III.

Soon afterward, however, Napoleon's government grew more liberal, and during the last ten years of his rule (1860–1870), there was complete freedom of debate in the legislature.

702. **In partial recompense for loss of liberty, too, the Empire gave to France great material and economic progress.** Industry was encouraged. Paris and other leading cities were rebuilt upon a more magnificent scale. Asylums and hospitals were founded; schools were encouraged, and school libraries were established. And a system of vast public works throughout the Empire afforded employment to the working classes. France secured her full share of the increase of wealth and comfort that came to the world so rapidly during these years.

703. **Foreign Wars to 1860.** — In 1852 Napoleon had declared "The Empire is Peace"; but he found himself irresistibly impelled to war, in order to keep the favor of the army and of the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire. His foreign policy soon became aggressive; and the first eight

years of his reign saw a series of victories that dazzled France. For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them. The two most important wars of this period were the *Crimean* (1854–1856) and the *Italian* (1859).

a. France had a trivial quarrel with Russia over the guardianship of Christian pilgrims at Jerusalem. England was hostile to Russia, fearing lest that Power should force itself to the Mediterranean and endanger England's route to India. Russia and Turkey were at war in the Black Sea. Through Napoleon's intrigues, France and England joined Turkey. The struggle was waged mainly in Crimea, and took its name from that peninsula. Russia was defeated, but no permanent results of importance were achieved. However, at the close of the contest, Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers at the *Congress of Paris,* to make peace, and France seemed again to have become the leader in European politics.

b. In 1859 Napoleon joined the Kingdom of Sardinia in a war against Austria to free Italy. He won striking victories at Magenta and Solferino, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe; and then he made unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the half-freed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon received from Italy the provinces of Nice and Savoy, and so recovered for France some of the territory which his uncle had lost.

704. But the second half of Napoleon's rule was a series of humiliations and blunders in foreign affairs.

Napoleon favored the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War, and repeatedly urged England to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. Thus he incurred the hostility of the United States.

Then in 1863 he entered upon a disastrous scheme in Mexico. That country had repudiated its debts. Several European governments had sent fleets to its ports to compel payment to their citizens; but soon it became plain that Napoleon meant much more than the mere collection of debts. Thereupon, the other governments withdrew from the enterprise. Napoleon then sent a large army to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, Maximilian, an Austrian prince, brother of Emperor Franz Joseph.

Napoleon expected (1) to secure a larger share of the Mexican trade for France; (2) to increase the prestige of France as arbiter in the destinies of nations; and (3) to forward a union of the Latin peoples of Europe and America, under French leadership, against the Teutonic states. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States; but his purpose seemed triumphant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon was obliged to comply. Soon afterwards Maximilian was overthrown by the Mexicans, and captured and shot.

Much more serious still were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the Rhine frontier. These brought about his fall in 1870. That story will be told after we have studied the rise of Germany.

For Further Reading. — See comment on pp. 511, 559, as to books. Multiple copies of Hazen's *Europe Since 1815* (194–300) make the most desirable library work for high-school students, though Andrews and Seignobos are also good.

On the Coup d'État, Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, II, 88–94.

CHAPTER XLVII

CENTRAL EUROPE IN '48

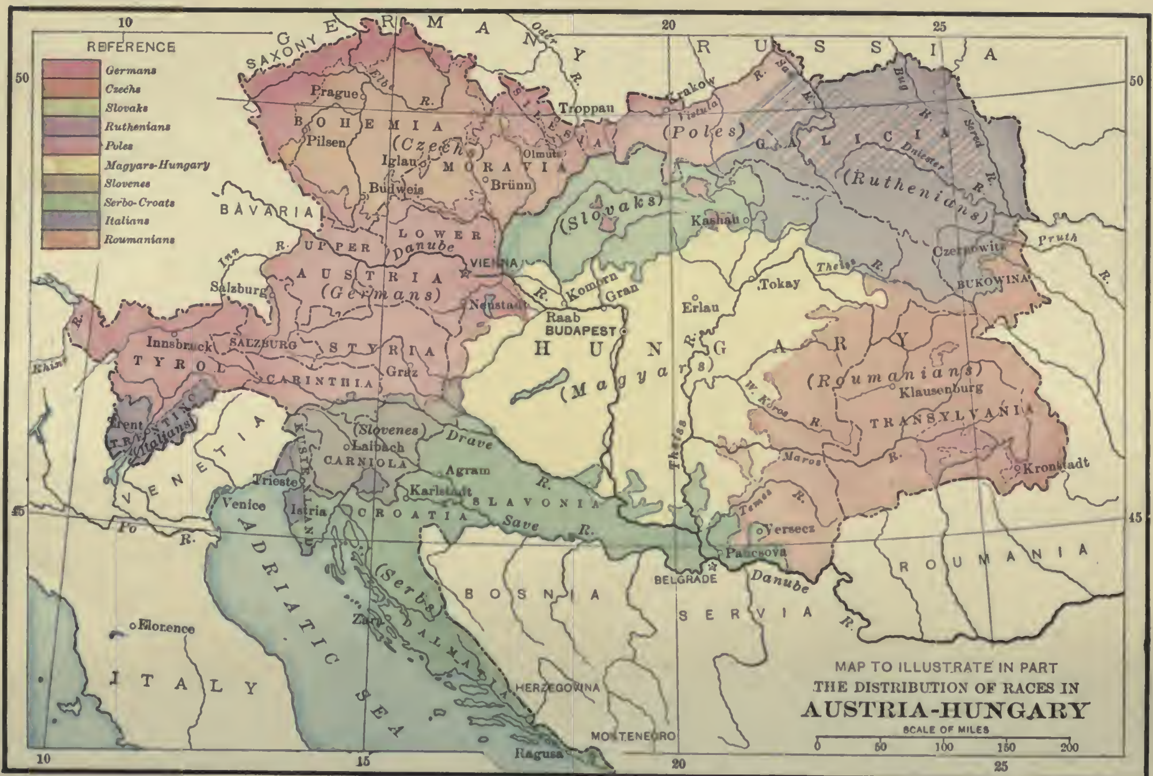
705. The year 1848 was "the year of revolutions." In central Europe Metternich's system had lasted until that time. For long, however, the forces of revolution had been gathering strength for a general upheaval. Metternich, now an old man, saw this. In January he wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the *February* rising in Paris gave the signal for *March* risings in other lands. Metternich fled from Vienna in a laundry cart; and thrones tottered all over Europe — except in stable free England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia and Turkey on the east.

Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to save their crowns the kings granted new constitutions and many liberties. In every one of the German states, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples. In all these countries the administration passed for a time to the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform. *Everywhere, too, the remains of feudal privilege were finally abolished.*

Outside France (§§ 691–697), the chief interest centers (1) in the Austrian empire, the storm-center; (2) in Germany, which Austria had so long dominated; and (3) in Italy, much of which was subject to Austria.

I. THE REVOLUTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

706. Liberalism triumphs in Vienna. — March 13, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the University of Vienna and the populace of the city rose in street riots, to the



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE IN PART
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-Hungary
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Roumanians
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
10
15
20
25
45
50
GERMANY
SAXONY
RUSSIA
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
(Czechs)
MORAVIA
SILESIA
GALICIA
(Poles)
(Ruthenians)
BUKOWINA
LOWER
UPPER
AUSTRIA
(Germans)
SALZBURG
STYRIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
TRENTINO
(Italians)
(Slovenes)
CARNIOLA
KUSTENLAND
Istria
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
DALMATIA
(Serbs)
(Slovaks)
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
(Roumanians)
TRANSYLVANIA
VENETIA
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOWINA
MONTENEGRO
SERVIA
ROUMANIA
Prague
Pilsen
Iglau
Budweis
Brünn
Olmutz
Troppau
Krakow
Kashau
Czernowitz
Tokay
Erlau
VIENNA
Neustadt
Komorn
Gran
Raab
BUDAPEST
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Graz
Trent
Laibach
Trieste
Venice
Agram
Karlstadt
Zara
Ragusa
BELGRADE
Pancsova
Versecz
Klausenburg
Kronstadt
Florence
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula
San R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Sered R.
Pruth R.
Theiss R.
Theiss
Danube
Inn R.
Rhine
Drave R.
Save R.
Po R.
W. Koros R.
Maros R.
Temes R.

cry, "Down with Metternich." After his escape, the crowds about the emperor's palace began to call for a constitution, with freedom of speech and with an elected legislature. The emperor promised these and other reforms, and appointed a liberal ministry to put them in operation.

707. Nationalism (§ 632) **in Hungary and Bohemia.** — But the Austrian empire was a vast conglomerate. It included many peoples and several distinct states. Two subject states in particular now demanded self-government. These were Bohemia and Hungary. The Austrians proper were Germans. They made the bulk of the inhabitants in the old duchy of Austria, and they were the ruling class elsewhere in the empire, comprising, too, a portion of the population everywhere. Still they made up less than one-fourth of all the inhabitants. In Bohemia *the bulk* of the inhabitants were the *native Slavs* (Czechs); and in the Hungarian half of the empire, the Hungarians (§ 201) were the dominant people. Hungary itself, however, was also a conglomerate state. In many of its *border* districts (map opposite), the *Slav* peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slavonians) made the larger part of the population.

In Bohemia and Hungary the March risings were not merely for *liberalism*, as in German Austria. They were also for a recognition of Bohemian and Hungarian nationality. These peoples, however, did not yet demand complete independence. So the emperor skillfully conciliated both states by granting constitutional governments with a large measure of home-rule and the official use of their own languages (instead of German). Then he used the time so gained to crush similar national movements in Italy (III, below).

708. The Reaction. — In all this, the government had yielded only to a momentary necessity. It was bent on restoring old conditions. In this despotic purpose, it had an ally in *race jealousy*. The German Liberals dreaded Slav rule, especially in Bohemia, where many Germans lived. Soon disturbances between the two races there gave the emperor excuse to interfere with the army. The army was now ready, — as it was not in

March, — and, in July, the emperor replaced the constitution he had just given to Bohemia by military rule. Then, alarmed at the signs of reaction, the Radicals rose again in Vienna, and got possession of the city (October); but the triumphant army, recalled now from Bohemia, captured the city after a savage bombardment.

The old emperor (Ferdinand) was embarrassed somewhat by his recent solemn promises to the Liberals and to the subject peoples. But now he abdicated in favor of his nephew, the shrewd *Francis Joseph*. This new ruler pled that he had never consented to any weakening of his absolute powers, and at once restored absolutism both in Bohemia and in the central government of the empire.

709. Hungary remained to be dealt with. Here, too, race jealousies played into the hands of despotism. The Slavs wanted independence from the Hungarians; and if they had to be subject at all, they preferred German rule from distant Vienna rather than Hungarian rule from Budapest. The Hungarians had just crushed a rising of the Croats for independence. When the new emperor came to the throne, the Croats rose again, *this time with imperial aid.* Accordingly, the Hungarians refused to acknowledge Francis Joseph as emperor. Instead they declared Hungary a republic, chose the hero *Kossuth* president, and waged a gallant war for full independence. For a time they seemed successful; but the Tsar, in accordance with the compact between the monarchs of the Holy Alliance (§ 640), sent a Russian army of 150,000 men to aid Austria, and Hungary was crushed (April–August, 1849).

It remained only for Austria to reëstablish her authority in Germany, which had been left for a time to Prussia and the German Liberals (II, below).

II. IN GERMANY

710. Prussia. — In Berlin, from March 13 to March 18, excited crowds thronged the streets. They made no attempt at serious violence against the government, however, until, in some way, never clearly understood, a sharp conflict took place with the troops on the 18th. The army inflicted terrible slaughter on the unorganized citizens; but Frederick William IV was neither resolute enough nor cold-hearted enough to follow up his victory. To pacify the people, he sent into temporary exile his brother William, who had commanded the troops; and he took part in a procession in honor of the slain, wearing the red, gold, and black colors of the German patriots. Then he called a Prussian parliament to draw up a constitution. He tried also to put himself at the head of the movement for German national union. "From this time," he declared, "Prussian interests will be absorbed in those of Germany."

711. Meantime, a real "people's movement" for German unity had got under way. Early in March, prominent German Liberals gathered at Heidelberg and called a *German National Assembly*, to be chosen by manhood suffrage, — arranging the number of representatives from each German state. *May 18, 1848*, the National Assembly met *at Frankfort. This was the first representative assembly of the whole German people.*

Unhappily, it was led by talkers and scholars, not by statesmen or men of action. The members could not understand the necessity of compromise or of prompt action. They spent precious months in wordy orations and in laying down comprehensive theories of government. During May and June, they did organize an ineffective "provisional government"; but meanwhile *Austria had crushed Bohemia* (§ 708). The next four months at Frankfort went to debating a bill of rights, while all chance of securing any rights was being lost. During this time, *Austria restored "order" finally in Italy* (§ 716) *and recovered Vienna from the Radicals.* Over all Germany, too, the commercial class was becoming alienated from the revolution by the long-continued business panic.

Moreover, the new Prussian parliament at Berlin, which was to have drawn up a liberal constitution, had provoked Frederick

William into dissolving it. To be sure, the king himself then gave a constitution to Prussia; but it was of a very conservative character. In other German states, too, the rulers were overthrowing liberal ministries which had been set up after the March Days.

These were the conditions in October when the Frankfort Assembly at last took up the making of a constitution. Two questions then divided the Assembly: (1) should the new government be monarchic or republican; and (2) should the new nation include despotic Austria with her vast non-German population. The republicans had no chance whatever to succeed, but they helped to delay action on the more practical question. The wrangling went on through the winter of 1849, until Austria finally got her hands free elsewhere and announced that she would permit no German union into which she did not enter *with all her provinces.*

Then the Radicals gave up the impossible republic, and the Assembly took the step it should have taken months before. It decided for a union *without Austria,* under the name of the German Empire; and it offered the imperial crown to Frederick William of Prussia. But it was six months too late. The first enthusiasm among the people was gone. Frederick William was timid; he was influenced by a sense of "*honor among kings,*" so that he hesitated to take advantage of the Austrian emperor's embarrassments with revolted subjects; and he felt a growing aversion to the movement which, a few months before, he had called "the glorious German revolution." After some hesitation, he declined the crown "bespattered with the blood and mire of revolution." Then the Radicals, in despair, resorted to arms to set up a republic. They were promptly crushed, and the National Assembly vanished in the spring of 1849. Many German Liberals, like Carl Schurz, fled to America.

712. The people's attempt to make a German nation had failed. Next the princes tried — with no better success. In the summer of 1849, despite the protests of Austria and

Bavaria, *twenty-eight* rulers of North German states were organized into a league under the lead of the Prussian king.

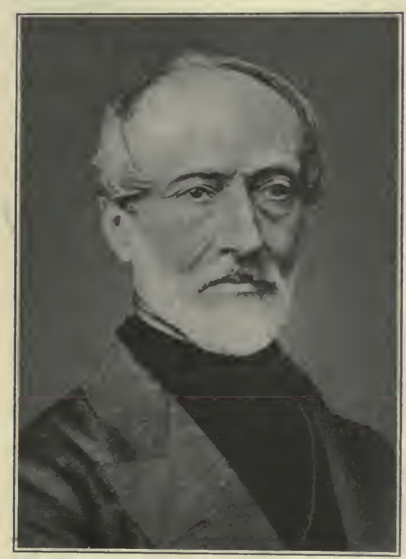
Several of the princes, however, were half-hearted, joining only through fear of popular risings. Austria, with Hungary now at her feet, organized the South German states into a counter-league, and demanded the restoration of the old Confederation. The Austrian government announced bluntly its policy, — "First humiliate Prussia, then destroy her." Austrian and Prussian troops met on the borders of Bavaria. Shots were exchanged; but the Prussian army was not ready. The Russian tsar showed himself ready to aid Austria in Germany as he had done in Hungary; and finally Frederick William made ignominious submission to the Austrian demands in a conference at *Olmütz* (November, 1850). *Austria restored the old Confederation of 1815.*

III. IN ITALY

713. A Review to 1815. — Italy had been in fragments since the days of the Roman Empire. Her people, however, had not forgotten that once she had ruled the world. Through the Middle Ages, enthusiastic Italians had dreamed of national unity, and some of the great popes had hoped for a union of the peninsula under papal leadership. No progress was made, however, until about 1800. The proclamations of Napoleon I in his Italian campaigns, promising independence, again awoke hope in Italian hearts, and, under his control, some advance was made toward union (§§ 593, 614).

Then, when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon, in 1813 and 1814, the generals of the Allies appealed to the Italian populations with glowing promises. An English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence"; and Austrian proclamations announced: "We come to you as liberators. Long have you groaned beneath oppression. You shall be an independent nation."

714. The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises and hopes. Even the Napoleonic improvements were undone, and medieval conditions were restored. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (§ 626), and *most of the rest of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence.* Bourbon rule was restored in the south over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where the king pledged himself to allow no institutions more liberal than those permitted by Austria in her districts. Dukes, *dependent upon Austria,* were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and Naples lay the restored Papal States, with the government in close sympathy with Austria. In the northwest the Kingdom of Sardinia was given back to its native line of monarchs, to whom the people were loyally attached. This was the one Italian state (beside the pope's territories) where the ruler was not strictly dependent on Austrian protection. But even in Sardinia until 1848 the government was a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."


MAZZINI.

715. From 1815 to 1848. — The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and the Holy Alliance has been told. In 1830, after the July Revolution in Paris, new revolutions broke out in the Papal States and the small duchies, but these movements also were soon put down by Austria.

The next ten years are famous for the organization of "Young Italy" by Mazzini. Mazzini was a lawyer of Genoa and a revolutionary enthusiast who was to play, in freeing Italy, a part somewhat like that of Garrison and Phillips in preparing for our American Civil War. *His mission was to create a great moral enthusiasm.* His words and writings worked wonderfully upon the younger Italians of the educated classes, and his Society of Young Italy replaced the older Carbonari (§ 639). Young Italy had for its program a *united Italian Republic.* The idea of a free and united Italy grew steadily, until even some of the rulers became imbued with it. Especially did the Liberals hope much from Pius IX, a liberal Italian, who was chosen pope in 1846, in opposition to the wishes of Austria.

716. Thus when the revolutions of 1848 broke out, Italy was ready to strike for national union and independence. On the news of Metternich's flight, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons. Then Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, gave his people a constitution and put himself at the head of a movement to expel Austria from the peninsula. The pope and the rulers of Tuscany and Naples promised loyal aid. Venice and other small states in the north voted for incorporation into Sardinia.

But the king of Naples was dishonest in his promises; and even the liberal and patriotic pope was not ready to break fully with Austria. Except for a few thousand volunteer soldiers, Charles Albert got no help from Italy south of Lombardy; and, July 15, 1848, he was defeated at *Custozza.* Then the movement passed into the hands of the Radicals. Venice and Florence each set up a republic; and in February, 1849, the citizens of Rome, led by Mazzini, drove away the pope and proclaimed the "Roman Republic."

These republican movements succeeded for the hour only because Austria was busied in Bohemia and Hungary. But soon a strong Austrian army was sent to Italy. Charles Albert took the field once more, but was defeated decisively at *Novara* (March, 1849); and Venice was captured in August after gallant resistance. Louis Napoleon restored the pope to his Roman principality, and left a French garrison there for his protection during the next twenty years, to 1870.

717. Summary. — The restoration seemed complete in Europe. The Revolution closed in Italy with Novara (March, 1849), in Hungary with the fall of the Republic (July, 1849), and in Germany with the "humiliation of Olmütz" (December, 1850). A year later it closed in France with Napoleon's *coup d'état*.

Still, *feudalism was finally gone*, even from the Austrian realms; and in both Italy and Prussia, as we shall see, there had been gains which, in the next twenty years, in a period of "blood and iron," ~~were~~ to give rise to a new Kingdom of Italy and a new German Empire.

For Further Reading. — Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 152–186. Andrews, Seignobos, and Phillips, as before. Murdock's *Reconstruction of Europe* has a clear account. Headlam's *Germany, 1815–1819*, and Henderson's *Short History of Germany* are excellent.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE MAKING OF ITALY

718. The making of Italy really began in '48. In 1820–1821 the extremities of the peninsula had been convulsed by revolution; in 1830, the middle states; in 1848, there was no foot of Italian ground not shaken, and this time the revolutionists sought union as ardently as freedom. The movement failed; but it revealed the fact that "United Italy," once a dream of scattered enthusiasts, was at last a passionate faith in the hearts of a whole people. Moreover, it showed one state willing to risk annihilation to carry on the work. From this time, the making of Italy is the history of Piedmont (§ 639).

719. Victor Emmanuel. — The night after the defeat of Novara (§ 716), Charles Albert abdicated, and his son, *Victor Emmanuel II,* became king of Sardinia. The young prince was an intense patriot. A popular story tells how, as he rallied his shattered regiment at the close of the fatal day of Novara and withdrew sullenly from the bloody field, he shook his clenched fist at the Austrian ranks with the vow, "By the Almighty, my Italy yet shall be!"

The new king was at once called upon to stand a sharp test. Victorious Austria insisted that he should abolish the new constitution (§ 716). In return, Austria offered easy terms of peace, and promised military support against any revolt. At the same time the obstinate and inexperienced Sardinian parliament was embarrassing the king by foolish opposition. But Victor Emmanuel nobly refused the Austrian bribe, declaring that he would rather lose his crown. In consequence, he had to submit to severe terms. But a frank appeal to his people gave him a new loyal parliament, which ratified the peace, and his conduct won him the title of "the Honest King."

720. Austria, which Sardinia wished to expel from Italy, had 37,000,000 people. Sardinia was poor and had only 5,000,000 people. **For several years, the king and his great minister, *Cavour*, bent all energies to strengthening Sardinia for another struggle and to securing allies outside Italy.** Victor Emmanuel was essentially a soldier. *Cavour was the statesman whose brain was to guide the making of Italy.* The king's part was loyally and steadily to support him. Exiles and fugitive Liberals from other Italian states were welcomed at the Sardinian court and were often given high office there, *so that the government seemed to belong to the whole peninsula.* Cavour carried through the parliament many economic, military, and social reforms. And, in 1854, he sent a small but excellent Sardinian army to assist the allies against Russia in the Crimean War (§ 703). Mazzini called this action a monstrous moral degradation; and many other Liberals condemned it bitterly. The action may easily be called immoral; but it is well to see Cavour's two reasons for it:

a. The Crimean War, unnecessary as it was, was, after all, in a way a defiance of despotic Russia by more liberal France and England.[1] Italy had reason to join in this feeling toward Russia: the Tsar had been strongly opposed to the liberal movements of 1848; he had helped crush Hungary, virtually an ally of Sardinia in the war of that period; and he had declined to recognize the accession of Victor Emmanuel.

b. Cavour wished to show that Sardinia was a military power, and to secure for her a place in the councils of Europe, so as to obtain intervention for Italy against Austria. This second reason, of course, was the deeper motive. Said an Italian officer to soldiers digging in the trenches before Sebastopol, "Of this mud our Italy is to be made."

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[1] This explains the tone of Tennyson's *Maud*, toward it.

721. At the Congress of Paris, in 1856, Cavour's policy bore fruit. Cavour sat there on full equality with the representatives of the Great Powers; and, despite Austria's protests, he secured attention for an eloquent and convincing statement of the needs of Italy and of her claim upon Europe. Upon all minds he impressed forcefully *that Italian unrest could never cease so long as Austria remained in the peninsula.*

CAVOUR.

722. First Step in the Growth of Sardinia into Italy. — Three years later this patient diplomatic game was won. As a young man, in exile from France, Louis Napoleon had been involved in the plots of the Carbonari for Italian freedom. Cavour now drew him into a secret alliance. In return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French (§ 626), and for a marriage alliance,[1] Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia *if Cavour could provoke Austria into beginning a war.*

Cavour then inveigled Austria into the attack. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of Magenta and Solferino (§ 703) drove Austria forever out of Lombardy, which was promptly incorporated into Sardinia. *This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy.* The population of the growing state had risen at a stroke from five millions to eight.

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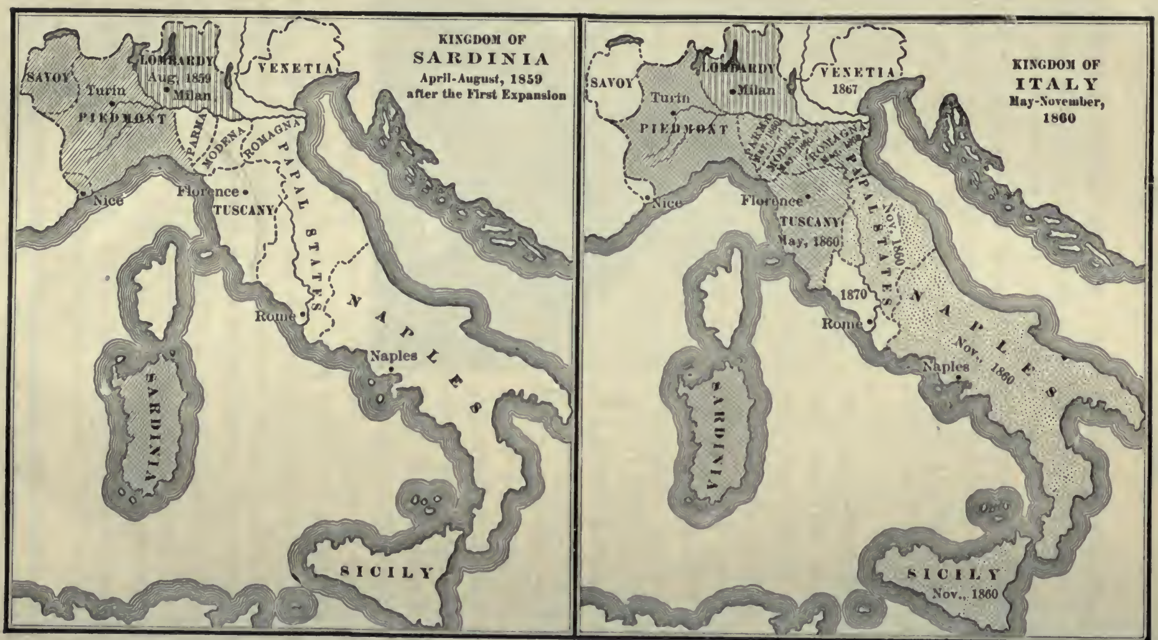
[1] Victor Emmanuel was persuaded to sacrifice his young daughter by giving her in marriage to the dissolute Prince Napoleon, a relative of Louis Napoleon.


KINGDOM OF
SARDINIA
April-August, 1859
after the First Expansion
SAVOY
Turin
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
Aug., 1859
Milan
VENETIA
PARMA
MODENA
ROMAGNA
PAPAL STATES
Nice
Florence
TUSCANY
Rome
NAPLES
Naples
SARDINIA
SICILY
KINGDOM OF
ITALY
May-November,
1860
SAVOY
Turin
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
Milan
VENETIA
1867
PARMA
May, 1860
MODENA
May, 1860
ROMAGNA
May, 1860
PAPAL STATES
Nov., 1860
Nice
Florence
TUSCANY
May, 1860
1870
Rome
NAPLES
Nov., 1860
Naples
SARDINIA
SICILY
Nov., 1860

GROWTH OF ITALIAN UNITY. 1859-1880.

723. Venetia remained in Austria's hands, but Napoleon suddenly made peace. The Italians felt that they had been betrayed by "the infamous treaty";[1] and probably they were right. Napoleon had no wish that Italy should be one strong, consolidated nation; and he began to see that a *free* Italy would be a *united* Italy.

724. Annexation of the Duchies. — It soon became apparent that more had already been accomplished than the mere freeing of Lombardy. At the beginning of the war, the peoples of the duchies (Parma, Modena, and Tuscany) had driven out their dukes (dependants of Austria) and had set up provisional governments. At the peace, Napoleon had promised Austria that the dukes should be restored. He had stipulated, however, that Austria should not use force against the duchies; and the people now insisted upon incorporation with Sardinia.

For eight months this situation continued, while Cavour played a second delicate diplomatic game with Napoleon. Only a foreign army could again place the dukes upon their thrones, and Cavour finally persuaded Napoleon to leave the matter to a plebiscite, his favorite device in France. In March, 1860, the three duchies by almost unanimous votes[2] declared again for annexation. *This was the second step in expansion.* Sardinia was enlarged once more by one-third, and had now become a state of eleven million people, comprising all Italy north of the papal districts, except Venetia.

725. The next advance was due in its beginning to *Garibaldi* (a gallant republican soldier in the Revolution of 1848), who had now given his allegiance loyally to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in Sicily. Cavour thought it needful to make a show of trying to stop the expedition. When it was safely under way, he expressed his "regret" in a note to the Powers of Europe. And he had sent a message to the Sardinian Admiral, — "Try to place your fleet between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. *I hope you understand me."* The admiral "understood" very well that he was to protect, not hinder, the expedition. Garibaldi landed safely in Sicily and won the island almost without bloodshed. Crossing to the mainland he easily occupied Naples also, while the Bourbon king fled. Obeying a popular demand, Garibaldi proclaimed Victor Emmanuel *"King of Italy."*

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[1] Read James Russell Lowell's *Villafranca,* to get an idea of the wrath of freedom-loving men at Napoleon's betrayal.

[2] In Tuscany the vote stood 366,571 to 14,925; and this was the largest adverse vote.

He then planned to seize Rome from its French garrison. Such a move would have brought on intervention from both Austria and France, and would have put at hazard all that had been gained. Cavour made prompt decision. Victor Emmanuel with the Sardinian army moved south to take up the war in the Kingdom of Naples, and to check Garibaldi's mad march. Rome and the surrounding territory was left to the pope; but the Marches and Umbria (the eastern part of the Papal States) were allowed, with the Kingdom of Naples, to vote on the question of annexation to Sardinia. The vote was even more nearly unanimous than that in the duchies had been.

GARIBALDI.

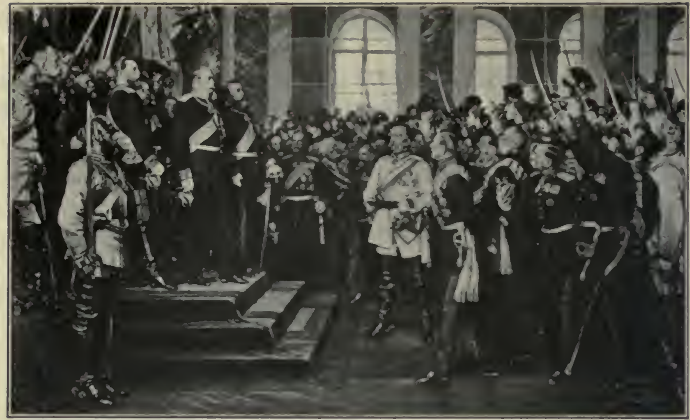
726. These additions made the third step in the expansion of "Sardinia" into "Italy." The new state now comprised all the peninsula *except Rome and Venetia;* and it reached from the Alps to Sicily. This time the population was raised from eleven to twenty-two millions. In February, 1861, the first "Italian parliament" met at Turin and enthusiastically confirmed the establishment of the "**Kingdom of Italy.**" Cavour's statesmanship was triumphant. In this first parliament of the new nation an opposition party to the great minister hardly raised its head. Five months later, Cavour was dead, broken down by the terrible strain of his work. His last words were, "Italy is made — all is safe." His achievements rank as the most marvelous in all modern statesmanship.

Victor Emmanuel.

The acquisition of the two remaining provinces, **Venetia and Rome (1867 and 1870)**, was intertwined with the making of Germany (§ 727 ff.)

For Further Reading. — Bolton King's *Italian Unity* is the best single work. Good accounts will be found in Probyn's *Italy*, Bolton King's *Mazzini*, Dicey's *Victor Emmanuel*, or Cesaresco's *Cavour*. Hazen, Andrews, Seignobos, Phillips, and Murdock all contain brief treatments. Good material will be found in Robinson and Beard's, *Readings*, II, 115–141.

Special Report. — Garibaldi's life.



PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AT VERSAILLES, January 18, 1871 (§ 739).

CHAPTER XLIX

THE MAKING OF GERMANY

727. William I of Prussia. — In Germany the years from 1850 to 1861 were barren of political results. The only nucleus for a German nation was Prussia; but from Prussia nothing could be expected as long as Frederick William IV reigned. In 1861 that prince was succeeded by his brother, *William I.* The preceding eleven years had seen the making of Italy: the next ten were to see the making of Germany.

William I, destined to become the most revered of German kings, was the prince who had been banished for a time in 1848 to satisfy the Liberals (§ 710). That party had nicknamed him "Prince Cartridge." He was a conservative of the old school, and he had bitterly opposed the mild constitutional concessions of his brother. But he was also a patriot to the core. He tingled with indignation at the humiliation of Olmütz; and he was determined that Prussia should never again have to suffer such disgrace. He hoped, too, with all his heart, for German unity; and he believed that this unity could be made only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

728. The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class, — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reinforced at need by raw levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia. In 1807, after Jena, Napoleon had required Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak, by passing fresh bodies of Prussians through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given two years' service; and part of each regiment was dismissed each year, and its place filled with new levies. These in turn took on regular military discipline, while those who had passed out were held as a reserve.

After the Napoleonic wars were over, Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make the entire male population a trained army; but it had not been fully followed up. Since 1815, population had doubled, but the army had been left upon the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so twenty-five thousand men each year reached military age without being summoned into the ranks.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits each year, instead of 40,000. To do this required a large increase in taxes. But the Prussian parliament (Landtag) was jealous of military power in the hands of a sovereign hostile to constitutional liberty, and it resolutely refused money. Then William found a minister to carry out his will, parliament or no.

729. This man, who was to be the German Cavour, was *Otto von Bismarck*. Thirteen years earlier, Count Bismarck had been known as a grim and violent leader of the "Junkers," the extreme conservative party made up of young landed aristocrats. He held, at that time, to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. When he was announced as the head of a new ministry, the Liberals ominously prophesied a *coup d'état.*

Something *like* a *coup d'état* did take place. The Prussian constitution declared that the ministers must be "responsible" to the Landtag, or parliament. But this did not mean responsible in the modern English sense: that is, it did not mean that they must resign if outvoted; but only that they might be held to account for their actions. William stood steadfastly by his minister; and for four years Bismarck ruled and collected taxes unconstitutionally.

Over and over again, the Landtag demanded Bismarck's dismissal, and many violent scenes took place. The Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Unable to do that, they challenged him repeatedly to duels. Bismarck in turn railed at the Liberals contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron"; and he grimly went on, muzzling the press, bullying or dissolving parliaments, and overriding the national will roughshod.

Meantime, the army was greatly augmented. First of any large army, too, it was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading, repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders; and *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it *the most perfectly organized military machine in Europe.*

730. From the first, Bismarck intended that this reconstructed army should expel Austria from Germany and force the princes of the rest of Germany into a true national union. It had not been possible for him to *avow* his purpose; but time was growing precious, and he began to look anxiously for a chance to use his new tool. By a series of master-stokes of unscrupulous and daring diplomacy, he brought on three wars in the next seven years, — the Danish War (1864), the Six Weeks' War with Austria (1866), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). Out of these war-clouds emerged a new Germany.

731. The Danish War, 1864. — The Danish king was also Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, two provinces at the base of the peninsula. These duchies had some German inhabitants, and the claims upon the provinces by Danish and German princes were exceedingly complicated.

Bismarck determined to secure the duchies for Prussia, who had no claim at all. He felt no moral hesitation, and he had skillfully guarded against interference by the Powers. Russia he had conciliated by aiding her a few months before to put down a Polish rebellion, so that the grateful Tsar was willing to give him a free hand. Napoleon III, as Bismarck afterward explained, "had been allowed to deceive himself" into thinking that France would be permitted to annex Rhine territory to "indemnify" her for Prussia's proposed gain; England would not fight unsupported. *And Austria, the natural ally of Denmark,*[1] *Bismarck made his accomplice.* In 1864 the Prussian and Austian armies seized the duchies, despite the gallant resistance of the Danes.

732. Then Bismarck forced Austria into war over the division of the spoils. He claimed both duchies for Prussia; and, though at Austria's indignant protest a system of joint protection was temporarily arranged, it was plain that the Prussian minister meant to secure all the booty.

King William, however, had scruples. He wanted to fight Austria, but he wanted a just cause. Bismarck had drawn Italy into an alliance by which that country promised to join in an attack upon Austria. But, to satisfy his king, he must provoke Austria into some offensive act. So he was driven to desperate wiles. He continued to make absurd demands regarding the duchies, such as he knew could not be granted. At last, the German Diet summoned Prussia to refer the whole matter to its decision (perfectly in accord with the Confederation). Bismarck offered to do so, *if the Diet would first exclude Austria from the German Confederation.* Under Austria's lead the Diet then declared war on Prussia, "the wanton disturber of the national peace" (June 14, 1866). Bismarck was as jubilant as Cavour had been when *he* had tricked Austria into war in 1859.

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[1] It was to Austria's interest to keep Denmark as strong as possible, in order to check Prussia.

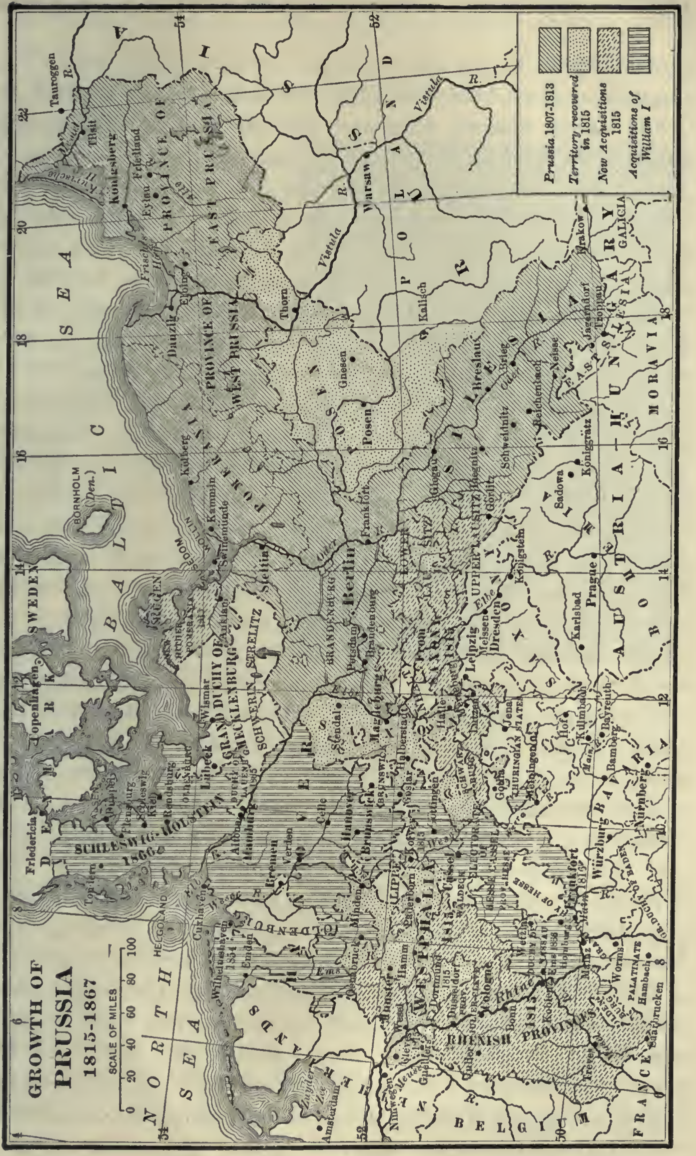
Practically all Germany held to Austria. But Bismarck and Von Moltke were certain of success. In three days the Prussian army seized Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony, — the important hostile states in North Germany; and in less than three weeks from the declaration of war, Austria was completely crushed at *Sadowa* (Königgrätz) in Bohemia. The war is known as "the Six Weeks' War."

733. The Peace gave Venetia to Italy (§ 726). The other still more important provisions come under two heads. The first set augmented Prussian territory. The second set reorganized Germany.

a. **Prussia annexed** Hesse, Hanover, Nassau, and the "free city" of Frankfort. These acquisitions *consolidated her formerly scattered lands.* She also kept Schleswig-Holstein, with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. Her territory was enlarged one half; and her population rose to thirty millions. No other German state approached this — now that Austria was no longer to be a German state.

Frederick II at his accession ruled over two and a half million subjects. This number was doubled during his reign, with some new territory. By 1815, it had doubled again, to ten millions. In the next half century (1815–1866), the population had doubled, without additions of territory. The Six Weeks' War raised it from twenty to thirty millions. Compare the map opposite with that on page 417.

b. Austria definitely withdrew from German affairs; and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by two federations. The first was known as *The North German Federation.* This union was placed under Prussian presidency. It was not a loose league like the old Confederacy, but *a true federal state,* with essentially the same constitution as the present German Empire. The second federation included the four South German states, — Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and



GROWTH OF PRUSSIA 1815-1867

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Prussia 1807-1813
Territory recovered in 1815
New Acquisitions 1815
Acquisitions of William I
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
PROVINCE OF EAST PRUSSIA
PROVINCE OF WEST PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
POSEN
SILESIA
SAXONY
WESTPHALIA
RHENISH PROVINCE
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN 1866
HANOVER
Berlin
POLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
BELGIUM
FRANCE
DENMARK
SWEDEN

Baden. This union was intended to be similar to the old Confederacy of 1815 (of which, indeed, it was a survival).

734. After Sadowa, Bismarck was the idol of the Prussian people. As soon as his purpose to fight Austria became plain, the Liberal opposition in Prussia had been hushed. The Landtag passed enthusiastically the act of indemnity he requested for his previous illegal acts, and gave him a hearty support that made it easier for him to complete his work.

735. Bismarck had outwitted Louis Napoleon in both the preceding wars. After the Danish War, Napoleon had expected to get at least Luxemburg, by Prussia's aid, in return for giving her a free hand (§ 731). And when the Six Weeks' War began, he thought his chance had surely come. Bismarck had visited him shortly before, and had again "permitted" him to deceive himself. Napoleon meant, however, to remain neutral at first, and then step in at the critical moment to save the vanquished. The vanquished, he was sure, would be Prussia. In gratitude for his protection, Prussia would sanction his annexing German territory on the Rhine.

But the war was over, *and over the other way*, before Napoleon's armies were ready. The chance was past: but Napoleon weakly tried negotiation. He suggested to Bismarck that France be allowed to annex part of Bavaria (one of Prussia's antagonists in the war), to offset Prussia's annexations; and then France would give Prussia a free hand in reorganizing Germany. Bismarck was already planning war with France, and this proposal delivered Napoleon into his hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states. *This terrified them into a secret alliance with Prussia.* Now a war with France would fuse the two German Confederations into one.

736. This Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) Bismarck hurried on with characteristic craft. But his success was made possible only by the folly and envy of the rulers of France. French military authorities looked with jealousy and hatred upon the rise of a German nation; and Napoleon was bent desperately on retrieving his reputation.

The immediate occasion for war grew out of a proposal of the Spaniards to place upon their throne a German prince, a distant relative of King William of Prussia. Napoleon called upon William to prevent this, urging that it would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. William did induce his relative to decline the offered crown. Napoleon, however, was bent upon humiliating William. So the French ambassador insisted that William should give a definite pledge that the offer, if renewed, would not be accepted. King William very properly declined to do this. But his refusal, though firm, was so courteous that there was no cause for offense. That night, however, Bismarck sent out reports of the interview *so "edited" as to represent that the king had insulted the French envoy.*[1] As Bismarck hoped, France took fire and declared war (July 19, 1870).

BISMARCK.

737. French Inefficiency. — "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's shoestring," boasted Napoleon's war-minister; and France, which had never been beaten by *one* foe, shouted light-heartedly, "On to Berlin." But the first attempts to move troops showed that the government was honey-combed with corruption and inefficiency. Regiments lacked men. There was no discipline. Arsenals were empty. Transportation was not ready where it was needed, and supplies of all sorts were of poor quality. The French fought gallantly; but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled at every point.

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[1] Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* gives in parallel columns the king's original "Ems Dispatch" and Bismarck's version of it.

738. German Efficiency. — The news that France had declared war reached Berlin late at night. Von Moltke was awakened by an aide, for directions. The story goes that the great general merely turned over, saying, "You will find all instructions in a drawer in my desk. Telegraph the orders as filed there."

At all events, twelve days after the declaration of war (August 1), Germany had put one and a quarter million of trained troops into the field and had massed most of them on the Rhine. The world had never seen such marvelous perfection of military preparation. Carlyle wrote, "It took away the breath of Europe." August 2, William took command at Mainz. The Prussians won victory after victory. One of the two main French armies — 173,000 men — was securely shut up in Metz. And, September 2, the other, of 130,000 men, was captured at *Sedan*, with Napoleon in person. Napoleon remained a prisoner of war for a few months, and soon afterward he died in England. Meantime the Prussians pressed on to the siege of Paris.

739. Out of the war clouds emerged a new German Empire. The South-German peoples went wild with enthusiasm for Prussia. By a series of swift treaties, while this feeling was at its height, Bismarck brought them all into the North German Confederation. Then he arranged that the King of Bavaria and other leading German rulers should ask King William to take the title of *German Emperor.* And on January 18, 1871, while the siege of Paris was still going on, in the ancient palace of French kings at Versailles, William solemnly assumed that title. This act was soon ratified by a parliament of all Germany.

740. Germany had been made not merely by "blood and iron," but also by fraud and falsehood. One can hardly tell the story of such gigantic audacity and successful trickery without seeming to glorify it. Of course, Bismarck did not work for low or personal ends. He was inspired by a broad and lofty patriotism. The national union which he made had to come before the German people could reach the best elements of modern life. He sought a noble end.

At the same time, Bismarck's *methods* were distinctly lower than Cavour's; and his success tended to lower the tone of morality among nations. His policy of fraud and violence, too, while successful at the moment, left Germany troubled with burning questions, and burdened with the crushing weight of militarism and with the rule of police in private life.

The later story of France and Germany can be best understood after studying the growth of constitutional government in England.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, 240–306. Headlam's *Bismarck*, and his *Germany from 1815 to 1889*, are excellent.

EXERCISE. — 1. Review the story of Germany from the Congress of Vienna to the establishment of the Empire. 2. The story of Italy from 1814 to the final union of the peninsula in 1870.

PART X

ENGLAND AFTER 1815: REFORM

Reconstruction without Revolution. — JUDSON.

England in the nineteenth century served as a **political model** *for Europe. The English* **developed** *constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. Other nations have only imitated them.* — SEIGNOBOS.

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CHAPTER L

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN 1815

741. Absence of Political Progress in the Eighteenth Century. — In the eighteenth century England acquired a world-empire and gave the world the Industrial Revolution. But, in political matters, that century was singularly uninteresting. In the preceding century England had led the world in political progress; and she was to do so again in the nineteenth century. But in the eighteenth, except for *accidental* progress in the matter of ministerial government (§ 460), that country actually went backward in freedom.

742. Parliament had never been democratic in make-up, and, after 1688, it **shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords.** This came about largely by accident.

The House of Commons contained 658 members. Ireland sent 100, and Scotland 45. Each of the 40 English counties, large or small, sent two. The rest came from "parliamentary boroughs" in England and Wales.

The old kings had summoned representatives from whatever boroughs they pleased; but a borough which had once sent representatives had the right, by custom, to send them always afterward. At first this power to "summon" boroughs was used wisely to recognize new towns as they grew up. But the Tudor monarchs, in order better to manage parliaments, had summoned representatives from little hamlets which had no just claim to representation. These were "pocket boroughs" — owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. In early times the south of England, with its fertile soil and its ports on the Channel, had been the most populous part; but in the eighteenth century, with the growth of manufactures, *population shifted to the coal and iron regions of the north and west.* In Elizabeth's day that part of the island had only insignificant towns. Before 1800, great cities grew up there, like Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, some of them with more than 100,000 people. *But these new towns could get no representation in parliament;* because after the "Restoration" of 1660, the kings had lost the right to create new boroughs, just when that power might have been used to public advantage.

743. Conditions had become unspeakably unfair and corrupt. *Dunwich* was under the waves of the North Sea, which had gradually encroached upon the land. But a descendant of an ancient owner of the soil possessed the right to row out with the sheriff on election day and choose himself as representative to parliament for the submerged town. *Old Sarum* was once a cathedral city on the summit of a lofty hill; but new Sarum, or Salisbury, a few miles away on the plain, drew the population and the cathedral to itself until not a vestige of the old town remained. Then the grandfather of William Pitt bought the soil where Old Sarum had stood, and it was for this "pocket borough" that the great Pitt entered parliament. It was wittily said at the time, that the Pitt family had "an hereditary seat in the House of Commons." So, *Gatton* was a park, and *Corfe Castle* a picturesque ruin, — each with a representative in parliament.

Then there were a great number of petty villages or little towns, with six or a dozen or fifty voters. Bosseney in Cornwall had three cottages. It had, however, nine voters, eight of them in one family. And these voters elected two members to parliament. Even in large towns, the rules which determined the right to vote were often fantastic, and sometimes they shut out all but a fraction of the inhabitants. Portsmouth, with 46,000 people, had only 103 voters; and in Weymouth, in 1826, the right to vote went with the right to share in the rents of certain ancient village property, — and so twenty persons, some of them paupers, voted because of their title each to one-twentieth of a sixpence.

Many of these places also, with few voters, were "pocket boroughs," — the voters being dependent upon a neighboring landlord and always electing his nominee. Large places had sometimes a like character. In 1828, at Newark, the Duke of Newcastle drove out 587 tenants who ventured to vote against his candidate. Complaint was made in parliament; but the Duke merely answered calmly, "Have I not a right to do what I like with my own?" So the Duke of Norfolk filled eleven seats; and fully two-thirds of the whole House were really the appointees of great landlords.

And when not pocket boroughs, such places commonly were "rotten boroughs." That is, *the few voters sold the seats in parliament* as a regular part of their private revenue. In 1766 Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. *Moreover, all voting was viva-voce,* and the polls were held open for two weeks — so that there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

The House of Commons had become hardly more representative than the House of Lords. As the English historian Macaulay said, The "boasted representative system" of England had decayed into "a monstrous system of *represented ruins* and *unrepresented cities.*" In 1832 Lord John Russell introduced a great Reform Bill in parliament. In his speech he pictured the amazement of a stranger who had come to England to study the free representative government of which Englishmen were so proud. The stranger would be shown, said Lord Russell, a ruined mound, and be told that that mound sent two representatives to parliament. He would be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and be told that those niches sent two representatives to parliament. He would see a green park, with no sign of human habitation, and be told that that park sent two representatives to parliament. And then he might chance to see populous towns, full of human enterprise and industry, but he would be told that most of those towns sent *no* representatives to parliament.

744. Summary. *The sixteenth century in England had seen a* ***new absolutism*** *rise upon the ruins of the old feudalism and the old church. The struggle of the seventeenth century had resulted in replacing this absolutism with* ***representative government highly aristocratic*** *in character. Then, by natural decay, this had hardened into the* ***narrow oligarchy*** *of the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century was to see the victory of* ***democracy.***

For Further Reading. — Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 409–415; Beard's *English Historians*, 538–548 (an extract from Walpole's great *History of England Since 1815*).

CHAPTER LI

THE FIRST REFORM BILL

745. Attempts before 1815. — Progressive men had long seen that parliament no longer represented the nation. The reason why no reform had been secured was that from 1689 to 1815 all energies went to the long French wars. In the twelve years (1763–1775), between the "Seven Years' War" (§ 493) and the American Revolution, the Whig leaders did attempt wise changes. In 1766 William Pitt declared that parliament must reform itself from within, or it would soon be reformed "with a vengeance" from without; and during the next few years many mass meetings urged parliament to take action.

But George III was determined to prevent reform. The war with America was connected closely with this determination. George felt that his two indolent and gross predecessors had allowed kingly power to slip from their hands (§ 460). He meant to get it back, and to "be a king" in fact as well as in name, as his mother had urged him. To do this, he must be able to control parliament. It would be easier to control the parliament as it was then — made up so largely of representatives of pocket borroughs — than to control a parliament that really represented the nation.

Therefore, when just at this time the Americans began to cry, "No taxation without representation," King George felt it needful to put them down. If their claim was allowed, so must the demand of Manchester and other new towns in England for representation in parliament. But if the American demand could be made to seem a treasonable one, on the part of a distant group of rebels, then the king could check the movement in England also. This explains why King George took so active a part against America.

The victory of the Americans seemed at first to have won an immediate victory for English freedom also. King George was forced to say that he was "pleased to appoint" as prime minister his chief enemy, Charles Fox, the leading friend of America. And William Pitt the Younger at once took up the work of reform. Even before peace was declared, Pitt asserted vehemently: Parliament "is not representative of the people of Great Britain. It is representative of nominal boroughs, and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals." This condition, he declared, alone had made it possible for the government to wage against America "this unjust, cruel, wicked, and diabolical war."

In the years that immediately followed, Pitt introduced three different bills to reform parliament; but, before anything was accomplished, came the French Revolution. This shelved all prospect of success. In 1790, on a proposal for reform, the keynote of the opposition was struck by a Tory speaker who exclaimed that no wise man would select a hurricane season to repair his roof, however dilapidated. Soon the violence of the Revolutionists in France turned the whole English middle class definitely against change — and projects for reform slumbered for forty years more (1790–1830).

This unhappy check came just when the evils of the Industrial Revolution were becoming serious. But the Tory party, which had carried England stubbornly to victory through the tremendous wars against Napoleon, was totally unfitted to cope with internal questions. Its leaders looked on every time-sanctioned abuse as sacred. Even after the fall of Napoleon, they refused to listen to proposals for reform.

746. From 1815 to 1830. — The peace of 1815 was followed by a general business depression, — the first modern "panic." This resulted in labor riots and in political agitation. The Tory government met such movements by stern laws, forbidding public meetings (without consent of magistrates) under penalty of death; suspending habeas corpus; and suppressing debating societies. In 1812 two editors were condemned to a year's imprisonment for saying that a rival paper had been guilty of exaggeration in calling the Prince of Wales an Adonis (a Greek of great beauty). Between 1808 and 1821, ninety-four other journalists were punished for libelous or seditious utterances, and twelve of them were condemned to transportation to penal colonies. The government even prosecuted men for sedition who merely signed petitions for the reform of parliament.

Some small gains, however, were made before 1830. In 1825 parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in labor unions — which had always before been treated as *conspiracies.* In 1828 political rights were restored to Protestant dissenters (Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists); and the next year the same justice was secured for Catholics. A beginning was made, too, in the reform of the atrocious laws regarding capital punishment.

The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Its worst faults, like the abuses of the rotten borough era in politics, were due to the English dislike for change. Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some parliament had fixed a death penalty for it, and no later parliament had ever revised the code. In 1660 the number of "capital crimes" was fifty (three and a half times as many as there were in New England at the same time under the much slandered "blue laws"), and by 1800 the number had risen to over two hundred. To steal a sheep, to snatch a handkerchief out of a woman's hand, to cut down trees in an orchard, were all punishable by death. The reformer *Romilly* had long agitated for the repeal of these absurd and cruel laws; and in 1823 parliament struck the death penalty from 100 offenses.

747. 1830–1832. — In 1830 George IV was succeeded by his brother William IV. William was supposed to be more liberal than the preceding king; and at just this time the French Revolution of 1830, by its moderation and success, greatly strengthened the reform party.

A new parliament was at once chosen; and the Whigs promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The prime minister was the Tory *Wellington*, the hero of Waterloo. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he did not believe the existing representation "could be improved"! This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of parliament. He was compelled to resign; and the Whigs came into power with *Earl Grey* as prime minister. Grey was a stately English lord, whose eloquence at the trial of Warren Hastings forty years before has been celebrated by Macaulay. In the House of Commons the chief member of the ministry was Lord John Russell. He was the son of a duke, and his title of Lord at this time was only a "courtesy title."[1]

WILLIAM IV.

Lord Russell drew the bill for the reform of parliament. It aimed (1) *to distribute representation* somewhat more fairly, and (2) *to extend the franchise* to a somewhat larger class of voters. The *manner of voting* was not affected, because Earl Grey objected to the ballot system.

Representation was to be taken away from 56 "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, and one member was to be taken from 30 more small places under 4000 people each. The 86 seats gained in this way were given to new boroughs that needed representation. The suffrage was extended to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth $50 a year, and to the whole "farmer" class in the country (§ 681). *Farm laborers and the artisan class in towns* (who lived in tenements or as lodgers) *were still left out.*

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[1] Later, Russell himself was a great prime minister. During the American Civil War, he was the member of the English ministry directly responsible for carelessly letting the *Alabama* escape to prey on American commerce, — a fact for which he afterward apologized.

748. The Struggle. — To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the foundations of society. Fierce debates lasted month after month. In March of 1831 the ministry carried the "second reading" by a majority of *one* vote. It was plain that the Whig majority was not large enough to save the bill from hostile amendment. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve, and "appeal to the country" for better support. The king was bitterly opposed to this plan. A passionate scene took place between him and his ministers, but he was forced to give way — and so, incidentally, it was settled that *the ministry*, not the king, dissolves parliament. *This means that parliament really dissolves itself.*

The dissolution proved that the ministry meant to stand or fall on the bill. People showed their joy everywhere by illuminating windows; and a mob smashed the windows of Wellington's castle because they were not lighted. The Whigs went into the campaign with the cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Despite the unrepresentative nature of parliament, they won an overwhelming majority. In June Lord Russell introduced the bill again. In September it passed the Commons, 345 to 239. *Then the Lords calmly voted it down.*

One session of the second parliament was wasted. The nation cried out passionately against the House of Lords, and there was some demand for its abolition. There was much violence, and England seemed on the verge of revolution.

In December the same parliament met for a new session. Lord Russell introduced the same bill for the third time. It passed the Commons by an increased majority. This time the

Lords did not venture altogether to throw it out, but they tacked on hostile amendments.

The king had always had power to make new peers at will. Lord Grey now demanded from the king authority to create enough new peers to save the bill. William refused. Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories tried to form a ministry, but could get no majority. Angry mobs stormed about the king's carriage in the streets. It was feared that William and Wellington might try to overthrow the Whigs by a *coup d'état;* and the Whig leaders went so far as secretly to prepare for civil war. Finally the king recalled the Whig ministry.

William was still unwilling to create new peers, but he offered to use his personal influence to get the upper House to pass the bill. Happily, Earl Grey was firm to show where real sovereignty lay; and finally the king was compelled to sign the scrap of paper (still exhibited in the British Museum) on which the Earl had written, "*The King grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill.*" This ended the struggle. It was not needful actually to make new peers. The Tory lords withdrew from the sessions, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

749. Incidentally the long contest had settled two points in the constitution:

It had shown how the Commons could control the Lords.

It had shown that the ministers are not the king's ministry, except in name, but that they are really the ministry, or servants, of the House of Commons. This principle has never since been threatened. The king acts only through the ministers. Even the speech he reads at the opening of parliament is written for him, and without consulting him; and he cannot change a phrase in it.

750. Excursus: the way in which a change in ministry is brought about should be clearly understood. If the ministry is outvoted on any matter of importance, it must resign. If it does not do so, and claims to be in doubt whether it has really lost its majority, its opponents will test the matter by moving a vote of "lack of confidence." If this carries, the ministry takes it as a mandate to resign.

There is only one alternative: If the ministry believes that the nation will support it, it may dissolve parliament, and "appeal to the country." If the new parliament gives it a majority, it may go on. If not, it must at once give way to a new ministry.

In form, the new ministry is chosen by the king; *but in reality, he simply names those whom the will of the majority in the Commons has plainly pointed out.* Indeed, he names only one man, whom he asks to "form a government." This man becomes *prime minister*, and selects the other ministers. In a parliamentary election, Englishmen really vote also for the next prime minister, just as truly, *and about as directly*, as we in this country vote for our President. If the king asks any one else to form a ministry but the man whom the Commons have accepted as their leader, probably the man asked will respectfully decline. If he tries to act, he will fail to get other strong men to join him, and his ministry will at once fail. If there were any real uncertainty as to which one of several men were leader, the matter would be settled by conference among the leaders, and the ministry would, of course, include all of them. In 1902 Balfour was chosen by the Conservatives in such a conference.

A curious feature to an American student is that all this complex procedure *rests only on custom* — nowhere on a written constitution. Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department — Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, and so on. The leading assistants in all these departments — some forty people now — are included in the ministry. About twenty of the forty, — holding the chief positions, — make the inner circle which is called the Cabinet.

The Cabinet is really "the Government," and is often referred to by that title. It is the real executive as well as the guiding force *in the legislature.* In their private meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policy. In parliament they introduce bills and advocate them. As ministers, they carry out the plans agreed upon. The prime minister corresponds in a way to *a combination of the President and the Congressional Speaker in America.* The Cabinet is what our cabinet would be if the President were merely its head, and if its members had seats in Congress with control over the order of business in that body, and with power to dissolve it and appeal to the people if Congress differed with it.

The English dissolution, it should be seen clearly, is a sort of referendum (§ 854). It gives the English people a better chance to express their will *directly* on *particular* important questions than we in America get — except in very rare instances. That is one reason why many Englishmen claim that their government — in spite of the "figure-head royalty" — is really more democratic than ours. **It does respond more quickly to the will of the nation than ours does.**

Moreover, *the union of executive and legislative parts of the government fixes responsibility.* In America, Congress passes a multitude of bills and appropriations, often by log-rolling processes, for which no party and no leading member will confess responsibility. In England, *the ministry is responsible for every bill that is passed.* Either the ministry introduces the bill to begin with, or at least it permits or adopts it. If not willing to do that, it either defeats the bill, or is itself defeated. It cannot dodge responsibility to the nation. Deadlocks between executive and legislature are of course impossible.

The king's veto, of course, has disappeared in these changes. The last veto was one by Queen Anne in 1707. Now the only veto is a dissolution of parliament by the ministry, and if the country is in favor of the "vetoed" measure, the next parliament is certain to make it into law.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, it should be understood, holds a very different position from the Speaker in America. Here he is the party leader of the majority party.

He appoints committees so as to give complete control of Congress to his own party, and in debates, he recognizes members in such order as he and the leaders of his party have decided upon — not simply as they claim the floor. In England, the Speaker is absolutely non-partisan, — a true presiding "moderator," bound to treat all members and parties impartially.

No authority in England can set aside a law of parliament, as our Supreme Court sometimes does with laws of Congress. There is no possibility of a deadlock between legislature and executive; nor, since the "mending" of the House of Lords in 1914 (§ 900) can there be any long continued deadlock between the two Houses of the Legislature. An election is followed by the immediate meeting of the new parliament, while in the United States a new Congress does not meet, commonly, until thirteen months after its election. The English election, too, is very often to decide some particular important question. The English people can express their will in such an election, and feel sure that it will be made promptly into law. It is not strange that Englishmen boast (so far as the machinery of government is concerned) that their country is *in practice* more democratic than any other large country.

751. Excursus: American and English Democracy. — The First Reform Bill was one episode in a general period of democratic advance. The Second French Revolution and its results for Europe have been mentioned. In America, too, much progress was made at about the same time. All the original States had shut out large classes from voting (more than half all the men on an average), and still larger classes from holding office, by graded property qualifications. But in 1821, fifteen of the twenty-four States had manhood suffrage, and the number was steadily growing. Public officials, too, were just ceasing to wear powdered hair, knee-breeches, and silk stockings, to mark themselves off from the common people.

Moreover, the wider franchise of the American States was used more directly than at first. In 1800 only six of the sixteen commonwealths of that day chose presidential electors by the voters directly; but, after 1832, South Carolina was the only State that continued to choose them by the legislature. The electors, too, were no longer supposed to be a select coterie who were to "refine" the popular judgment by their own higher intelligence. They had become — what they have since remained — "mere letter carriers," to register the will of the people.

Thus in England the nation politely shelved the old hereditary, monarchic executive by taking over its powers through a committee of the elected parliament. In America the people captured the old indirectly elective, aristocratic executive, by making it directly responsive to the popular will. The victory of Jackson, in the election of 1828, marks this change. He was called the "chosen Tribune of the people." Since that time, the President has been more truly representative of the people's will than Congress has. One result of the contrast between English and American democracy is that, while the royal veto has utterly vanished, the Presidential veto has steadily grown in importance.

For Further Reading. — The most brilliant story is Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, 25–83. Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, 9–52, is excellent. See also one or more of the following: Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 428–438; Beard's *English Historians*, 549–565, and 594–607 (extract from Bagehot's *English Constitution*); Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, II, 239–245; Cheyney's *Readings*, 679–690. Lee's *Source Book* gives one of Russell's speeches, and a letter from Macaulay. Weyman's *Chipping Borough* (fiction) shows forcefully the mob influence in 1832 and reflects faithfully the snobbishness of the middle-class Liberals of the time.

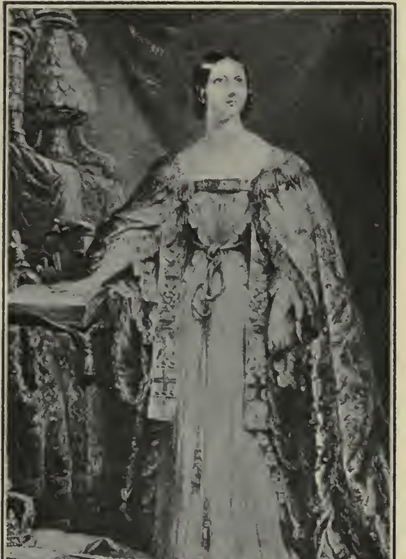
CHAPTER LII

POLITICAL REFORM IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

752. The First Reform Bill introduced a new era, which we call *the Victorian age.* In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, a girl of eighteen, whose reign filled the next sixty-four years. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl. She was not brilliant, nor particularly intellectual; but she grew into a worthy, sensible, good woman, of splendid moral influence, deeply loved by her people and admired by all the world. In 1840 she married Albert, the ruler of a small German principality; and their happy, pure, and lovely family life (blessed with nine children) was an example new to European courts for generations.

In politics Victoria kept willingly the position of a "constitutional" sovereign; but, on some critical occasions, she did induce her ministers to moderate their intended policy. The most notable instance of this sort was in 1861, when her suggestion and influence softened a communication from the English government to the United States, which otherwise might have driven the two countries into war (the Mason and Slidell incident at the opening of our Civil War).

The Victorian age was a period of peace, prosperity, refinement of morals, and intellectual glory. Throughout the long period, England remained the must powerful and the richest country in the world, — leading especially in manufacturing, in commerce, in sea-power, and in literature. In this last respect, English leadership is marked by a long list of famous names. True, *Burns*, *Byron*, and *Scott* belong to the age of the Georges; *Wordsworth* and *Macaulay*, too, had begun their activity before the accession of Victoria. But *Browning*, *Tennyson*, *Dickens*, "*George Eliot*," and *Thackeray* are only a part of the dazzling Victorian galaxy in poetry and fiction, while such names as *Darwin*, *Tyndal*, and *Huxley* suggest some of the services of Victorian scientists to the world. During the same period, the literary charm of *Carlyle*, *Ruskin*, and *William Morris* enabled them to preach effectively to all English-speaking peoples their new views of life and of art.



Queen Victoria. At the time of her coronation. — From a portrait in Westminster Abbey.

753. Politics in the Victorian Age. — The First Reform Bill gave votes to 650,000 people — or to *one out of six grown men.* This was five times as liberal as the French franchise after the Revolution of 1830. Political power in England had passed from a narrow, selfish landlord oligarchy to a broad enlightened middle-class aristocracy. For more than forty years (1790–1830), parliament had openly been contemptuous of public opinion. Thenceforward it has been always promptly responsive to that force, and reform has crowded upon reform.

During the next forty-two years (1832–1874) the Tories (Conservatives[1]) were in power less than one-sixth of the time. After that period, they, too, adopted a liberal policy toward the working classes, and secured longer leases of power.[1] The man who did most to educate the Conservatives into this new attitude toward social reform was Disraeli, the real leader of the party through the third quarter of the nineteenth century. By birth Disraeli was a Jew. He was an author, and a man of brilliant genius. Some critics called him "a Conservative with Radical opinions," while others insisted that he had no principles in politics. Carlyle expressed the general amazement at Disraeli's attitude and at his success in drawing his party with him, — "a superlative Hebrew conjurer, spell-binding all the great lords, great parties, great interests, and leading them by the nose, like helpless, mesmerized, somnambulant cattle."

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[1] Soon after the great Reform Bill, the name *Conservative* began to replace Tory, and *Liberal* replaced Whig.

An even more important figure was Disraeli's great adversary, *William E. Gladstone.* Gladstone entered parliament in 1833, at the first election after the Reform Bill, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and a master of debate. He was then an extreme Tory. By degrees he grew Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the unchallenged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place, — four times prime minister, — and at the close of his long career he had become an advanced Radical.

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[1] **Reference Table of Administrations:**

	Liberals	*Conservatives*
1830–34	Grey	
1834–35		Peel
1835–41	Melbourne	
1841–46		Peel
1846–52	Russell	
1852		Derby
1852–58	(1) Aberdeen (2) Palmerston	
1858–59		Derby
1859–66	(1) Palmerston (2) Russell	
1866–68		Derby
1868–74	Gladstone	
1874–80		Disraeli (Beaconsfield)
1880–85	Gladstone	
1885–86		Salisbury
1886	Gladstone	
1886–92		Salisbury
1892–95	(1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery	
1895–1906		(1) Salisbury (2) Balfour
1906	Campbell-Bannerman Asquith (to 1915)	

His early friends accused Gladstone bitterly as inconsistent or treacherous; but the world at large accepted his own simple explanation of his changes, — "I was brought up to distrust liberty; I learned to believe in it." For the last quarter-century of his life he was widely revered as England's "Grand Old Man."

After this general survey, we will turn to some of the details of England's progress in the Victorian age.

754. The Tories at once accepted the result of 1832, as the Conservative party in England always does when a new reform has once been forced upon them. **But they planted themselves upon it as a finality.** Even the Whigs, who were by no means democrats, agreed in this "finality" view. In the parliament of 1837 a Radical moved a resolution in favor of a further extension of the franchise; but Lord Russell, speaking for the ministry, condemned it savagely, and only twenty-two votes supported it. A few eager Radicals in parliament for a time kept up a cry for a more liberal franchise, but soon they gave up the contest, to take part in the great social legislation of the period (§ 763 ff.).

755. But outside parliament, and outside the sovereign middle class, **lay the *masses of workingmen*,** who knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and public demonstrations, and who felt that they had been cheated of the fruits.[1] *This class continued restless;* but they lacked leadership, and, in ordinary times, their claims secured little attention. Two marked periods of agitation there were, however, at intervals of nearly twenty years, — just before 1848 and again before 1867. The first was futile; the second led to the Second Reform Bill.

756. The earlier of the two agitations is the famous *Chartist* movement. Even before the First Reform Bill, there had been an extensive agitation for a *more radical* change, and the extremists had fixed upon six points to struggle for: (1) manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualification for membership in parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the ballot, and (6) annual elections.[1] In 1837 the Radicals renewed their agitation, and these "Six Points" were embodied in the *Charter* they demanded. Excitement grew for years,[2] and in the forties, many *Chartists* looked forward to rebellion. Men drilled and armed; and the government was terrified into taking stringent precautions.

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[1] There is an admirable treatment in Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, ch. ii.

DISRAELI—LORD BEACONSFIELD.

"Forty-eight" was the critical year. The Chartists adopted a resolution, "All labor shall cease till the people's Charter becomes the law of the land." This was the first attempt at a national strike for political purposes. But the plan for monster demonstrations, with great petitions and processions, fizzled out, and the "year of revolutions" saw no disturbance in England that called for more than a few extra policemen.

757. The next agitation took its rise from the suffering of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for English factories. This time no one dreamed of force. The agitators could count safely on winning, through the rivalry of the two political parties; and *the "Second Reform Bill" was finally passed in 1867* by the Conservative ministry of Derby and Disraeli.

Lord Derby was prime minister, but, as he sat in the Lords, it was necessary to intrust some Commoner with special leadership in the lower

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[1] To the average British "Liberal" of 1832, such demands seemed revolutionary, but the first five have now been adopted. The sixth is no longer demanded.

[2] Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke* is a powerful story of this period.

House. This task fell upon Disraeli, who became (as is usually the case under such conditions) the real genius of the administration.

Votes were now given in the towns to *all householders* (owners or renters) and to *all lodgers who paid ten pounds a year for their rooms.* Thus the bill gave the franchise to *the artisan class,* raising the number of voters to over *three million,* or to something over half the adult male population of that time.

758. The "Third Reform Bill," 1884. — The *unskilled laborers* in town and country, and the male house-servants, still had no votes; but England had taken a tremendous step toward democracy. This victory of 1867, like that of 1832, was followed by a period of sweeping legislation for social reforms, — mainly in Gladstone's Liberal ministry, 1868–1874 (§ 768). Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and chiefly concerned with foreign matters (§ 769), Gladstone took office again, and the "Third Reform Bill" (1884) enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class.

This raised the electorate to *over six millions,* and (except for unmarried sons, without property, living in the father's family) it *enfranchised practically all self-supporting men.* The next year, parliament did away with the chief remaining inequalities in representation by dividing England into parliamentary districts, like our congressional districts.

It is well to fix clearly the nature of the three Reform Bills. The First (1832) enfranchised the middle class (merchants, shopkeepers, professional men, etc., besides the gentry, freeholders, and members of borough corporations, who had the franchise before). The Second (1867) enfranchised the artisans in the towns. The Third (1884) enfranchised the unskilled laborers. The proportion of voters to population is now about the same as in the United States.

759. Four other reforms have made English politics clean and honest.

In 1870 the secret ballot was introduced. The form adopted was the excellent one known as the Australian ballot, from its use in Victoria. Many of the States of our Union have since then adopted the same model.

Between 1855 and 1870, the civil service was thoroughly reformed. In earlier years, public offices had been given to reward political partisans, in as disgraceful a degree as ever marked American politics. But since 1870, appointments have always been made after competitive examinations, and **now *no* appointed official is removed for party reasons.** England had completed this great reform just when the United States began it.

In 1868 parliament turned over to the courts the trial of contested elections. In earlier times, when the kings sometimes attempted to control the composition of parliament, it was needful for the Commons themselves to have the right to decide between two men who claimed the same seat. That need had passed away; and the decision of contested elections in parliament, as in our legislatures still, was often made by a strict "party vote," without regard to the merits of the opposing claims. In transferring these cases to the courts, England led the way in a reform which other free countries will in time adopt.

Bribery in elections, direct and also indirect, was effectively checked by the "Corrupt Practices Prevention Act" of 1883.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the Second and Third Bills, interesting treatments are to be found in Hazen, Rose, McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, and in the younger McCarthy's *England under Gladstone*. Beard's *English Historians*, 566–581 and 582–593, is admirable. On the Chartists, Rose, 84–146; Hazen, 446–450; Lee's *Source Book*, 530–539.

CHAPTER LIII

REFORM IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

760. The extension of the franchise in the three great "Reform" bills applied only to *parliamentary* elections. **Local government** remained aristocratic. It was not centralized, as in France; but *each local unit was controlled by the local aristocracy.*

a. **The two *rural* units,** the *counties* and the *parishes,* were altogether controlled by the *country gentry,* without even the form of an election. The crown appointed a *Board of Justices of the Peace,* **for life,** from the most important gentlemen of each county. This Board managed all matters of county government, acting both as judges and as county commissioners. And each parish was ruled by a *vestry* of twelve gentlemen who formed a ***close corporation,*** **holding office for life and themselves filling vacancies.**

b. ***In the towns,*** the government was usually vested in *a mayor and a council,* who were virtually *self-elected for life.* This town rule had long been indescribably corrupt. The "corporation," as the government was called, never represented any large part of the inhabitants. The members spent public funds as they pleased, — largely *in salaries to themselves,* and in entertainments and state dinners, — and they rented public property to each other at nominal prices, while all the pressing needs of the great and growing city populations were ignored.

761. **This corrupt town government was the first part of local government to be reformed.** Earl Grey's ministry in 1833 appointed "a commission of inquiry"; and, after the report of the commission in 1835, Lord Russell introduced a Municipal Reform Bill. The measure provided that 183 boroughs (indicated by name) should each have a municipal council *elected by all who paid local taxes.* The Lords went wild with dismay at this "gigantic innovation," and by votes of 6 to 1, they amended nearly every clause in the bill so as to make it worthless. At this time, O'Connell, the Irish agitator, started a movement to abolish the House of Lords. "It is impossible," said he, "that it should last, — that such a set of stupid, ignorant, half-mad fops and coxcombs should continue so to lord it." The Commons refused the amendments; and after a four months' struggle the Lords yielded. From time to time, through the century, new towns were added to the list, as need arose, and finally, in 1882, it was provided that any town might adopt this form of government for itself.

The municipal reform of 1835 was immediate and successful. English town government ever since has been honest, efficient, and enlightened, — a model to all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils. The appointed officials, like the city engineer, city health officer, and so on, are men of high professional standing, who serve virtually for life and are *never appointed or removed for political purposes.* The government *costs less and gives more* than in American cities. And the scandals that disgrace our city governments are unknown. The form of government is that known as the "Council plan": the mayor is hardly more than a presiding officer. He is elected by the council, and he has no veto. The cities *own their own water and lighting and street car systems to a much greater degree than in America.*

762. Reform in the Rural Units, in 1888 and 1894. — In the counties and parishes, the gentry rule was honest, but it broke down in the nineteenth century, under the burden of new duties. Finally, in 1888, the Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury passed the *County Council Bill, providing for the election of a Council for each county by all local tax payers.* A new interest in local affairs followed, and the elected Councils began to change the face of England by their energetic government. Six years later, the last ministry of Gladstone extended this movement by the still more important *Parish Councils Bill.*

These two laws have made local government in the rural units *thoroughly democratic.* The elements are four. (1) The parish has a primary assembly (*parish meeting*). (2) Parishes with more than three hundred people have also an elective *Parish Council.* (3) Larger subdivisions of the county, known as districts, have elective *District Councils.* And (4) at the top is the elective *County Council.* The powers of all these local bodies are very great. *Women have the franchise in electing local Councils* and the right to sit in them, on the same terms as men.

London had not been included in the previous municipal reform acts, but in 1888 it was made an "administrative county." Since 1888 the representative County Council of London, ruling six million people, has been one of the most interesting governing bodies in the world.

CHAPTER LIV

SOCIAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

763. Social Reform by the Grey Ministry, 1832–1834. — The thirties were a period of humanitarian agitation, as well as of democratic advance. In England, *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice, in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present; Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems (§ 680).[1] Public men, like *Wilberforce*, *Romilly*, and *Shaftesbury*, urged reform in parliament.

After carrying the Reform Bill of 1832, Earl Grey dissolved parliament. The new parliament, chosen by the enlarged citizen-body, contained a huge majority for the Liberals. Earl Grey's ministry remained in office for three years more,— years packed with social reforms. It freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, *paying the colonists for their loss.*[2] It began to free the hardly less miserable "white slaves" of the English factory towns, by a new era of factory legislation (§ 764). It freed the Irish peasants from the obligation of paying tithes to support the Episcopalian clergy, whom they hated. It swept away some more excesses of the absurd and bloody criminal code (§ 746). It abolished the pillory and the whipping post, and purified the prisons. It made a first step toward public education, by a national grant of £100,000 a year to schools. And it began the reform of local government.

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[1] So in America, the thirties saw the beginning of the "woman's rights" movement, including demands for coeducation, equal property rights with men, and the right to vote. Massachusetts founded the first *public* hospital for the insane. Special schools soon appeared for the blind and the deaf. The temperance movement and the abolition movement got fairly under way.

[2] Special report: Wilberforce, and his work for emancipation.

764. The most important legislation of the century was the labor and factory legislation. Gradually Englishmen awakened to the ugly fact that the new factory system was ruining, not only the souls, but also the *bodies* of hundreds of thousands of women and children, so as to threaten national degeneracy. In 1833, among the first acts of the "Reformed parliament," Lord Ashley secured a factory law limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week (or twelve hours on five days and nine hours on Saturdays). Some provision was made also for educating children and for a few holidays; and the *employment of children under nine* (*!*) was strictly forbidden. About half all the children employed (some 30,000) were freed by this law.

The bill was fought bitterly by most of the manufacturers, who urged (1) that it would oblige them to reduce wages and raise prices; (2) that it took from the workingman his "freedom of contract," or right to sell his labor as he chose; and (3) that it would cost England her industrial leadership among nations. But public opinion had at last been aroused, and the bill became law. Fortunately, it provided for salaried "factory inspectors"; and these officers, after many prosecutions, compelled the employers to obey it.

In 1847 a still greater factory law limited the labor of women and "young persons" (between 14 and 16) to *ten hours a day*, with only half-time for "children" (between 9 and 14) and with provision for schooling in the vacant half of the day. Indirectly, this law fixed a limit upon the hours of men also, because, after the women and children had all left a factory, it was not profitable to keep the machinery going. *Thus ten hours became the factory working-day.*

The legislation of 1833 applied only to factories for weaving goods. But in 1840, a parliamentary commission made public the horrible condition of women and children in the coal mines, — stunted, crippled, misshapen wretches, living in brutal indecency. Children began work underground at five or six years of age, and rarely saw daylight. Girls and women worked almost naked among the men. The working hours were from twelve to fourteen a day; and in the wet underground passages, two or three feet high, women were compelled to crawl back and fourth on hands and knees, hauling great carts of coal by chains fastened to their waists. A law at once forbade underground labor by women and children.

Then the principles of factory legislation were soon extended to almost all other lines of manufactures. Of the long series of later acts, the most important is *Asquith's Factory Act of 1895* (which, along with other wholesome provisions, prohibits *the employment of any child under eleven years of age*),[1] and the great *Act of 1901*, which revised and advanced the factory legislation of the preceding century. Since 1902, no child under 12 can be employed at all in any sort of factory or workshop; and for employees between 12 and 16, a physician must certify that there is no danger of physical injury from the employment. Night work for *women* and children is strictly forbidden.

These acts have been accompanied by many provisions to secure good lighting and ventilation in factories and workshops, and to prevent accidents from machinery, by compelling the employer to fence it in with every possible care. In 1880 an *Employers' Liability Act* made it easy for a workman to secure compensation for any injury for which he was not himself to blame; and in 1897 a still more generous *Workman's Compensation Act* secured such compensation for the workmen by a simple process without lawsuits. These acts have been copied in the last few years by progressive States in our Union.

765. Lord Grey retired in 1834; but his Liberal successors began the modern liberal policy toward the English colonies by a new "Government Act" for Canada in 1839 (§ 782); and introduced penny postage in 1840. Previous to this, the charge on letters had been very high, sometimes several shillings, and had been collected in cash by the carriers. When the change was suggested, the postal authorities protested earnestly, declaring that under the proposed plan the carriers would never be able to handle the letters, or that it would cost ruinous sums to do so.

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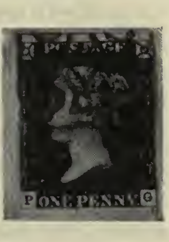
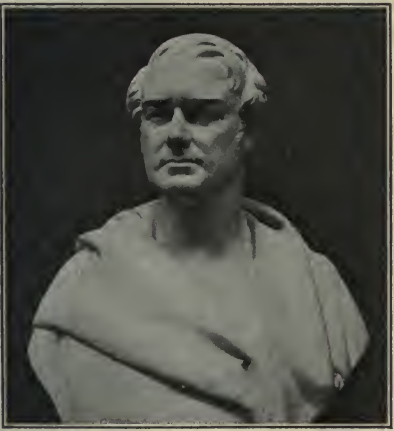
[1] For Further Reading: Gibbin's *Industrial History of England*, 175–176, and Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 224–262. Vivid statements are given also in Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, *History of Our Own Times*, and *England in the Ninteenth Century*, and in Lecky's *History of England*, VI, 219–225.



First Adhesive Penny Postage Stamp. The design was used without change for thirty years, from 1840 to 1870.

766. Repeal of the "Corn Laws."— The Conservative ministry of Peel (1841–1846) was marked by *the abolition of the Corn Laws.* Those laws had put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. The aim was to encourage the raising of food-stuffs in England, so as to make sure of a home supply; and during the Napoleonic war this policy perhaps had been justifiable. The money profits, however, had always gone mainly to the landlords, who enacted the laws in parliament and who raised rents high enough to confiscate the benefits which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. After the rapid growth in population had made it impossible for England to produce enough food for her people anyway, the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs had become an intolerable burden upon the starving multitudes.



Sir Robert Peel, a portrait bust.

The needless increase of misery among this class finally aroused great moral indignation. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League was organized by *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*, and for years it carried on a wonderful campaign of education through the press and by means of great public meetings. The manufacturing capitalists were made to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, for the benefit of the landlords — since to enable their workmen to live, they had to pay higher wages than would otherwise have been necessary. And so the selfish interests of this influential manufacturing class were thrown to the side of reform.

Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity was added to the same side of the scales. This was *the Irish Famine*. The population of Ireland had been increasing rapidly, until it amounted to over eight millions. The greater part were poor peasants, living in misery, with the potato for almost their sole food. Suddenly, in 1846, in a night, came a blight that ruined the crop for the year; and, despite generous gifts of food from all the world, two million people died of starvation.[1]

The government in England had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible event in Ireland forced it to act. As John Bright afterward said for the reformers, "Famine itself, against whom we fought, took up arms in our behalf." Peel decided to sweep away the tax and to let food in free; and, despite some bitter opposition from his own party, the reform was adopted.

767. **"Free Trade."** — Peel was at once overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals took up the work and carried it farther. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, *by 1852, England had become a "free trade" country.*

This policy was never afterward seriously questioned in England (whose manufactures and commerce have prospered so marvelously under it) *until 1903*. For some years preceding that date, to be sure, some of the Conservative party talked of a policy of "fair trade," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and, finally, in 1903, Joseph Chamberlain, a member of the Conservative cabinet, declared that the time had come for England to adopt a policy of that kind and at the same time to secure closer trade relations with her colonies. In 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made their campaigns on this issue — in opposition to the radical internal tax reform of Lloyd-George (§ 898); but so far (1915), they have not won the nation.

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[1] A million more emigrated to America in the next four years (1847–1850). This was the first large immigration of Catholic Irish to this country.

768. The Gladstone Administration of 1868-1874. — For some twenty years, after the Corn-Law reform, England saw little legal reform aside from the extensions of free trade and of the factory legislation already mentioned.

Then, after the enfranchisement of the artisan class by the Reform Bill of 1867, came Gladstone's great reform administration (1868-1874), which rivals in importance that of Earl Grey in the thirties. In 1870 it established alongside the old private and parochial schools a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools.[1] It abolished purchase of office in the army, and completed the civil service reform (§ 759). It introduced the ballot (§ 759). It opened English universities to others than the members of the Church of England. It passed further factory laws. It definitely repealed the old conspiracy laws, under which labor-unions had been persecuted, and it gave legal rights to such unions, permitting them to incorporate and secure the rights at law of an individual. It also arranged honorably the Alabama Arbitration Treaty with the United States. It "disendowed" and

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[1] So called because they are managed by elected Boards. The term "public school" in England had been appropriated by the great secondary schools, like Rugby and Eton, though there is, of course, no public control over them.

These Board Schools have revolutionized the English working-class. About the middle of the nineteenth century, more than a third of the newly married couples had to sign their names in the marriage registers with their "marks" In 1903 only two per cent were unable to write their names. This fact is full of promise for those European lands which are still struggling with gross illiteracy.

"disestablished" the English Church in Ireland,[1] and carried through important land reforms for Ireland (§ 775).

But Gladstone would not go far enough to satisfy the Irish; and, despite the trade-union law, he offended the labor party by a law regarding strikes. This law recognized the right of a union to strike, but made criminal any show of intimidation. It forbade strikers to revile those who remained at work; and it is reported that under the law seven women were sent to prison for crying "Bah!" at a workman who had deserted the strikers. The ministry lost more and more of its support, and finally Gladstone "dissolved." In the election, the labor unions voted for the Conservatives; and that party secured a large majority, for the first time since 1832.

769. Disraeli's Dazzling Foreign Policy Administration, 1874–1880. — Gladstone's ministry had been exceedingly peaceful and honorable in dealing with foreign nations. Disraeli, leader of the new ministry, characterized this attitude as weak, and said that it had "compromised the honor" of England. He adopted an aggressive foreign policy, and tried to excite English patriotism by "jingo"[2] utterances and conduct. By act of parliament, Queen Victoria was declared "Empress of India"; the Boers of the Transvaal were forced into war so that England might seize their lands; and in 1878, when Russia conquered Turkey (§ 881) and seemed about to exclude the Turks from Europe, Disraeli interfered. He got together a Congress of the Powers at Berlin, and saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia off from the Mediterranean. In home affairs, the only reform was to repeal the law of 1871 regarding strikes.

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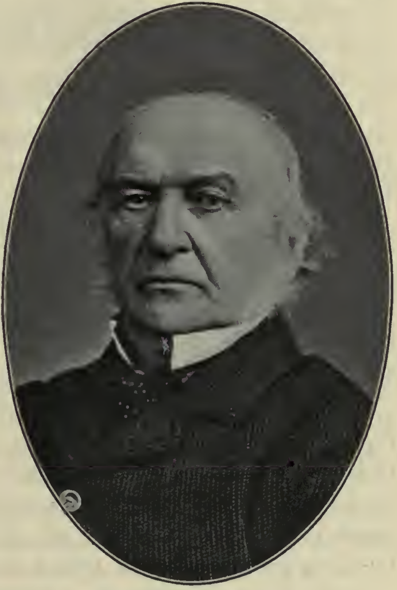
[1] Since the days of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, the Episcopal Church had held the ancient property of the Catholic Church in Ireland. The Celtic Irish population, however, clung with amazing fidelity to the old faith, so that in 1835 a parliamentary inquiry failed to find one Protestant (except the Episcopalian clergyman) in any one of 150 parishes.

After Gladstone's "disestablishment," the Episcopal Church in Ireland was separated from political power, and was upon an equal footing legally with any other church; but the "disendowment" was only partial. The church lost all income from taxes (tithes), and much of its property was taken from it to create funds for the Catholics and Presbyterians in the island; but it kept its buildings and enough other property to leave it still very rich. All this, which to one party seemed only a partial remedying of a huge ancient injustice toward a whole people. seemed to another party an unpardonable injustice; and many good churchmen never forgave Gladstone for this "act of robbery."

[2] For this use of "jingo," see McCarthy's *Our Own Times*, II, 382, 383.



GLADSTONE.

770. Gladstone and Ireland. — Gladstone had carried on a great campaign against the policy of supporting the Turk in his mastery over the Christian populations of Southeastern Europe. This appeal to the moral sense of the English people was successful; and in the election of 1880 the Liberals secured an overwhelming majority. Gladstone's new ministry passed the Third Reform Bill and it also completed the purification of English politics, by adopting the law against "Corrupt Practices" (§ 759); but it soon found itself occupied with Irish questions, about which English politics were to revolve for the next fifteen years. Some explanation of Irish affairs must precede further survey of English matters.

For Further Reading: Details on particular topics can be found in McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform* (for the years 1830 to 1850), *History of Our Own Times* (1837–1880), and in the younger McCarthy's *England under Gladstone*. Briefer accounts for the whole period are given in Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, in McCarthy's *England in the Nineteenth Century*, and in Rose's *Rise of Democracy*. See also p. 618.

CHAPTER LV

ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

In the history of Ireland . . . we may trace with singular clearness the perverting and degrading influences of great legislative injustices.— LECKY.

771. Ireland to 1700. — The English people proper are Saxon-Norman mixed with Celtic blood; the Welsh, Highland Scots, and Irish are pure Celts. In the larger of the British Isles, the English, Welsh, and Scots live at peace; but for centuries the Irish in the smaller island have been restless under English rule.

Ireland has been an unfortunate and misgoverned land. In the seventh and eighth centuries, she had begun to show brilliant promise (§ 272); but this early civilization vanished in the wars of the Danish invasions, which, for three hundred years, inflicted upon Ireland all the woes suffered by England for the generation before Alfred the Great.

Thus Henry II of England found the island sunk in misery and barbarism and torn by incessant tribal strife. Unhappily for both English and Irish, Henry's conquest was left incomplete; and war, anarchy, and misgovernment filled three centuries more, down to the time of Henry VIII. Sir John Davis, a poet-historian and statesman of Elizabeth's time, wrote, "If it had been practised in Hell as it has been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beëlzebub."

Henry VIII and Elizabeth completed the subjugation of the island; but now the English and Irish civilizations had grown far apart, and the two people could not easily mingle. Moreover, the English had become Protestant, and the difference in religion added a tremendous difficulty. There was real danger that Catholic Ireland might join Spain against Protestant England; and so the mutual hate and fear between Irish and English grew more and more intense. About 1600, the government began to try to make Ireland English by crushing out the native language and customs and religion, and by reducing the native population to mere tillers of the soil for their conquerors. On trumped-up charges, with every imaginable form of force and fraud, the lands of even the loyal Irish gentry were confiscated to furnish estates for English adventurers; and a war of extermination was waged against all who remained in arms.

Just before the Civil War in England, the goaded Irish rose in fierce rebellion. A little later the merciless hand of Cromwell restored order with a cruelty which makes his name a by-word in Ireland to-day. Toward the close of the century, the Irish sided with James II against William III, but were defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne* (1690). The Treaty of Limerick (1691), however, promised them the enjoyment of their own religion and certain other privileges; but these promises were treacherously broken by the English settlers, who controlled the parliament of the island, so that Limerick is known as "the City of the Broken Treaty."

772. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. — For the next century the fate of Ireland was wretched beyond description. Six-sevenths of the land belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their rents there. Those who stayed in Ireland made up the ruling class of the island. Six-sevenths of the people were Catholic Irish.[1] A few of these, especially in the west, were country gentlemen; a considerable number more were tenant farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for Saxon landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

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[1] Except in Ulster, the northern province, where the population was mainly English.

Farmers and laborers alike were "tenants at will." That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was always sharp competition to get farms and cottages, and so the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasantry reckless and lazy; and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them, trained them to hate and break the law.

773. The "Union" with England, 1800. — In 1798 the Irish rebelled. They were promised aid by the French Directory; but the help did not come in time, and the rising was put down with horrible cruelty.

A change in the government followed. For several centuries, there had been a separate parliament for Ireland, controlled by the English settlers; but after 1798 England consolidated the government of the two islands. The *Act of Union* (1800) abolished the Irish legislature, and gave Ireland one hundred representatives in the English parliament. Ireland became subject directly to English rule and English officials.

These were the conditions at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1803 a brilliant young Irishman, *Robert Emmet*, tried to organize a rebellion for Irish independence; but the effort failed miserably, and Emmet died on the scaffold. There was no further movement in Irish politics until 1830.

774. The struggle for the repeal of the Union began in 1830, in the first parliament in which Catholics were allowed to sit (§ 746). Forty of the Irish delegation were pledged to work for repeal, and they were led by the dauntless and powerful *Daniel O'Connell;* but the Irish famine of 1846 checked the agitation, and just afterward O'Connell died. Then a band of hot-headed young men tried conspiracy, and the fruitless and rather farcical rebellion of *Young Ireland* marked the year 1848.

The next twenty years saw no progress. In 1866 came another rebellion, — *the Fenian Conspiracy*, organized by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. The danger did not become serious, but it convinced many liberal Englishmen that something must be done for Ireland, and Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took up the task.

775. **Then there opened a new period in Irish history.** The Episcopalian church in Ireland (§ 768) was disestablished, and this act was followed in 1870 by the first of a long series of important reforms of the land laws. Two things were attempted: (1) in case of eviction, it was ordered that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) *the government arranged to loan money on long time, and at low interest, to the tenants, so that they might buy their little patches of land.* In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true landowners, with a chance to develop new habits of thrift and industry.

Meantime, in 1870, a group of Irish members of parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," and soon afterward the same leaders organized the "Land League," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For the time, the Liberal ministries frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly on the ground that it encouraged crime against landlords. At the same time, indeed, that the government was passing beneficent land laws, it was also passing "Coercion Acts" to establish martial law in Ireland. The Coercion Acts were resisted by the Irish members with a violence never before seen in an English parliament, and Irish conspirators outside made various attempts to wreck the English government buildings with dynamite and to assassinate English officials.

But suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. In the new parliament of 1884, eighty-six of Ireland's hundred and five members were "Home Rulers." They began to block *all* legislation; and Gladstone could go on only by securing their alliance. Moreover, *he had become convinced that the only way to govern Ireland was to govern it in coöperation with* *the Irish, not in opposition to them.* So in 1886 he adopted the "Home-Rule" plan and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

776. The Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and ruin to the Empire, and in this belief they were joined by many of the old Liberals, who took the name of *Liberal Unionists.* The Home Rule Bill was defeated; but it made the issue in the next election a few years later, and in 1893 Gladstone tried to carry another such measure. This time, the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. The bill differed in important particulars from the one before considered. Moreover, the majority for it in parliament was narrow and plainly due only to the Irish vote. Thus Gladstone felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to pass the bill by swamping the Lords with new peers. Then his age compelled him to retire from parliamentary life, and the Liberals, left for a time without a fit leader, went out of power.

The Conservatives and Unionists tried to conciliate Ireland by extending the policy of government loans to the peasantry to an almost unlimited extent, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; and they granted a kind of *local* "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils like those in England. The Irish members kept up agitation in parliament, but for a long time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in Irish Home Rule; and indeed it was plain that nothing could be done until after "the mending or ending" of the House of Lords. This matter was soon forced to the front in connection with English questions (§ 899).

FOR FURTHER READING: Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 471–594; Johnston and Spencer's *Ireland's Story.*

CHAPTER LVI

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

After many years of wandering I have come to the conclusion that the mightiest factor in the civilization of the world is the imperial policy of England. — Admiral George Dewey (1899).

777. Of all peoples the English are the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semi-barbarous races. The British Empire covers eleven million square miles, or over three times the area of the United States, and its population numbers four hundred millions, or about one-fourth of the whole human race. Forty millions of this number dwell in the British Islands, and about twelve million more of English descent live in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada and Australia. The other seven-eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples.

778. The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

779. Some of these colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada and Australia, and, not quite so completely, of Cape Colony. These colonies are said to have "*responsible governments.*" The English ministry appoints a *Governor General*, whose powers resemble those of the figure-head monarch in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature ;*

and the real executive is the local ministry, "responsible" to the legislature, as the ministry in England is to parliament.

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population, of course, is mainly non-European.

GIBRALTAR. — From the Spanish Shore.

780. **India** is a huge crown colony. Until 1857 it remained under the control of the East India Company, but in that year came the *Sepoy mutiny*, — a rising of part of the native soldiers, — and when order had been restored, India was annexed to the British crown. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by the native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives.[1]

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[1] Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

The English are making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. The officers of the old East India Company were sometimes rapacious robbers, oppressing the natives to fill their own and the Company's coffers; but since India became a crown colony, English rule, for the most part, has been wise, firm, and just, and has aimed unselfishly at the good of the natives. India pays no taxes into the English treasury; indeed, she is a drain on that treasury, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth. The petty, constant wars, which formerly were always wasting the land, have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day nearly three hundred million people dwell in India.[1] England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of that ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 5,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades.

Still, acute critics maintain that all this is superficial, and that except as to numbers, and except that the people have been forced to stop burning widows alive, the condition of India is little better than before, and there seems to be no attachment among the natives for English rule. The Hindoos cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Whether England can leaven this vast mass and lift it to a higher life is one of the great problems of the future.

781. **Egypt** in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully, and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed,[2] restored order, and "occupied" the country.

After that time, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged;

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[1] Read Kipling's *William the Conqueror*.

[2] England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869. In 1875 the English government (Disraeli's administration) bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property.

but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice," and the Khedive understood that this advice must be followed. Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too, and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head.

When England put down anarchy in 1881, the ministry declared that the occupancy would be only temporary. This statement of Gladstone's ministry was made in good faith, and was in keeping with other parts of Gladstone's modest foreign policy. None the less, it has long been certain that no English government will willingly give up Egypt; and in 1914, during the great European war, England announced a full protectorate. The possession of that country, together with the mastery of the Suez Canal, insures the route to India; and Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended far toward Central Africa.

To Egypt, English rule has been an unmixed good. The system of taxation has been reformed, so that it is less burdensome and more productive. The irrigation works have been revived and improved, so that Egypt is richer, more populous, and with a more prosperous peasantry, than ever before.

782. One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the development of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of England. The loss of the American colonies had taught a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

This event took place in Canada in 1837. The two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. There had been a growing dissatisfaction because the legislatures did not have a more complete control over the finances and over the executive; and the accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels should be granted.* Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were united and were granted *"responsible" ministries.* England, in name, retained a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government was granted to the Australian colonies, and, in 1872, to Cape Colony.

783. South Africa is not an altogether satisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal river. These "Transvaal" settlers became involved in serious difficulties with the native blacks, and a native rising threatened to exterminate Europeans in South Africa. England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and, with their magnificent marksmanship, destroyed a British force at the *battle of Majuba Hill.* Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he magnanimously withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined, and much ground was left for future disputes.

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers saw that England had determined to force them to a policy which would put the government of the little land into the hands of these foreign immigrants ("Outlanders"), and they declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten, of course; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government, without any discrimination against her recent foes.

When England became involved in the general European war of 1914, some of the Boers rose once more; but on the whole that people seem now content with the new and liberal English rule.

784. Federation of Groups of Colonies. — In 1867 another great advance was made by the organization of the Dominion of

Canada. This is *a federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of eight members. The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry.

A similar union of the seven Australian colonies into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century.

Parliament Building at Ottawa.

Finally, in 1909, the four South Africa states were combined into a similar federation, with the name, "The Union of South Africa."

Thus three new English nations were formed, — each large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States when its independence was achieved).

785. Imperial Federation. — The Boer War and the great European struggle of 1914 showed that there was a strong tie between England and her self-governing colonies; for, both times, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada all made liberal gifts of troops and money to assist the mother country.

The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is, however, almost wholly one of sentiment. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would not dream of trying to hold it. At present the colonists in these lands have no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations.

This evil is largely offset by the fact that the English navy affords protection to the Canadian and Australian trade, so that these great and wealthy countries are practically freed from all burden of military and naval defense. Still, the situation is not altogether satisfactory. A Canadian may properly wish a voice in the policy of the Empire; that is, he may wish to be a citizen in as full a degree as if he lived in England: and England may properly think that Canada ought to contribute something to imperial defense. It has been proposed to meet both these wants by some form of *Imperial Federation.*

This means that the different parts of the Empire would be left their present parliaments for local matters, but that the management of matters that concern the Empire as a whole would be turned over to a new parliament made up of representatives in fit proportion from England and her colonies. If such a federation can be carried out successfully, it will be the greatest triumph ever yet achieved by federal government and a new boon to civilization, equal perhaps to any political device yet developed by the English-speaking race.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, 523–545. A good longer account may be found in Woodward's *Expansion of the British Empire.*

PART XI

WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

CHAPTER LVII

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC

I. THE CLOSE OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

786. The Government of National Defense. — The news of Sedan (§ 738) reached Paris September 3, 1870. The city had been kept in ignorance of the previous disasters to French armies. Now it went mad with dismay and terror. The next day a mob invaded the hall where the legislature was already debating the deposition of Napoleon. So strengthened, a few Radical deputies tumultuously proclaimed the "Third Republic," and set up a provisional *Government of National Defense.*

This government tried at first to secure an honorable peace with Germany. But when Prussia made it plain that she intended to punish France by taking large slices of her territory, the conflict entered upon a new stage and became a heroic struggle for defense.

787. For this second stage of the Franco-Prussian War, there are two main features: the gallant resistance of Paris through a four months' siege, and a magnificent, patriotic uprising in the provinces. *Gambetta*, a leading member of the Government of Defense, escaped from Paris, in a balloon,[1] to organize the movement in the provinces. For a time success seemed possible. Exhausted France raised army after army, and amazed the world by her tremendous exertions. But in the end it became apparent that the iron grasp of the German armies, with their perfect organization, could not be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; and on January 28 the city surrendered.

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[1] This was long before the day of aëroplanes.

788. There was no government in France with any real authority to make peace; and so an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a *National Assembly.* The Assembly was chosen by manhood suffrage. It met toward the close of February, 1871, and created a provisional government by electing *Thiers* "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic."

789. The terms of peace were hard. The Prussians demanded Alsace and a part of Lorraine, with the great fortresses of Metz and Strassburg, and a huge war indemnity of one and a fifth billion dollars. Day after day the aged Thiers wrestled in pleading argument with Bismarck, the grim German Chancellor, to secure better terms. He did finally secure a reduction of the indemnity to one billion, and the retention of Belfort, one of the cities of Alsace. In return for these concessions, Bismarck humiliated Paris by marching German troops in triumphal progress into the capital.

II. THE PARIS COMMUNE

790. The National Assembly had hardly arranged peace with the foreign foe, before it had to meet a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege *all* the adult males of Paris had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over, every one who could get away from the distressed city did temporarily remove, including one hundred and fifty thousand of the *wealthier* National Guards. Paris was left in control of the radical element. This element, too, kept its arms and its military organization; and it now set up a government of its own by choosing a large "Central Committee."

The National Assembly had established itself, not at Paris, but at Versailles. The radical Republicans of Paris suspected it of wishing to restore the monarchy. In fact, a large majority of the members *were* Monarchists, as events were soon to prove (§ 793). The Assembly, too, had put in command of the army a man who had assisted in Napoleon's *coup d'état.* Paris suspected him of preparing another such move in favor of some of the royalist pretenders. Moreover, the Assembly had aggrieved the poorer classes of Paris: it had insisted upon the immediate payment of rents and other debts incurred during the siege; and it did away in large measure with the pay of the National Guard, which since the surrender had been a kind of poor-relief. In addition to all this, the Reds and Socialists still remembered bitterly the cruel middle-class vengeance of '48 (§ 696).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like hostile camps. The National Guards collected a large number of cannon in one of the forts of Paris. March 18 the Assembly sent a detachment of troops to secure these guns. A mob gathered to resist them. The Assembly's troops refused to fire, and looked on while two of their officers were seized and shot by the rebels. This was the opening of the insurrection.

791. The Commune. — For a time, there was still hope that a conflict might be averted. Paris decided to hold an election for a "General Council," and it was possible that the moderate element might win. Two hundred thousand votes were cast. The Radicals and Revolutionists elected sixty-four members, to about twenty Moderates. Then the Radical Council, acting with the "Central Committee," *set up the Commune, and adopted the red flag.*

In 1848 the Paris Radicals had learned that the *country* districts of France were overwhelmingly opposed to Socialism and to "Red Republicanism." So this new Paris Commune advocated extreme local self-government for all France. As Hanotaux, a prominent French historian, puts it, "The men of the Commune wished to make a Switzerland of France." If each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in Paris and in the other large cities.

The supporters of this program wished the central government of France to be merely a loose federation of independent "communes"; and so they called themselves "Federals." They are properly described also as "Communards"; but the name "Communist," which is often applied to them, is likely to give a false impression. That latter name is generally used only for those who oppose private property. Many of the Communards were also Communists, but probably the majority of them were not.

The supporters of the Paris Commune included the greater part of the citizens remaining in Paris. But France, though still bleeding from invasion, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle class felt, moreover, that the institution of property itself was at stake, and they confounded all Communards together as criminals seeking to overthrow society.

Little chance was given to show what the Commune would have done, if left to itself; but its government was made up of visionary enthusiasts and unpractical or criminal revolutionists, and certainly, in actual operation, it tended toward anarchy. Like attempts to set up Communes took place at Marseilles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Lyons; but they came to little, and the civil war was confined to Paris.

792. April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops that had now returned from captivity in Germany. The struggle lasted two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the Communards as regular combatants, and shot down all prisoners. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes left in Paris, declaring that it would execute three of them for each of its soldiers shot after surrender. In fact, however, it did not carry out this threat; and the hostages were not harmed until the Commune had been overthrown. Then, in the final disorder, an unauthorized mob did put sixty-three of them to death, — the venerable Archbishop of Paris among them.

The bombardment of Paris by the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been. Finally the troops forced their way into the city, which was already in flames in many sections. For eight days more, desperate fighting went on in the streets, before the rebellion was suppressed.

The Commune had arranged mines in the sewers to blow up certain portions of the streets where the invaders were expected to enter; and, during its brief rule, it had cast down the triumphal column of Napoleon I (§ 601), on the ground that such glorification of wars of conquest was unworthy a civilized people. These facts, together with some destruction by the mob after the Commune had ceased to control the city, gave rise to the report that the Commune tried to destroy Paris when it could no longer retain possession. No such intention is needed to explain an enormous destruction under the conditions of the war. The world has never ceased to lament the loss to the art collections of the city.

Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to transportation, before the rage of the victorious middle class was sated. There are few darker stains on the page of history than the cruelty and brutality of this middle-class vengeance.[1]

III. FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE COMMUNE TO THE SECURE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC, 1871–1879

793. *The Assembly had been elected* **simply with a view to making peace.** In choosing it, men had thought of nothing else. **It was limited by no constitution, and it had no definite term of office.** Certainly, it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to continue to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

At the election, people had chosen conservative candidates, because they wanted men who could be counted upon not to renew the war rashly. The majority of the members proved to be Monarchists; and *they failed to set up a king, only because*

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[1] On the Commune, Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 330–336, or Andrews' *Modern Europe*, II, 343–349. Also Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, II 211–212

they were divided into three rival groups, — Imperialists (Bonapartists), Orleanists (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and Legitimists (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). These three factions agreed in believing that a new election would increase the strength of the Republicans; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republican members for dissolution.

794. Presidency of Thiers, 1871–1873. — Peace had been made, and the rebellion crushed. Now the Assembly felt compelled to replace the "provisional government" (§ 788) by *some* more regular form. Accordingly it made Thiers "President of the Republic."

THIERS. — From a portrait by Bonnat.

In truth, however, the government remained "provisional." The majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a monarchy at some favorable moment, and *they gave Thiers no fixed term of office.* Still, this presidency lasted more than two years longer, — the most glorious years of the old statesman's life, — and it was marked by three important features.

a. France took up gallantly the huge work of reorganization. Schools, army, and church were reconstructed (§§ 805 ff.).

b. France was freed from foreign occupation, and Thiers won the proud title of "Liberator of the Territory." It had been intended that the vast war indemnity should be paid in installments through three years; and German garrisons were to remain in France until payment was complete.

But France astonished all beholders by her rapid recovery of prosperity. In eighteen months the indemnity was paid in coin, and the last German soldier had left French soil. The government loans (§ 807) were taken up enthusiastically by all classes of Frenchmen, and in great measure *by the industrious and prosperous peasantry.*

c. *Republicanism was strengthened.* Thiers was an old Orleanist; but he saw that to set up a king was to risk civil war. Accordingly, he allied himself with the Moderate Republicans in the Assembly, and baffled triumphantly the efforts of the Monarchists. Meantime Republicanism grew stronger daily in the country.

795. Monarchists in Control.—In 1873 a momentary coalition of Monarchists and Radicals in the Assembly forced Thiers to resign. In his place the Monarchists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. For some months a monarchic restoration seemed almost certain. Legitimists and Orleanists had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The Monarchists had the machinery of the government in their hands, and were just ready to declare the Bourbon heir the King of France, when the two factions split once more *on the question of a symbol.* The Orleanists wished to keep the tricolor, the flag of the 1830 Revolution. But the Count of Chambord denounced the tricolor as the "symbol of revolution," and declared that he would not give up the white lilies of the old Bourbon monarchy, the symbol of divine right. On this scruple the chance of the Monarchists came to shipwreck.

796. Then *in 1875*, despairing of an immediate restoration, the Assembly adopted a constitution. Modified slightly by later amendments, this is *the present constitution* of the French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The Constitution is very brief, because the Monarchist majority preferred to leave the details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt them to a kingly government. The word "republic" did not appear in the original draft, but it was introduced, *indirectly*, by amendment. The first draft spoke of a "Chief Executive"; an amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic." The change was adopted by a majority of *one* in a vote of seven hundred and five. *In 1884* a new amendment declared the republican form of government "*not subject to repeal.*"

797. The legislature consists of two Houses. The Senate contains three hundred members, holding office for nine years, one-third going out each third year. At first, seventy-five of the members were to hold office for life, but in 1884 an amendment declared that no more life members should be chosen. The Deputies (Lower House) are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years.

When the Senate and the House of Deputies agree that it is desirable to amend the constitution, or when it is necessary to choose a President, *the two Houses meet together, at Versailles*, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name *National Assembly.* A *majority vote* of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

798. *The executive* consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of *the ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the President of the United States. He is little more than a figurehead. He can act only through his ministers.

The ministers, as in England, are the real executive. They wield enormous power, directing all legislation, appointing a vast multitude of officers, and carrying on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but, in practice, he must always name those who will be acceptable to the chambers, and the ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority of Deputies to support its measures.

The Deputies maintain a control over the ministers by the right of *interpellation.* That is, any Deputy may address to the ministers a formal question, calling upon them to explain their action in any matter. Such a question must be answered fully, and it affords a chance to overthrow the ministry.

799. The Republicans gain Possession of the Government, 1876–1879. — Even after the adoption of the constitution, the Assembly did not give way at once to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to fill a vacancy, upon death or resignation) resulted in a victory for the Republicans; and by 1876 that party had gained a bare majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and the new elections created a House of Deputies two-thirds Republican.

The Senate, with its seventy-five life-members, was still monarchic; and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a Monarchist ministry. During this contest the President and Senate dissolved the House of Deputies (as the constitution gives them power to do when they act together), and the ministry changed prefects and local officers all over France, in order to control the election. But the Republicans rallied under the leadership of the fiery Gambetta (§ 787), and the new House of Deputies was even more strongly Republican than the preceding one. *This body then withheld all votes of supply*, until MacMahon appointed a ministry acceptable to it.

In 1879 the renewal of one-third the Senate gave the Republicans a majority in that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected to the presidency *Grévy*, an ardent Republican; *and all branches of the government had at last come under Republican control.*

800. For the first time in the history of France, republican government was established by the *calm will of the nation*. Four times between 1792 and 1871 had the Republicans seized Paris; three times they had set up a republic; but never before had they truly represented the deliberate determination of the nation. In 1879 they came into power, not by violence, but by an eight-years' constitutional struggle against the political tricks of an accidental Monarchist majority. *This time it was the Republicans whom the conservative, peace-loving peasantry supported.*

Never since has France been in danger of revolution. In 1885 *General Boulanger*, an ardent advocate of a war of revenge against Germany, hoped for a time to become master of France, as Louis Napoleon had

done formerly; but the complete collapse of the scheme showed how firmly the Republic stood.

IV. FRANCE TO-DAY

801. Stability and Progress. — The present constitution is the eleventh since 1789. For nearly a century France passed from revolution to revolution so incessantly that the world came to doubt whether any French government could be stable.[1] But the present Republic has lasted twice as long as any other government in France since 1789, and to-day (1915) it seems more secure than any European monarchy. Even the ministries change less frequently than formerly; and a political crisis is met much as in English-speaking countries. The present great war (1915) has given no tremor to the republican form of government. Since 1893, the Monarchists have had little weight in the Assembly; while the Socialists, at the other extreme, have become a true political party, working by constitutional means. *The age of Revolution in France seems to have ended; the age of a parliamentary republic has fairly begun.* The legislature is made up of nine parties. In the present Assembly (1915), the "Radical Socialists" are much the largest group, and the various Socialist groups make nearly half the whole. In the two elections since 1906, the Socialist vote among the people has nearly doubled. Recent ministries have been composed of a union of Radicals and Socialists.

Other progress has not been neglected. In literature and science, France once more (after long eclipse) shines forth as a leader of European thought; and in material wealth her people are the richest in Europe.

802. The chief peril to the Republic has been its conflict with the clergy of the Catholic church. Seventy-eight per cent of the people of France are members of the Catholic church. Other religions make up about two per cent. Twenty per cent have no religious connection.

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[1] The French felt in the same way toward England for some time after the English revolutions of the seventeenth century.

During the dubious period from 1871 to 1879, the Republican leaders felt that the bulk of the Catholic clergy were aiding the Monarchists with their tremendous influence. Accordingly, when the Republicans came into power, they hastened to weaken the church by taking from it its ancient control over the family. Marriage was made a civil contract (to be performed by a magistrate) instead of a sacrament; divorce was legalized, despite the teachings of the Catholic church against it; and all religious orders were forbidden to teach in either public or private schools.

The mass of the nation supported this anti-clerical policy; but it drove extreme Catholics into fierce opposition. The wise and gentle Pope Leo XIII, however, moderated the bitterness of the political warfare by recommending French Catholics to "rally" to the Republic, and to try to get the privileges they needed by influencing legislation, not by trying to change the government (1893). On its side, the government then for a time let most of the anti-clerical laws rest quietly unenforced.

But about the year 1900, the Republicans and Radicals became alarmed at the evidence of Monarchic sympathies still existing among the aristocracy, and even among army officers, and convinced themselves that these sympathies were due to the remaining clerical influence in the schools. In the years 1901–1903, thousands of church schools were closed by the police, sometimes amid riots and bloodshed. Pope Pius X protested, and deposed two French bishops who had acquiesced in the government's policy. The government recalled its ambassador from the papal court, and prepared a plan which it called "Separation of Church and State," but which zealous Catholics denounced as anti-religious robbery.

According to this new plan, a law of 1905 declared the nation the owner of all church property in France. Each religious congregation, however, was invited to reorganize as a "cultural association," and was promised permanent use of its old property if it did so. Protestant churches complied;

but such organization was forbidden to Catholics by the pope as incompatible with the principles of the church. In the elections of 1906, however, the nation gave an overwhelming endorsement to the whole anti-clerical policy; and then the government evicted great numbers of Catholic clergy from their homes (for refusing to obey the law of 1905) and banished multitudes of them from the country. In 1914, when the great European war began, it was reported that two thousand of these banished priests had returned to France to fight in the ranks against the invaders of their country. The "kulturkampf" (struggle between church and state to control education) is not yet fully ended in France (1915).

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS. — **From across the Seine River.**

803. Local Government. — France is divided into 86 "departments." Each department has an executive officer, called a prefect, and a General Council. The prefect is *appointed* by the Minister of the Interior, and he may be removed by the same authority. He appoints police, postmen, and other local officers. The General Council is elected by universal suffrage. It exercises control over local taxation and expenditures, especially for roads, asylums, and, to some degree, for schools;

but *its decisions are subject to the supervision of the central government.* Indeed, the central government may dissolve a departmental council at any time, and order a new election.

The thirty-six thousand communes[1] of France vary in size from great cities like Marseilles,[2] to rural villages with only two or three hundred people. For all of them there is one system of government. Each has a mayor and a council. Until 1884, *the mayor* was appointed by the Minister of the Interior; since 1884, he has been elected by the municipal council. He is still regarded, however, as the officer of the central government, which may revise his acts or even remove him from office. *The municipal council* is elected by manhood suffrage. All its acts are subject to the approval of the prefect or the central government, and the latter may dissolve the council.

Such conditions do not seem very encouraging at first to an American student; but the situation, as compared with the past in France, is full of promise (cf. § 599). Political interest is steadily growing in the communes, and Frenchmen are learning more and more to use the field of self-government open to them.

804. The French system of law seems to an American or an Englishman to be wanting in safeguards for personal liberty. Unlike the previous French constitutions, the present constitution has no "bill of rights." That is, there are no provisions in the fundamental law regarding jury trial, habeas corpus privileges, or the right of free speech. Even if there were, the courts could not protect the individual from arbitrary acts of the government by appealing to such provisions, because, in case of conflict between a citizen and the government, the case is tried, not in ordinary civil courts, but in *administrative courts* made up of government officials.[1]

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[1] There are two other local divisions, intermediate between commune and department. These two middle divisions are less important. The *canton* is the unit for the administration of justice. The *arrondissement* is the unit for the election of a deputy to the national legislature, like our congressional district.

[2] Paris and Lyons are each organized as a department, with even less self-government than the other departments of the country.

This does not mean that in ordinary times an individual is likely to be treated unjustly. As a rule, the administrative courts mete out excellent justice. But in case of any supposed danger to the government, they are liable to become careless of the rights of an individual.

805. Education. — The plans of the early Revolutionists for educating the people (§ 583) came to little; and for a long time after the Restoration, nothing was done. In 1827 over a third of the communes of France had no primary school whatever, and nearly a third of the population could neither read nor write.

The real growth of popular education dates from the Third Republic. Almost as soon as the Franco-Prussian war was over, France adopted in large measure the German plan for schools and for her army. To-day, in every commune there is a primary school or group of schools. Education is free and compulsory and strictly regulated by the state. That is, the central government appoints teachers and regulates the courses of study. Each department has an excellent system of secondary schools, called *lycées*, and the higher institutions are among the most famous in the world, and are sought by great numbers of advanced American students. When its recent birth is considered, the educational system is marvelously efficient.

806. The advance of industry under the Third Republic has been enormous. In the forty years, 1871–1911, the yearly production of wealth tripled (rising from one billion to three billions of dollars in value), though population grew less than one-twentieth. In 1870, thirteen million tons of coal were mined; in 1911, forty-two millions. In 1870, less than 3000 patents were granted to inventors; in 1911, the number was nearly 15,000.

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[1] For an excellent statement of the growth of such courts, see Lowell's *Governments and Parties*, I, 50–55.

France is preëminently an agricultural country. **The peculiar thing about French society is the large number of small landowners and the prosperity of this landed peasantry.** Half the entire population live on the soil, and three-fourths the soil is under crops. The great mass of cultivators own little farms of from five to fifty acres; 3,000,000 proprietors have less than twenty-five acres each. The cultivation is scientific in a high degree. France supplies her population with foodstuffs, and exports a large surplus. The subdivision of the soil is carried so far that it is difficult to introduce the best machinery (though neighborhood associations are being founded to own machinery in common); but the peasant is intelligent, industrious, thrifty, prosperous, happy, and conservative.

The peasant wishes to educate his son, and he has a high standard of living, compared with other European peasantry. With five or six children, a farmer owning five or ten acres would almost necessarily find it impossible to keep up this high standard, and to leave his children as well off as he himself had been. Therefore the peasantry do not wish large families, *and population is almost stationary.* At present (census of 1911) it is a little under forty millions.

807. This population is a "nation of little savers," and consequently a nation of money lenders. Through the nineteenth century, England was the world's banker. To-day France holds that place. When a government wishes to "float" a huge loan, or when capitalists wish to finance some vast industrial enterprise, France commonly furnishes the cash. France furnished England cash for the Boer war, and Russia cash for the war with Japan (§ 892), and American bankers and capitalists the sums needful to tide over the "crisis" of 1907–1908.

England still has more wealth than France; but it is largely "fixed" in long-time investments, while French wealth is growing rapidly and is held by a great number of people of small means, all seeking constantly for investments.

The French national debt is not held, like the American or the English, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some 3,000,000 French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, day-laborers, small farmers, — in small amounts. The French government encourages this tendency of the workingman and the peasant to save and to "invest," by issuing its bonds in small denominations — as low even as one franc (20 cents). An American who wishes to invest in United States bonds must have at least $ 100 at a time, — and then he may find it hard to get a bond; a Frenchman with 20 cents has no difficulty in buying a French bond in any village in the country. In no other country is wealth so distributed as in France.

808. Colonies. — About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. The century-long duel with England was then half over. "New France" was written on the map across the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and the richest lands of the Orient seemed within the French grasp. Thirty years later saw France stripped of all possessions outside Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean and in the Antilles and some small ports in India (§§ 492–497).

But in the nineteenth century France became again a colonial power. In 1830 the government of Charles X took advantage of an insult by the Dey of Algiers to a French consul to seize territory in North Africa. In the middle of the century this foothold had grown, through savage and bloody wars, into complete military occupancy of Algeria; and in the early years of the Third Republic civil rule was introduced. Since 1880, Algeria has been not so much a foreign possession, or a colony, as a part of France separated from the rest by a strip of sea. The French make only a small part of the population, it is true, but the country is orderly and civilized.[1] It is divided into three departments, which are ruled essentially like the departments in European France; and it has representatives in the French legislature. French rule has restored to the long-desolate Barbary coast the fertility and bloom which belonged to that region when it was the garden of the Roman world (§ 12).

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[1] All these statements apply to the settled portions under civil rule. The vast districts farther inland are still barbarous.

In 1881 France seized upon Tunis as a "protectorate." That is, France controls its relations with foreign governments, but leaves it to manage its own internal matters — except that the French enjoy special traveling privileges in the country. In 1904 France began to reduce Morocco to a like condition.

The rest of the vast colonial empire, apart from these possessions in North Africa, has been acquired since the Franco-Prussian War (except for some slight beginnings made by Napoleon III); but the seizure of territory has very commonly been based upon ancient claims connected with the period before the French revolution. In Asia, France has chief possession of the great peninsula of Indo-China.[1] In Africa, France kept a hold upon Senegal from her ancient colonial empire, and since 1884 she has acquired huge possessions on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of Madagascar (map, facing page 721). In America, France holds Guiana, or Cayenne, with a few islands in the Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887, she secured New Caledonia and several smaller islands.

Though France has these immense possessions, she is not a colonizing nation. Large parts of these regions are almost unpeopled, or are inhabited by savage tribes and are under military government. The total population (not counting the "protectorates") is about 41 millions. But even in the settled portions the European population is small. The total area of the colonial possessions is about four million square miles, of which about three and a half million are in Africa. All the settled and orderly regions have a share in self-government, and most of them have representatives in the legislature at Paris.

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[1] The order in which the different provinces in Asia have been acquired is as follows: Cambodia (1862), Cochin China (1863), Tonking (1884), Anam (1886), Siam, to the Mekong River (1893–1896).

FOR FURTHER READING. — The works mentioned on page 565 continue to be valuable well into the Third Republic. Woodrow Wilson's *The State*, 215–244, outlines the government. All the important constitutional documents are given in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents.*

For recent history of all European countries, every high school should have one or more good Reviews accessible or in the reading rooms, besides an *International Year Book* or *The Statesman's Year Book*, at least for every second or third year, and *The World Almanac.*

EMPEROR WILLIAM I; the Coblenz monument.

CHAPTER LVIII

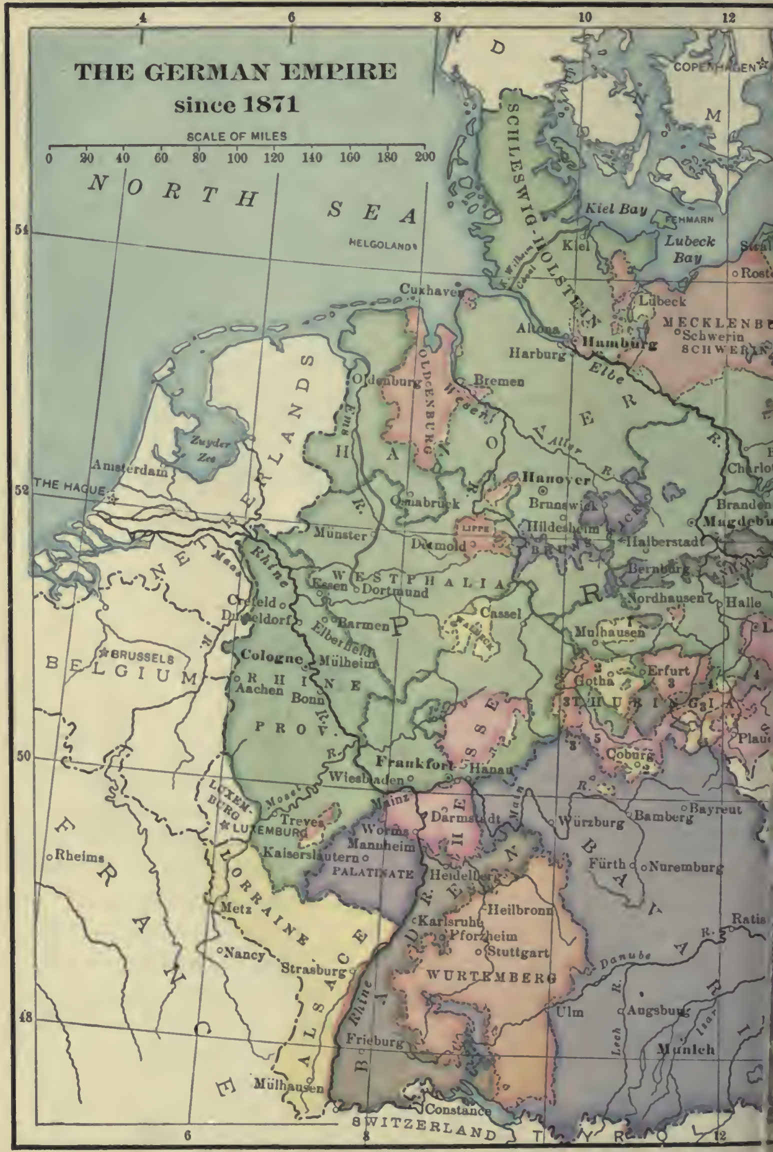
GERMANY SINCE 1871

I. THE GOVERNMENT

809. A Federal State. — The Germanic Confederation (1815–1867) was a confederacy of sovereign states, a union even weaker than that of our American states under the Articles of Confederation. **The present German Empire is a true federal state,** like our present union.

It has this peculiarity, however: *it is the only strong federal state in history made up of monarchies.* Of the twenty-five states composing the Empire, four are kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg); eighteen more are duchies, grand duchies, or principalities; and only three are republican in character, — the city-republics, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck. Alsace-Lorraine is imperial domain.

810. The emperor is not in theory a ruler, but rather a *president* of the federation. The presidency is hereditary in the



THE GERMAN EMPIRE since 1871

SCALE OF MILES
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
160
180
200
4
6
8
10
12
54
52
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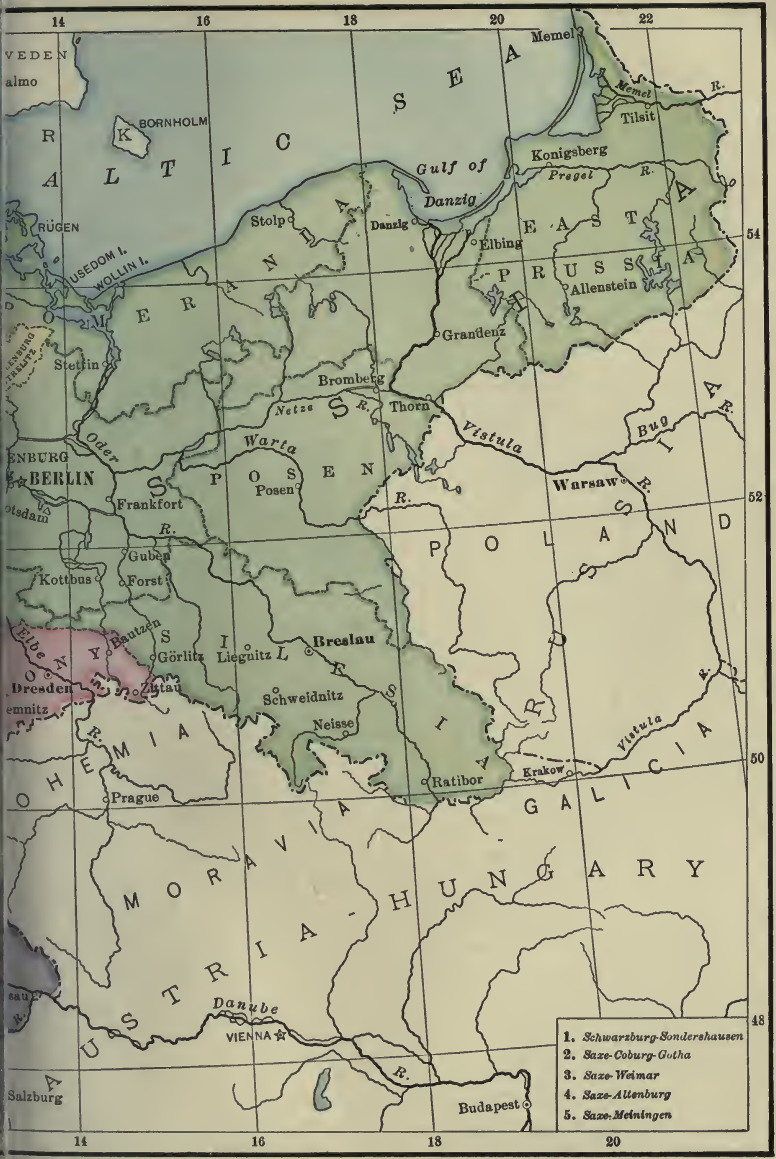
48
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
COPENHAGEN
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Kiel Bay
FEHMARN
Kiel
Lubeck Bay
Rost
Lubeck
MECKLENB
Schwerin
SCHWERIN
Cuxhaven
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Elbe
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Weser
Ems
HANOVER
Aller R.
Hanover
Brunswick
BRUNSWICK
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Magdebu
Branden
Charlot
NETHERLANDS
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
Osnabrück
Münster
LIPPE
Detmold
Bernburg
Nordhausen
Halle
Rhine
Maas
WESTPHALIA
Essen
Dortmund
Crefeld
Düsseldorf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Cassel
Mulhausen
PRUSSIA
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Cologne
Mülheim
RHINE PROV.
Aachen
Bonn
Gotha
Erfurt
THURINGIA
Coburg
Plau
Frankfort
Hanau
HESSE
Wiesbaden
Mosel
LUXEMBURG
Treves
Mainz
Worms
Darmstadt
Main
Würzburg
Bamberg
Bayreut
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
PALATINATE
Heidelberg
Fürth
Nuremberg
BAVARIA
Rheims
FRANCE
LORRAINE
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
ALSACE
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Heilbronn
Stuttgart
WURTEMBERG
BADEN
Danube
Ratis
Ulm
Augsburg
Lech
Isar
Munich
Frieburg
Mülhausen
Constance
SWITZERLAND
TYROL



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BALTIC SEA
Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
Konigsberg
Pregel R.
Gulf of Danzig
RÜGEN
USEDOM I.
WOLLIN I.
Stolp
Danzig
Elbing
E A S T
P R U S S I A
Allenstein
POMERANIA
Stettin
Graudenz
Bromberg
Netze R.
Thorn
Vistula
Bug
Warsaw
Oder
Warta
POSEN
Posen
ENBURG
BERLIN
Frankfort
otsdam
R.
Guben
Kottbus
Forst
Elbe
Bautzen
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
SILESIA
Dresden
Zittau
emnitz
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Ratibor
Krakow
POLAND
RUSSIA
Vistula
R.
BOHEMIA
Prague
MORAVIA
GALICIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Danube
VIENNA
Budapest
Salzburg
sau
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52
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48
1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen

kings of Prussia, — somewhat as if the governor of New York were ex-officio president of the United States.

The emperor cannot be impeached. He has extensive power of patronage, and *almost absolute control over foreign relations.* He has no veto upon imperial legislation, though his overwhelming influence in the Federal Council almost amounts to that power (§ 811). His chief authority in the Empire comes from the fact that he is master of Prussia. That state is larger and more powerful than all the rest of the union put together, and its constitution leaves its king almost an absolute monarch within its territory.

811. The Bundesrath. — *The sovereignty* of the Empire is vested in a *Federal Council* or *Bundesrath.* This body consists of fifty-six delegates *appointed by the sovereigns* of the different states in fixed proportions. Prussia has seventeen; seventeen small states have one each; and the other seven states have from two to six each.

The Bundesrath is not a mere upper House of a legislature. Its powers are executive rather than legislative. It looks after the administration, *prepares* most of the measures for the law-making body (the Reichstag, § 812), and has a veto upon all laws passed by that body.

812. The National Legislature is the *Reichstag.* It consists of one House. The members are elected by manhood suffrage, in single districts, like our congressmen, for a term of five years. There are 397 delegates, of which Prussia has 236. The constitution calls for a periodic reapportionment of representatives, to suit changes in population: but so far (to 1914) there has been none. (The United States, of course, has had four reapportionments of congressmen within this period.)

The power of the Reichstag is much less than the American student would at first expect in a national legislature. It can introduce bills, but they are not likely to receive the approval of the Bundesrath unless they were originally submitted from that body. *Thus, practically, the Reichstag is limited to accepting or rejecting Bundesrath measures.* Even its control over taxation is incomplete, because most revenue measures, instead of being annual appropriations, are *standing* laws. That is, once passed, they remain in force until changed; and they can be changed only with the consent of the Bundesrath. At the same time, debates in the Reichstag are highly important as expressions of national desires, and they have a special value in a country like Germany, where other methods of expression of opinion are subject in a measure to police control.

813. The Imperial Ministry is appointed by the emperor. Its most important member is the *Chancellor*. Ministers are declared responsible; but this is in the Prussian, not in the English sense. *They are not* ***obliged*** *to resign if outvoted in the Reichstag.*[1]

814. Amendments to the constitution are made just as ordinary laws are passed, except that fourteen negative votes in the Bundesrath are enough to veto a proposal. Thus the king of Prussia alone, or the small states alone, or the South German states alone, can prevent change.

815. Prussia and the Other States. — The population of Prussia is three-fifths that of the whole Empire; her king is emperor; her representative in the ministry is usually Chancellor; and in general her military and political system is extended as far as possible throughout the Empire.

The Prussian constitution to-day is the one granted by Frederick William IV (§ 710). It maintains the doctrine of divine right, and the royal authority claims that it has been limited only by its own consent. The legislature (Landtag) consists of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives. All males have a vote in the election of the lower House; *but they vote in three orders,* in such a way as to give two-thirds of the representation to the wealthiest one-sixth of the voters.

The threefold division is based upon wealth. In 1907 the wealthiest class (153,808 voters) elected as many representatives as the poorer class (2,591,950 voters). In the city of Berlin, a rich man's vote counts for that of fifty poor men. This applies, of course, to Prussian elections only. In imperial elections, manhood suffrage exists.

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[1] In 1909, however, the Chancellor (Von Bülow) did resign, because his proposals as to taxation were defeated. He explained that the Reichstag could not compel him to resign, but that he could not, under existing conditions, remain in office and keep his own self-respect.

The authority of the legislature is limited. *The king may adjourn or dissolve it, and he keeps an absolute veto.* In practice, he has the initiative in legislation, and the ministry is not compelled to resign if outvoted. Prussia and England are both constitutional monarchies, but the student must not be misled by the likeness of name. They stand at the two extremes of such government: *England is almost or quite a democracy; Prussia is almost as autocratic as Russia.*

The constitutions of the other states vary in considerable degree, but few of them give the representative legislature any real control over the administration, as in England or in France. Usually, too, the franchise rests upon property qualifications, and *everywhere the officials come from the aristocratic classes.* In general, however, **South Germany is less military and more democratic than Prussia and North Germany.**

816. Paternal Despotism, Police Rule, Militarism. — The German government is honest and frugal, and it is paternal in the extreme. Justice between man and man is easy to obtain; land-transfer is cheap; food-adulteration is carefully guarded against; the public health is zealously protected.

But, alongside this kindly and watchful paternalism, there are grievous faults. Germany has been made by violence, and the result still shows in the spirit of militarism and in the predominance of the methods of the drill-sergeant and the policeman. No other state with so high a civilization is so infected with these evils. A policeman's evidence in a court is equal to that of five independent witnesses, and his rule is all-pervading. Said a somewhat hostile English critic (in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1896): —

> "The policeman strolls into your house or garden when he likes, much as a master enters the class-room to see that all is going on properly. If you go for a bath, he will forbid you to get out of your depth, swim you never so strongly. . . . To live in Germany always seems to me like a return to the nursery."

Even worse is the contemptuous and oftentimes brutal treatment of civilians by army officers. For years newspapers have contained reports of gross and unprovoked insults, and sometimes of violent assaults, by officers upon unoffending citizens, for which it is difficult to obtain redress in the courts.

817. The Emperors. — At his coronation, *William I* took the crown from the communion table, declaring, "The crown comes only from God, and I have received it from His hands." William never modified this conception of kingship, although he allowed Bismarck to coquette with liberalism at times, when that policy suited the Chancellor's ends. In an election manifesto of 1882, the emperor reminded all officials that "*the duty which you have sworn to perform* [in the oath of office] *extends to supporting the policy of the government at the elections.*"

In 1888 William was succeeded by his son, *Frederick III.* Frederick was an admirer of parliamentary government upon the English[1] pattern, and he had long been hostile to Bismarck; but he was suffering from a fatal disease at the time of his accession, and his three months' reign brought no change in the government.

William II, the son of Frederick, returned to the principles of his grandfather. As a youth, he had been a great admirer of Bismarck; but it soon became plain that the two men were each too masterful to work together, and in 1890 the emperor curtly dismissed the Chancellor from office. Since that time, William II has himself directed the policy of the Empire, and he has been a greater force in European politics than any other sovereign in Europe. He believes thoroughly in the "divine right" theory, and he has repeatedly stated it in as striking a form as ever did James I of England or Louis XIV of France, two or three centuries ago.

Perhaps the emperor's most concise statement is the sentence he wrote in the Visitors' Book in the Town Hall of Munich, "The will of the king is the supreme law." In 1890, in an address to a body of instructors upon the proper teaching of history, he told his hearers that they should teach that the French Revolution was "an unmitigated crime against God and man." In 1891, in an address to a body of military recruits, he said: "You are now my soldiers. You have given yourselves to me, body and soul. There is now but one enemy for you, and that is *my* enemy. In these times of socialistic intrigue, it may happen that I shall order you to fire upon your brothers or fathers. God save us from it! But in such a case you are bound to obey me without a murmur!" In 1897 the emperor, in a prepared address, set forth at length his office as a "vice-regent of God"; and the same year, his brother Henry, when about to set sail for China, in command of a German expedition, used the following words in a public address to the emperor: "Of one thing I can assure Your Majesty. Neither fame nor laurels have charm for me. One thing is the aim that draws me on: it is to declare in foreign lands the *evangel of Your Majesty's hallowed person*, — to preach it to every one who will hear it, and also to those who will not hear it. . . . This gospel I have inscribed on my banner, and I will inscribe it whithersoever I go."[1]

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[1] Frederick's wife was Victoria, daughter of the great English Queen.

818. Insecurity of Personal Rights. — The imperial constitution contains a *bill of rights*, but the courts have no power to declare void an unconstitutional law. The administration, too, can appeal cases in which it is interested to *administrative courts without juries*.[2] As a result, trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom of public meetings, and free speech exist only in a limited degree.[3] To criticize the emperor in the press, ever so lightly, is likely to land the offender in jail for a considerable term, through prosecution for *lèse-majesté*. In January, 1898, it was reported on good authority that seventy German editors were in jail for that offense.

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[1] Longer extracts from the emperor's speeches may be found in Robinson and Beard's *Readings*, II, 193 ff. and 198 ff.

[2] Russell's *Social Democracy*, 48–50, gives an interesting account of a famous trial of the Socialist Lassalle (§ 822).

[3] The following anecdote illustrates how limited is the right of public meeting. In 1897 a landed proprietor gave a harvest festival for his workmen. Some fifty in all, they marched to a wood and had a picnic. A few days later the proprietor and several of the men were arrested on the charge of having held a public meeting without notifying the police. No other fault was alleged, but the offenders were sentenced to fines or short terms in jail.

II. RECENT MOVEMENTS

819. The Kulturkampf. — The Empire brought together Catholic and Protestant states; and this contact resulted in a serious conflict between church and state. The immediate outbreak came in connection with a famous decree of the Vatican Council of 1870, affirming the pope to be infallible in matters of faith and morals. The German bishops at the Council refused to assent to the new statement of the doctrine, and withdrew in a body. Within a year they had for the most part fallen into line; but some of the German Catholics maintained their position and took the name of *Old Catholics.* This sect was soon attacked vigorously by the orthodox bishops. Instructors in the clerical schools who did not teach the dogma of infallibility were suspended from their offices and excommunicated; teachers in the primary schools were dismissed; and the orthodox clergy refused to perform the marriage ceremony for Old Catholics.

Then Bismarck stepped in for the defense of the Old Catholics; and apparently he was not sorry for so good an occasion to assert the supremacy of the state over the church. Under his influence, the legislature took marriage and all education, private and public, from the control of the church. The Jesuits were expelled from Germany; the state assumed control over the education of priests; and the church was forbidden to exclude its own members except with government permission.

The bishops and orthodox clergy formally refused to obey these laws. Then Bismarck fell back upon a series of violent measures. Priests were deprived of office and were refused their salaries, and were even punished by long terms of imprisonment or by exile. The pope protested, and in 1875 he declared that the anti-clerical laws ought not to be obeyed. The Empire had already withdrawn its ambassador from the papal court, and Bismarck had appealed confidently to German national feeling in his boast, "We shall not go to Canossa" (§ 221). The government now confiscated ecclesiastical salaries and took into its own hands all the property and revenues of the church, at the same time expelling from Prussia all Catholic religious orders.

These measures have been described as having a military character, — "designed to cut off the enemy from his commissariat and to deprive him of his most active troops." Certainly there is a reminder of the "blood and iron" policy in all the story. But such a policy was not suited to internal problems. From 1875 to 1879, it is true, the government held its position. One-fifth the parishes in Prussia had no clergy; schools and seminaries were closed; chairs of theology in the German universities were vacant; houses of the clergy were raided by the police; and numbers of men of devoted Christian lives and broad scholarship languished in prison or in exile.

This persecution, however, was ineffective against the heroic resistance of the clergy, and it steadily lost favor among the people. A strong and growing "Catholic" party in the Reichstag, "*the Center*," hampered all Bismarck's projects; and finally he was forced to make terms with it, in order to secure the legislation he desired against the Socialists and for tariffs. In 1880 the government began its retreat; and, if it did not "go to Canossa," *it abandoned step by step every position it had assumed in the quarrel.* The chief result of the contest to-day is the large, watchful Conservative party, "the Center."

820. The Prussian army system (§ 728) has been extended all over Germany. The fundamental principle is *the universal obligation* of all adult males to serve. The army is the armed nation. At twenty, each man is supposed to enter the ranks for two years' *active service.* For five years more he serves in the *active reserves,* with two months each year in camp. This takes the soldier to his twenty-seventh year. For twelve years more he forms part of the *territorial reserve* (Landwehr).

As a matter of fact, it is not possible to bring every man into the ranks. Exemption is allowed in Germany to the only son of a widow, theological students, to those weakened by physical defects, and in some other cases. Moreover, young men who have passed through the higher educational institutions are allowed to get off with only one year's service in the ranks.

The army on a peace footing comprises those who are undergoing the two years' service. In case of war, this body and the active reserves are ready for offensive operations, while the territorial reserves form garrisons and guard lines of communication. In case of actual invasion, all other males between seventeen and forty-five, or the *army of emergency* (Landsturm), are called out. In 1911 the German army on a peace footing counted 626,732 men under arms. In war, Germany can put nearly four million veterans into the field.

THE "GOOSE-STEP" OF THE GERMAN ARMY.

The system constitutes an enormous burden; but the Prussian victories in 1866 and in 1870 convinced all Europe of its military utility, and since 1870 every state in Europe has adopted it, with slight modifications. Thus Europe is a group of armed camps. The tax involved in giving so large a part of each man's best years to camp life weighs heavily upon the civilized world. England, relying on her navy, and the United States, trusting to her position, are the only great countries that are now free from it. No doubt, certain good results come from the military discipline; but, on the whole, the present European army system is the most woeful and immense waste of energy that the world ever saw. It is also a constant temptation to war. A military power has a multitude of officers as anxious to try their new war-engines on some foe as any boy to try a new gun on game.

821. Trade and Colonies. — The old Germany had been essentially an agricultural country, and its foreign trade had been of little consequence. After 1880, German manufactures, encouraged by high protective tariffs, mounted by great leaps; and the label "Made in Germany" began to appear on all sorts of articles in all parts of the globe. Before 1900 Germany had passed all other nations except England and America in manufactures and trade.

German population increases rapidly. In 1815 the states in the present German Empire had a population of 25 millions. In 1911 the number was almost 65 millions. This increase resulted for a time in a large German emigration, which went mainly to the United States and to South America.[1] Partly to secure commercial advantages for her citizens abroad, and partly in hopes of keeping future German emigrants under the German flag, the government has recently adopted the policy of acquiring colonies.

Bismarck announced this plan in 1884. At that time, Germany had no possessions outside of Europe; but, though she was late in entering the nineteenth-century scramble for foreign possessions, she made rapid progress. In Africa she has vast possessions, nearly a million square miles in all, mainly on the Guinea coast and in the southwest and southeast. In the western Pacific she owned several groups of valuable islands.[2] Shortly after 1890, she began acquiring concessions in Asia Minor from the Turkish government; and this rich region, so long abandoned to barbarism, promised to become the most important field for German enterprise[3] until the present needless and destructive war (1914–15).

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[1] Of late years, emigration has declined. In the nineties, it was from 200-000 to 300,000 a year. During the past five years, it has been under 30,000 a year. The rapid development of German industry has furnished industrial opportunity at home.

[2] See maps facing page 721 and following page 724.

[3] Germany does not own territory in Asia Minor, but she obtained by treaties valuable rights of trade and railroad-building; and in case of a

In 1897 another field opened, which seemed even more attractive. Two missionaries of German birth were murdered in China, and the German government made that event an excuse to seize a valuable Chinese port, Kiau Chau, with a large adjacent territory. From this center, Germany acquired a "sphere of influence" in eastern China, in which German capitalists developed mines and built railroads, as Russians were doing to the north, and Englishmen and Frenchmen to the south. Germany was rapidly converting a rich section of China into a German dependency; but, early in the general war of 1914, Japan expelled her from China.

As a colonizing nation, Germany so far is not a success. Capitalists go in small numbers to Asia Minor and to China, but they do not go to Africa; and the mass of emigrants still sail to America, giving up German citizenship. German colonies contained a population of some 14 million people in 1911, but only 20,000 of these were whites. The government is believed to be anxious to obtain possessions in South or Central America, where German emigrants might make their homes; and but for the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, some attempts in these lines would perhaps have been made.

822. Socialism did not appear prominently in Germany until after 1848. German Socialism was founded by *Karl Marx*, a profound philosophic thinker (§ 684), and its doctrines were thrown among the masses by his disciple *Lassalle*, a brilliant writer and speaker. Its more recent leaders have been *Liebkneckt* and *Bebel*.

There was of course no opening for Socialism in politics until manhood suffrage was introduced in the elections for the Reichstag of the North German Confederation (1867). The first Reichstag contained eight Socialists. These men bitterly opposed the war with France, especially after it became a war

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break-up of Turkey's power, she expected to convert these rights into full occupancy of territory. Of late years the Emperor has courted the Sultan's favor on all occasions.

for conquest, and criticized the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine against the will of the inhabitants.[1]

This "unpatriotic" attitude resulted in a check. The leaders were tried for treason and condemned to a few years' imprisonment; and in the first imperial Reichstag (1871) the party had only two representatives. In 1874 the number had risen to nine, and in 1877, to twelve.

Bismarck then began to feel it needful to put down Socialism. His first effort to secure repressive legislation from the Reichstag failed, but it called out two attempts by Socialist fanatics to assassinate the emperor (1877, 1878). The criminals had no sanction from the Social Democratic party; but they played into Bismarck's hands. The Reichstag was dissolved, and the new election gave a legislature ready to go all lengths against the "Red Specter." New laws gave the government authority to dissolve associations, break up meetings, confiscate publications, suspend habeas corpus privileges and jury trial, and banish suspects by decree, without any trial at all. Not content with these extraordinary powers, Bismarck made them retroactive, and at once banished from Berlin sixty or seventy men who had formerly been connected with the Socialists.

But here again the Iron Chancellor failed. The Socialists met his ruthless severity with as much fortitude and heroism[2] as the Catholic clergy had shown in their conflict, and all that he could do was to make Socialism for a time an underground current. In 1881, just after the beginning of the repressive legislation, the Socialist vote fell off somewhat; but in the election of 1884 it had risen to over half a million — much more than ever before — and in 1887 it was over three-fourths of a million. Then the repressive laws were allowed to expire; and in 1890 the vote was doubled. Since 1898 the Socialists have been much the largest German party, and they have captured the wage-earners of the great cities almost in a body. The following table shows their progress: —

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[1] The party in Germany and elsewhere is opposed to all wars of conquest. It teaches that the burdens and losses of wars between nations fall in the end on the working classes, who ought to be brothers.

[2] For an account, see Russell, *Social Democracy*, 103–114.

Election	Votes Cast	Percentage of Total Vote	Members in Reichstag
1871	124,000	4	2
1874	351,000	7	9
1877	493,000	8.5	12
1878	437,000	8	9
1881	312,000	6.3	12
1884	549,000	6	24
1887	763,000	7.6	11
1890	1,427,000	20	36
1893	1,786,000	23	44
1898	2,107,000	28	56
1903	3,025,000	32.3	81
1907	3,259,000	31.6	43
1912	4,239,000	34.8	110

The total vote in 1912 was 12,188,337, divided among 15 parties. The Socialist vote was twice that of the next largest party (the Center, or Catholic, with 2,013,000 votes). The number of Socialist representatives is small in proportion to the popular vote, because of the unjust apportionment. The Socialist vote is strongest in the cities. The cities have grown rapidly in population (Berlin has tripled since 1860); but, from fear of Socialist gains, the distribution of representatives has not been changed since the establishment of the Empire (§ 812). If a fair apportionment, such as the constitution calls for, were to be made, the Social Democrats would have, not 110 delegates, but 140. The Center, with half the votes of the Socialists, has nine-elevenths as many delegates.

William II, for a time, seemed disposed to use gentler methods than those that Bismarck had followed; but he, too, soon became alarmed at the growth of the Socialist vote, and in 1894–1895 he tried vehemently to secure another "exceptional law," even more sweeping than Bismarck's legislation. The proposed bill of 1894 provided two years' imprisonment for "publicly attacking religion, the monarchy, marriage, the family, or property, by insulting utterances." Under such a law, to suggest a change in the government to a republican form, or, indeed, to urge much milder changes, might constitute a crime; and all Liberals joined with the Socialists in voting down the proposal.[1] The Catholics did not dare to vote for it, lest their opposition to civil marriage should be treated as a crime.

The above account suggests some of the causes of strength in Social Democracy. That party has for its adherents, not only Collectivists, or Socialists proper, but also great numbers of political Radicals, or Democrats and believers in Republican government. Indeed, a large part of the vague discontent with the arbitrary nature of the government finds expression in votes for Socialist candidates. *Recent congresses of that party have placed first in their platforms a number of practical political and economic measures* which the average American or Englishman would not regard as dangerous, — such as universal suffrage without discrimination against woman, the initiative and referendum, equal electoral districts, payment of members of the Reichstag, responsibility of the government to the Reichstag, popular local government, securities for free speech, a militia system in place of the present army system, an eight-hour labor day with prohibition of employment of children under fourteen, freedom to organize labor unions, and progressive income taxes.

823. State Socialism. — Early in the contest with the Social Democrats, Bismarck tried to cut the ground from under their feet by adopting part of their program of social betterment. In 1883 a public address of the emperor declared, "That the state should care for its poorer members in a higher degree than in the past is not only a duty demanded by humanity and Christianity, but is also a measure *necessary to preserve the state.*" In 1884 Bismarck said, "Give the workingman a right to work while he is in health, and assure him care when he is sick and maintenance when he is old, and Social Democrats will get no hold upon him."

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[1] A few days before this defeat, William had suffered another repulse from the same quarter. At the opening of the Reichstag in December, 1894, when cheers for the emperor were called for, the Socialists kept their seats. The government, at the emperor's desire, introduced a request for permission to bring the offenders to trial for lèse-majesté, but the request was refused by a vote of 168 to 88. Members of the Reichstag cannot be prosecuted for anything that they say or do in that body, except by its consent.

In accordance with these principles, Bismarck favored the introduction of great public works to afford employment, and he created a state fund to help insure the injured and the aged. (1) The state compels the laborers to insure against sickness. (2) It insures them against accident, taking the premium from the employer. And (3) it pays old-age pensions to men over seventy years of age, out of a fund created partly by payments from the insured, partly by payments from the employers, and partly by a payment from the state treasury.

In this "Social insurance," Germany was the pioneer government. This legislation, however, has not weakened Social Democracy. Indeed the Socialists rail at it as fear-inspired, poor-law legislation. To Bismarck and William II, it is the duty of the divine-right government to care for the laborer. To the Social Democrats, it is the right of the laborers themselves to control the goverment and to care for themselves through it. State Socialism in a democratic country like America would be the same thing as Social Democracy; in Germany at present it is old-fashioned paternalism.

Said Emperor William II in 1894, "The noblest task of the state is to protect the weaker classes of society and to aid them to higher economic and moral development; and the duty of the state is to smooth away the difficulties and to preserve an increased content and solidarity, *but this must be done by the state and not by the people.*"

For Further Reading. — See references on page 591. Dawson's *Bismarck and Socialism* and Russell's *German Social Democracy* give good statements of the topic suggested by the names. Woodrow Wilson's *The State* gives a clear treatment of the constitution. For recent events and special topics, the student must consult recent Reviews, Year Books, and Annual Encyclopedias. (See page 653.)

Special Report. — Prussia's schools and their history.

CHAPTER LIX

ITALY SINCE 1870

824. The constitution of Italy is essentially that given to Sardinia in 1848. It provides for a limited monarchy, somewhat of the Prussian type, but more liberal. By custom, as in France and England, the ministries resign when they no longer have a parliamentary majority. Local government and administrative courts are patterned upon the French model.

Until 1882, a high property qualification was required for voters. At that date, after two years' agitation, the franchise was given to all who could read and write, or who paid certain rents or four dollars in direct taxes. This raised the electorate from about six hundred thousand to over two millions, but it still excluded half the adult males. Since that time, however, with the progress of education, the proportion of voters has been slowly increasing.

In 1861 Italy had no schools except those taught by religious orders. In the next twenty years a fair system of public education was built up. Primary education is gratuitous, compulsory, and regulated by the state, but attendance is not well enforced. In 1861 seventy-four per cent of the population over six years of age could not read or write. In 1881 this percentage of illiterates had fallen to sixty-two, and in 1901 to fifty-six. The higher educational institutions are excellent, and in many fields Italian scholars hold a foremost place.

The kingdom of Italy at its birth was far behind the other great states of Europe. Its proper tasks were to provide for public education, to repress brigandage, to build railroads, to foster useful industries, to drain malarial swamps and reclaim abandoned lands. In all this, much progress has been made;

but the government has been hampered by its poverty and by the tremendous expenditure for military purposes.

Taxation is crushing; and yet, much of the time, the government can hardly meet expenses. A fourth of the revenue goes to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest is for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the normal and helpful purposes of government.[1] To make ends meet, the government has been driven to desperate financial expedients. Salt and tobacco are government monopolies; the state runs a lottery; and taxation upon houses, land, and incomes is so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry. The financial and military problem is the great question before Italy.

The economic distress has led to political and socialistic agitation. The government in general has met this by stern repressive legislation. Socialists and Republicans have been imprisoned by hundreds, often on the charge of being anarchists; and for years at a time large parts of Italy have been in "state of siege," or under martial law. The Radicals and Socialists, however, have gained slowly in the parliament.

825. Colonial and Territorial Questions. — A large emigration leaves Italy each year, mainly for Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up a policy of securing colonial dependencies. Attention was first turned to Tunis, but when France supplanted Italian influence there, Italy acquired valuable territory on the Abyssinian coast in Northeast Africa

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[1] Italy was freed by force of arms, in 1859–1861; and the same power completed her union between 1861 and 1870. The new-born state, for many years more, feared that the work might be undone by France or Austria; and to the present time she has maintained the usual European military system, with longer terms of active service than are required in Germany or France. From her position, too, Italy has had some reason to wish to be strong in the Mediterranean, and at an immense cost she has kept up a navy among the most powerful in the world, after England's. Italy, however, is much less able to endure this tremendous burden than are rich countries like France and Germany, and she is one of those states in which the present military system is likely soonest to break down.

(1885). From 1889 to 1896, indeed, Italy held a protectorate over all Abyssinia; but in the latter year an Italian army was destroyed in the interior, and Italian control was reduced again to the coast district, Eritrea. Up to the present time, however, emigration has not been directed in any considerable degree to this possession. In 1911–1912 Italy seized Tripoli from Turkey, renaming it Libya.

One other territorial difficulty has long annoyed Italy. Austria (1915) still keeps Trentino on the southern slope of the Alps, with its three hundred thousand people. The population is Italian in race and language, and the district geographically is a part of Italy. Italians expect to secure this region, by arms or diplomacy, in connection with the present war.

THE VICTOR EMMANUEL MONUMENT, ROME.

826. Italy has also a serious problem in the relations of state and church. Almost all Italians are Roman Catholics, in name at least; but the government and the popes have been hostile to each other ever since the Kingdom of Italy was established. The clergy, of course, in the main, adhere to the pope, while the great mass of the people earnestly support the government.

In 1870, when Italy took forceful possession of Rome, Pope

Pius IX protested against the act as a deed of brigandage.[1] The government has left the papacy every power it thinks consistent with the territorial unity of Italy. The pope is not an Italian subject, but, in all matters of form, is an independent sovereign, though his territory has been reduced to a single palace (the Vatican) and some small estates. Within this domain he keeps his own court, maintains his own diplomatic service, and carries on the machinery of a state. A generous annual income is also set aside for him by the government of Italy, but this has never been accepted. The clergy and church throughout Italy are left by the government to manage their own affairs as completely as in the United States, except that the state pays the salaries, in compensation for the church lands it has seized.

In common with many zealous Catholics, however, Pope Pius IX felt that to exercise his proper influence as head of the church, he must be also an independent temporal prince. He refused to recognize the Italian state or to have anything to do with it, never left his palace grounds, and he styled himself the "Prisoner of the Vatican." His successors (1915) have followed this policy. For some time, no doubt, it was possible that in case of a general European war, Austria might restore the papacy as a temporal principality, but that possibility has passed away.

Certainly, so far, the papacy has not suffered from the arrangement of 1870–1871. Never before have the popes been so independent of foreign interference; nor, since Gregory VII and Innocent III, have they been more powerful in spiritual and temporal concerns than in the recent period since they ceased to rule a petty principality.

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[1] In spite of this, the citizens of Rome ratified the act by a vote of 130,000 to 1500, or ninety to one.

CHAPTER LX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY — A DUAL MONARCHY

827. From the Year of Revolutions to the Dual Monarchy. — The medieval system lasted in the Austrian realms until 1848. The revolutions of that year abolished the feudal burdens of the peasantry and the feudal privileges of the nobles. The counter-revolution (§ 709) did not undo these social reforms; but it did restore absolutism, and from 1850 to 1860 strenuous efforts were made to Germanize the various districts that had risen for national independence in 1848. All rights of local government in Bohemia and Hungary were trampled under foot, and only the German language was allowed in the schools, the press, the courts, and the administration. For a Bohemian to publish a paper in his native language was a penal offense.

Accordingly the defeat of Austria in 1859 by France and Italy was hailed with delight by Bohemia and Hungary. Then Emperor Francis Joseph awoke to the absolute necessity of conciliating these provinces. Liberal reforms were begun, and a sort of parliamentary system was introduced. Hungary, however, remained unsatisfied; and, after the next overthrow of Austria, at Sadowa (1866), it became necessary at any cost to satisfy that country. The emperor and Francis Deak, the Hungarian leader, arranged a compact, which was then ratified by the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments. This compact is the present constitution of *Austria-Hungary*.

828. Austria-Hungary is a *dual monarchy*, a federation of *two* states. Each state has its own constitution, its own parliament, its own system of local government and law The two have the same monarch and a curious kind of a common legislature (*the Delegations*).

The monarch is crowned separately, with different titles, in Vienna and in Budapest, and *his powers differ in the two states. The Delegations* are two committees of sixty each, the one chosen by the Austrian parliament, the other by the Hungarian. They meet one year at Vienna, the next at Budapest; and they carry on their work, one in German, the other in the Magyar (Hungarian) language. If the two bodies disagree, equal numbers from the two meet together and settle the matter by vote, without debate.

829. The Race Question. — Austria has been and still is "a tangle of races and a Babel of tongues." The inhabitants speak eleven distinct languages, besides numerous dialects. At the opening of the Austrian Reichsrath the official oath is administered in eight languages. Half the population are Slavs, broken up, however, into many sub-races, Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Slavonians, Poles, Ruthenians. A fourth are Germans; a fifth are Magyars; and the rest are Italians, Jews, or Illyrians. If we regard the Slav sub-races as separate peoples, the Germans are more numerous than any other people. They number eleven and a third millions. The Magyars come next, with nine millions. Of the Slavs, the Czechs (Bohemians) lead with nearly six millions.

The arrangements of 1867 sacrificed the Slavs to satisfy the demands of Hungary. Until recently, the Germans have been the dominant people in the Austrian half, and the Magyars still are in their half. But in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the growth of education and prosperity, the other races pushed forward toward an equality of culture; and, in those provinces where they are most numerous, they began to demand equal political rights, and, sometimes, national independence. This fact gives the key to all the recent history of the Empire.

Croatia has been allowed some privileges of its own; but elsewhere in Hungary, despite violent protests, the Magyars are slowly but successfully imposing their language and nationality upon the scattered Slav fragments. Representation in the legislature is so apportioned as to give nearly all the members to Magyar constituencies, through other peoples make up half the population.

In the Austrian half of the Empire, Bohemia demands, if not independence, at least that she be admitted into the imperial federation as a separate state upon an equality with Hungary. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the struggle was particularly vehement. The Czechs make about two-thirds of the population of Bohemia; but the other third are mainly Germans, and the Austrian Germans elsewhere are unwilling to abandon these fellow-Germans to Czech rule. On two or three occasions Bohemia was under martial law for months at a time; but, upon the whole, the Czechs have been steadily winning ground, until some of the Germans in that country begin to long for annexation to the German empire. Says Lowell (*Government and Parties*, 121): —

> "In Austria, everybody is irreconcilable.... The task of the ministers, therefore, has been hard. It has resembled that of an Esquimaux trying to drive a team of dogs, all of which want to break loose from the sledge, except the strongest, which pulls the wrong way."

830. Thus Austria-Hungary is an uncertain factor in European politics. Her German population is drawn toward the German Empire; her Italians want to be annexed to Italy; her Poles look to the revival of the Polish kingdom; the Roumanians in eastern Hungary wish to be joined to neighboring Roumania, and her many Slav elements desire independence or annexation to neighboring Slav states. The condition of the Empire is one of unstable equilibrium. The union between the two halves is not due to internal ties, but to external pressure. If the emperor had not the Hungarian troops at his command, Austria could not keep down her subject nationalities; and if Hungary had not Austria behind her, she would be lost in Slav Europe. The union is for mutual defense.

831. In foreign policy Austria had abandoned Italy, and had been excluded from Germany after 1866. She turned, therefore, toward the Black Sea and the Aegean, for new booty, and **has been a chief factor in Slav and Balkan questions.** In 1878, after the war between Turkey and Russia (§ 881), Austria received from Turkey the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

832. In domestic matters Austria has taken two great steps forward, since the creation of the dual monarchy.

a. In 1868–1869 the German Liberals in the parliament (Reichsrath) secured laws for complete religious liberty for all men. These laws also took from the church its old control over marriage and the schools. The population is almost wholly Catholic; but it has supported this anti-clerical legislation, against even the severe condemnation of the pope.

b. In 1906, after many years of agitation, full and equal manhood suffrage was secured for local elections and for the lower House of the national parliament.[1] This placed Austria among the most progressive states in Europe, politically. The parliament (Reichsrath) contains twenty-eight distinct parties (largely on a basis of race jealousies). The election of 1913 made the Christian Socialists far the largest of any one party, giving them 96 members out of a total of 516.

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[1] An upper House is made up partly of princes and hereditary lords, and partly of life members appointed by the emperor.

CHAPTER LXI

THE SMALL STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE[1]

833. Besides the great states **the usual map of Europe shows fourteen[2] small states.** All of these except Switzerland and Portugal are constitutional monarchies. Six — the Slav and Greek states — are in the southeast of Europe in the Balkan region. The other eight belong to Western Europe and claim brief notice at this point.

Of these small states of Western Europe, two are in the south, in the Iberian peninsula; three are in the north, in the Scandinavian peninsulas; two lie at the mouth of the Rhine, and the remaining one at its source. Four of the eight — Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland — have at some time ranked as Great Powers.

I. SPAIN

834. From 1800 to 1833. — Before 1800 the ideas of the French Revolutionists began to filter into Spain, but their welcome was confined to the small educated class. Napoleon's attack broke down the old monarchy and gave these Liberals a chance. They took the lead in the War for Independence (1809–1813); and, in the midst of that struggle, a national Cortes drew up the famous Constitution of 1812 (§ 638).

Then followed the restoration of the cruel and suspicious *Ferdinand VII*, his treacherous overthrow of the constitution, its restoration by the revolution of 1820, and the armed intervention of the despotic Holy Alliance in 1823 (§§ 638, 642). For the next ten years the Liberals were persecuted vigorously. To own a foreign book was a crime. In 1831 a young man was hanged in Madrid for shouting "Hurrah for Liberty!" and a woman met the same fate for embroidering on a flag the words, "Law, Liberty, Equality."

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[1] It is suggested that, if time presses, this chapter be merely read, and talked over, without much attempt to fix details.

[2] There are also four or five others, like the little republic of San Marino in the Italian Alps, so small that few maps take notice of them.

835. From 1833 to 1873. — Ferdinand died in 1833, but, for forty years more, Spain passed from revolution to revolution, — none for liberty, each for some ruler or military chieftain. During the middle half of the century Spain had many "paper constitutions" but no constitutionalism. The government was "government by revolt." Every change was brought about by a coup d'état.

The many successive military revolutions, however, were marked by surprisingly little bloodshed. It has been wittily said, that during this period, "revolution in Spain became a fine art." When an administration had grown sufficiently unpopular, some officer with docile battalions and a grievance would issue a "pronunciamento" declaring the existing government dissolved and naming the members of a new one. If the adventurer had counted his strength advisedly, the old government would vanish; if it stayed, the revolt usually disappeared. It was part of the political game to know, without fighting, when one was beaten. Some one has said that Spaniards developed a delicate tact in working revolutions, as English-speaking people work elections, with the least possible disturbance to the affairs of everyday life.

To be sure, after each of the meaningless commotions of these forty years, the victorious faction would "appeal to the nation" for sanction; but it used all the machinery of the government, including the police, to carry its candidates; and members of an opposing party, if active, were liable to be mobbed by the government party (the "party of the club"), or, if they resisted, to be locked up "to prevent a disturbance."

Meantime wasteful taxation and miserable misgovernment made the nation seethe with discontent; and in 1868 a Liberal uprising expelled the ruling Bourbon line, and set up a Provisional Government. For the next few years, this government begged prince after prince in Europe to accept the Spanish crown (cf. § 736). One Italian prince, *Amadeo*, a younger son of Victor Emmanuel, accepted it, and made an honorable attempt to rule as a constitutional king; but after two years (1871–1873), in despair, he left the country.

836. Then in 1873 the Liberals set up a republic, with *Castelar* as president. The constitution, said to have been drawn up in twenty-four hours, was never more than a form. The leaders made absurd promises which could not be kept: to reduce taxes, though the treasury was bankrupt; to do away with conscription, though the army was demoralized and revolt flourished; to abolish capital punishment, though crime was rampant.

But Castelar could learn; and six months of anarchy changed his views. Bourbon risings were making rapid progress in the northern provinces; the seaboard cities of the south had declared themselves independent communes, after the plan of Paris two years before; taxes ceased to come in; the remnants of the army were in mutiny; the towns were at the mercy of ruffians, and the country districts in the hands of bandits. Then, in a fortunate recess of the Cortes, Castelar turned his vague legal authority into a beneficent dictatorship. The choice, he saw, lay between bayonet-rule in the hands of disciplined troops controlled by good men, and pike-rule in the hands of a vicious rabble led by escaped galley-slaves. He candidly abandoned his old theories, broke his foolish pledges, and with wise energy brought order out of chaos. He crushed the communes with an army recruited by a strict conscription, and checked crime and anarchy by military executions after swift drumhead courtmartials.

It was natural that he should be assailed as a tyrant. When the Cortes reassembled, his old friends passed a vote of lack of confidence. The commander of the troops asked for permission to disperse the Cortes; but, by resigning promptly, Castelar showed that he had no wish to prolong his personal authority. To-day no one doubts his good faith or good judgment, and the name of this republican statesman-author-dictator stands out as the chief glory of Spain in the nineteenth century.[1]

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[1] Castelar had been professor of philosophy in the University of Madrid before he entered politics, and he ranks among the great orators of modern times. Hannay's *Castelar* is a brief and interesting biography.

837. Restoration of the Monarchy. — Castelar's resignation was followed by brief anarchy; but two more revolutions brought the nation to the restoration of the old Bourbon line, at the close of 1874, in the person of the young *Alphonso XII*,[1] grandson of Ferdinand. The restoration was welcomed with delight by the exhausted nation, and it closed the long period of revolution. The new government proved vigorous and prudent; and in 1876 the present constitution introduced Spain to a more hopeful period.

838. The government in theory rests mainly in the Cortes. This body consists of a Senate and a Congress. Half the senators are *elected*, while the rest are *appointed for life*, or hold position by virtue of other office or of relationship to the king. The congressmen are elected by *manhood suffrage* (since 1890).

The ministry is expected to resign if outvoted in the Cortes, but, in practice, *parliamentary majorities do not yet really make ministries*. Instead, ministries make parliamentary majorities, as in England a century and a half ago (§ 460). A ministry is formed by coalition between factions, and then it supplies itself with a good working majority by a new election. The ministry controls the elections pretty thoroughly; but such things are managed more decorously than formerly. Since 1876 no party has "called in the infantry." Pronunciamentos seem to be outgrown, and, in the near future, Spain may be expected to secure the spirit, as well as the form, of parliamentary government. Of late years the chief disturbances have come from the Socialists.

839. Reforms, 1881–1890. — Until 1881 the energies of the government went mainly to restoring order. Then, for ten years, reform crowded upon reform. Jury trial was introduced; civil marriage was permitted; popular education was encouraged; the franchise was extended; the slaves in the colonies were freed; honest but vain attempts were made to improve the government of the colonies; and, above all, so far as Spain's welfare is concerned, the system of taxation was reformed.

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[1] In 1885 Alphonso's death left the crown to his son, *Alphonso XIII*.

In 1876 taxes were still levied in the wasteful, demoralizing way characteristic of France before the First Revolution, and both foreign trade and home industries were strangled by them. Conditions are still far from ideal, but the heaviest shackles have been struck off. As a result, trade has mounted by bounds; manufactures have developed; railroads and telegraphs have been tripled. Population has doubled in the last century, rising from ten millions to twenty, and the growth has been especially rapid in the last decades. Above all, the number of peasant landowners is rapidly increasing.

To be sure, the shiftless, excitable, bigoted character of the mass of the people has not yet become perceptibly altered. Still, Spain is far from being a dying nation, as she is sometimes called. She is a reviving nation: and the increase in population and in material wealth is a chief reason for the greater political stability of the last forty years. Under the new conditions, *constant revolution would be too costly.*

Castelar gave his allegiance to the liberal monarchy; but, though taking a prominent part in politics, he always refused to accept office. The leading statesman in this long course of reform from 1880 to 1898 was *Sagasta,* whose name stands next to Castelar's in honor in modern Spanish history.

840. Religion and Education. — Catholicism is the state religion. Though the constitution promises "freedom of worship," no other religious services are permitted *in public.* In this respect Spain is the most backward of European lands. The schools are poorly attended (despite a compulsory education law) and poorly taught. These conditions are improving, but it will be several years at least before even half the adults can read and write.[1]

Castelar and Sagasta wished to change all this radically, (1) by the complete *separation of church and state,* and (2) by the *exclusion of clerical control* from the schools. But the introduction of manhood suffrage strengthened the Clericals and

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[1] By the census of 1910, 64 per cent could not do either.

Conservatives in the Cortes after 1890 (because of the absolute obedience paid at elections by the peasants to their priests), and for many years no change in these lines has been possible.

841. Loss of Colonies. — Until 1898 the great drag upon Spanish progress was the surviving colonial empire. After 1876 a series of efforts was made to give good government and some measure of self-control to Cuba, which had been in incessant and wasting rebellion. But the problem was probably too difficult to be worked out under the most favorable conditions by a country politically so backward at home. Corrupt officials oftentimes ruined the designs of the government; and in any case, the colonies were already so alienated by long misgovernment as to make the task hopeless.

In 1894 Cuba rose again for independence. Spain made tremendous efforts to hold her colony, and for some years, at an immense cost, maintained an army of 200,000 men at a distance of 2000 miles from home. The warfare, however, was reducing Cuba to a desert; and finally, in 1898, the United States interfered. The Spanish-American War resulted in the surrender of all the Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some districts in northwest Africa.

842. Outlook. — It may be hoped that this loss will prove a gain. The poverty of the government has been serious. The national debt is almost two billions of dollars. The interest charge is a crushing burden, and until 1900 the debt was constantly growing. Now that Spain no longer has the task of holding distant colonial possessions, she may conclude to reduce her absurd army system and to use the money for the development of the intellect of the people and of the resources of the land. Spain still has ambitions, however, to extend her colonial possessions in Africa.

Just before the loss of the Spanish colonies, Castelar expressed the feeling of thoughtful Spaniards in effective words: "When we turn our eyes to the sad past and compare it with the present, we see what may be accomplished without trying to fulfill Utopian dreams. . . . Men who have seen an absolute monarchy, see to-day a democratic monarchy.

Men who once scarcely dared express their thoughts, can write to-day anything that they wish. Men who were once dismissed from the universities for proclaiming free thought and scientific truth have the right to-day to teach what they believe. . . . We may well be content with the work of the last forty years."

II. THE REPUBLIC OF PORTUGAL

843. Historical Survey. — When Napoleon I seized Portugal (1807), the royal family of the Braganzas fled to Brazil, the most important of Portugal's dependencies; and after the expulsion of the French, *King John* preferred to rule the home country from the colony. The Portuguese were deeply dissatisfied with this arrangement, and finally, to save his European crown, the king left his son Pedro[1] to rule Brazil, and returned to Portugal, accepting the radical constitution which agitators had drawn up (1821) on the model of the Spanish constitution of 1820.

For many years, however, the country was distracted by revolutions, and by wars between claimants for the crown; but about the middle of the nineteenth century, Portugal began to make some progress in constitutional government. **Then, in 1910, a sudden uprising set up a republic**, which so far (1915) seems stable. English influence is dominant in foreign relations, so that Portugal is, in practice, almost an English protectorate.

844. Conditions and Problems. — Until 1910 Catholicism was the state religion. Indeed there were only a few hundred people of other faiths in the country. But the Republican government at once established *complete religious freedom*, confiscated the church property, and adopted a plan for the "separation of church and state" like that set up in France in 1906.

Education, by law, is universal and gratuitous; but in practice the children of the poor do not attend school. The schools, too, are very poor. Portugal is more illiterate even than Spain. In 1900 more than three-fourths of the people (above six years of age) could neither read nor write. The chief peril to the Republic is ignorance.

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[1] The son of this prince was Pedro II of Brazil, who ruled from 1835 to 1890. In that last year, the Brazilians called for a republic, and Pedro resigned the throne, winning the admiration of the world by his dignified moderation. His wise rule was the last remnant of monarchy on the Western hemisphere.

Colonies are still extensive (in the Verde islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration, too, is very bad.

National finances are in a deplorable condition. In 1893 Portugal suspended payment of two-thirds of the interest on her national debt. In 1894 France withdrew her ambassador, because of dissatisfaction at this treatment of French creditors. Such action gave rise to talk of possible intervention by European governments in Portuguese affairs. For some years the government has had an annual deficit. It would seem that the country must give up her costly army system and sell her colonies.

Recent years have seen much *distress from lack of employment* or from low wages, and many strikes accompanied by riots.

III. BELGIUM

845. **The Constitution** of Belgium is still that of 1831, with a few amendments. It has an admirable bill of rights. The king acts only through ministers; and by custom the ministers must resign if outvoted in parliament.

In 1831 the franchise rested upon the payment of a considerable tax. When the revolutions of 1848 were upsetting so many governments, Belgium made a slight reduction in this qualification for voting. For nearly fifty years there was no further change; but meanwhile great city populations were growing up, with masses of artisans who had no votes. In the eighties only one man in ten could vote; and agitation began for further extension of the franchise.

The proposal secured little support in parliament, however, and bill after bill was voted down. In the early nineties the discontent of the Radicals became violent. In 1893 the Labor party declared a general strike, in order to exert political pressure, and the crowds of unemployed men in Brussels about the parliament house threatened serious riots. The militia was called out, but it showed a dangerous disposition to side with the rioters.

The members of parliament, looking on from their windows, changed their minds, and quickly passed the present franchise law, providing for *manhood suffrage, with plural votes for wealth and education.* Each man has *one* vote; *two* votes are given to each man, over thirty-five years of age, if he possesses certain wealth, or if he is the head of a family with children; and *three* votes are given to men of high educational qualification and to those who have held important public office.

846. The Kulturkampf. — The new franchise produced unexpected results. From 1850 to 1884 the leading question in politics had been whether state or church should control education. The Liberals were in power the greater part of the time, and, by one bill after another, they had taken the schools wholly away from clerical influence.

This resulted, however, in the growth of a large Clerical party. Then, the election of 1894 returned 104 Clericals, 15 Liberals, and 33 Socialists. Of the two million votes cast, *over a third were "plural votes,"* and *these very largely reinforced the Clericals.* A new education bill (1895) placed the public schools under the supervision of the church, and provided state support for church schools. Education continued to make progress. In 1890, 16 per cent of the army recruits could not read or write; in 1910 the number was only 9 per cent.

847. Belgium has ranked for many years among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the population was seven and a half million — more than double that in 1815. At this writing (March, 1915), the country for many weeks has been the chief battle ground of the terrible European war, and its unparalleled sufferings excite the compassion and horror of the world.

IV. HOLLAND

848. Government. The *royal family* of Holland belongs to the great House of Orange,[1] and the people are loyally devoted to it. The *upper House* of the States General (the parliament keeps that ancient name) is chosen by the local legislatures of the various provinces for nine years, one third going out each third year. This plan of *partial renewals* of a branch of the legislature has been adopted in many countries, as in the Senate of the United States, but it seems to have originated in Holland some centuries ago.

The *House of Representatives* (lower House of the States General) is elected directly by the people. Since 1896 about three-fourths of the adult men have votes, — nearly all except paupers, vagabonds, and unmarried sons in poor families. The monarchy has been of the Prussian rather than the English type, until recently; but during the long minority of the girl-queen *the ministries began to be truly "responsible"* to the Representatives.

849. The country is rich and prosperous. The population (six millions in 1910) has grown in the last century even faster than that of Belgium. *The colonial empire*, despite great losses in the Napoleonic wars, is still vast and productive.

V. THE SWISS REPUBLIC[2]

850. The Congress of Vienna left the Swiss Cantons in a loose confederacy, not unlike that of the United States before 1789. The original "Forest Cantons" were pure democracies. They governed themselves (as some do still) by folkmoots, — primary assemblies of all the people. In Bern, Luzern, and some other of the rich "City Cantons," a few families had complete possession of the government, so that the rule was an hereditary oligarchy. But in 1830, after the success of the

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[1] The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who came to the throne in 1890 at ten years of age.

[2] For early Swiss history, see §§ 321, 596, 629.

French revolution, popular risings established liberal local constitutions in those city cantons.

851. The next change grew out of religious strife. The reorganized cantons of 1830 were Protestant, and now they became radical in politics. The old democratic cantons were Catholic, and were coming to be controlled by a new Clerical party. The confederacy seemed ready to split in twain. Some individual cantons, too, were torn by civil strife. Switzerland was organized in two camps.

A TYPICAL SWISS TOWN. — Meran.

The final struggle began in Aargau. In this canton, in the election of 1840, the Radicals won. The Clericals rose in revolt. To punish them, after suppressing the rising, the Radicals dissolved the eight monasteries of the canton. This act was contrary to the constitution of the Union; and the seven Catholic cantons in alarm formed a separate league, — *the Sonderbund,* — and declared that they would protect the Clericals in their rights in any canton where they might be attacked.

852. The Sonderbund War. — For the Sonderbund to exist at all was practically to dissolve the union. In 1847 the Federal Diet, now controlled by the Radicals, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve. The Sonderbund withdrew its deputies from the Diet, and war was begun (1847) — seven cantons against fifteen. The despotic Powers of the Holy Alliance were preparing to interfere in behalf of the Sonderbund (§ 640), and did furnish it with arms and money; but the Unionists (warned and encouraged by the English government) acted with remarkable celerity and crushed the Secessionists in a three weeks' campaign, before foreign intervention could begin. Metternich still intended to interfere, but the revolutions of 1848 rendered him harmless. Then the Radicals remodeled the constitutions of the conquered cantons, so as to put power into the hands of the Radicals there, *and adopted a new national constitution.*

There are many interesting points of likeness between the civil war in Switzerland and that a little later in the United States. In both countries there was a conflict between a national and a states' sovereignty party. In both, as a result of war, the more progressive part of the nation forced a stronger union upon the more backward portion ; in both, too, the states which tried to secede did so in behalf of rights guaranteed them in the old constitution, which they believed to be endangered by their opponents.

853. By the new constitution of 1848, which with slight amendments is that of to-day, **the union became a true Federal Republic.**

The Federal Assembly (national legislature) has two Houses, — *the Council of the States* and *the National Council.* The first consists of two delegates from each canton. The delegates are chosen by the cantonal legislatures, by whom also their term of office is fixed and their salaries are paid. This Council *represents the states' rights principle*, and in form it is a survival of the old Diet.

The other parts of the constitution, however, are new, and tend toward nationalism. The second House of the legislature, the National Council, *represents the people of the union.* The members are elected in single districts, like our Representatives, for a term of three years. The franchise is given to all adult males, and elections take place on Sundays, so that all may vote.

The Federal Executive is not a single president, but a committee of seven (*the Federal Council*), whose members are chosen by the Federal Assembly. One of the seven, especially named for the purpose, is *the President of the Council;* but he possesses little more authority than the other members. The Federal Council acts much as an English ministry, but it cannot dissolve the legislature, and it need not resign if its measures are rejected.

There is also *a Federal Judiciary*, chosen by the Federal Assembly; but it lacks the power of our American Supreme Court to declare laws void: it is bound to accept as valid all acts of the legislature.

Each canton, like each of our States, has its own constitution and government. In a few cantons the old folkmoot, or primary Assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of *one chamber*,[1] chosen by manhood suffrage. In all there are *executive councils.*

854. Direct Legislation. — As a rule, even in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only indirectly. They choose representatives (legislatures and governors), and these few delegated individuals attend directly to all matters of government. Democratic thinkers, however, demand that some way be found for the people themselves to take a direct part in law-making; and Switzerland was the first country to show how this may be done. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as *the referendum* and *the popular initiative.*

The referendum is the older. It consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and in 1780, and there were a few other applications of the principle in America at about the same time. A little later, the French Revolutionists adopted the practice for their constitutions; and the plebiscites of the Napoleons extended the principle to some other questions besides constitutions.[1] In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions and of constitutional amendments; and sometimes other important measures were submitted to popular decision, both in state and city governments.

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[1] A two-chambered legislature is contrary to Swiss practice, and the plan was adopted in the national constitution, from the United States, to reconcile the claims of the adherents of States' rights and of the Nationalists.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the Constitution of 1848, all constitutional amendments, cantonal or national, must be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons *this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws*; while, by an amendment of 1874, a certain number of voters *by petition may require the submission of any national law.* This last provision is known as the *optional referendum*, and it has been in use in the separate cantons for most of the nineteenth century.

The popular initiative is a purely Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill and to compel its submission to the people. A little before 1848, this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. Four cantons had already made some use of it, and the new Constitution of 1848 required all cantons to permit it in constitutional amendments, if a majority of voters so petitioned.

The cantons themselves rapidly adopted more generous measures than this; and, by 1870, in nearly all of them a small number of voters could introduce any law they desired. In 1891, by amendment, this liberal principle was adopted for the national government: *a petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote.*

Thus the people can act directly, without the intervention of the legislature. They can frame bills by the initiative, and pass on them by the referendum.[1] These devices for direct legislation are the most important advances made in late years by democracy. Recently, many of the more progressive States of the American Union have carried them (with the further device of the *recall*) to a higher degree of perfection even than in their Swiss home.

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[1] The French Constitution of the Year I provided for a referendum on ordinary laws; but this constititution never went into effect (§ 573).

855. Switzerland fills a far larger place in history and in human interest than her territory fills on the map. Since 1848 the Swiss have been one nation. The defeated party quickly accepted the result of the Sonderbund war in good faith, and now all Swiss look upon each other as fellow-countrymen. In the last half-century Switzerland has made amazing advances, and to-day it is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The schools are among the best in Europe; no other country has so little illiteracy. Comfort is well diffused. No other country to-day gives such complete equality of opportunity in industry and in politics. The population increases rapidly, and in 1896 it numbered three and a third millions. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than is known anywhere else in Europe.

Two-thirds of the people are Germans; but French and Italian, as well as German, are "official" languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. *But race feeling*, which is so disintegrating a force in Austria, *works no harm in Switzerland.* The universal patriotism of the people is a high testimonial to the strength of free institutions and of the flexible federal principle, in binding together diverse elements. Says President Lowell, of Harvard, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

For Further Reading. — Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814*, 255–284, or Hazen's *Europe Since 1815.* Fuller accounts, of interest and great value, may be found in Lloyd's *A Sovereign People* and Crawford's *Switzerland of To-day* (1911).

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[1] A good account of the referendum and initiative in Switzerland is given in Seignobos, *Europe Since 1814*, 271–279 and 283–284.

VI. DENMARK

856. To 1866. — In the later Middle Ages, Denmark was an elective monarchy distracted by feudal anarchy. In 1660, after a shameful defeat by Sweden, it became an hereditary and absolute monarchy. In 1848 the king felt obliged to grant a paper constitution; but not until after the defeat[1] of 1864 did Denmark begin to have any real constitutional development. A Democratic party ("Friends of the Peasants") then began to demand reform, and, after two years of clamor, a constitution was established.

857. This constitution of 1866 promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly of members elected on a very high property basis. The Folkthing, or lower House, is elected by manhood suffrage. All self-supporting men, thirty years of age, can vote. In 1901, after a thirty-years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the Representatives.

858. Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and ignorant. Agriculture was backward. The defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state disrupted and impoverished. Its people were forced to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with two and three quarters millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. But they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation, and to-day Denmark is one of the most progressive and prosperous farming countries in the world.

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[1] Compare with the case of Austria after 1866, and France after 1870.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every distinct line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing of eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in loaning one another money (farm credits), and so on. The local societies are federated into national organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Little Denmark supplies England's forty millions with a large part of their eggs, bacon, and butter, — $10,000,000 worth, $32,000,000 worth, and $50,000,000 worth, respectively, in 1911.

Thanks to intelligent methods of farming, and of handling produce, these Danish articles command the top price in the London market; and, thanks to the coöperative system, the profits go to the producers, not to middlemen. Best of all, the Danish peasant, on eight or ten acres of land, is an educated man, cultured, because of his intelligent, scientific mastery of his work.

The coöperative movement in agriculture is found also, in only a slightly smaller degree, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, — all the other small states of Northern Europe. The movement is making much progress, too, in France.

VII. NORWAY

859. The Union with Sweden. — The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (§ 626), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered from one ruler to another without their own consent. A Diet assembled at *Eidvold* declared Norway a sovereign state, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected a king (*May 17, 1814*). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but finally a compromise was arranged. The king abdicated, and the Diet elected the Swedish king as King of Norway, *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution.*

Thus Norway and Sweden became a dual monarchy. The union was looser, however, than that of Austria-Hungary. The two countries had the same king, but they had no common ministry and nothing to correspond to the Austrian Delegations. Each kingdom kept its own constitution and its own legislature. The arrangement lasted almost a century.

A FJORD IN NORWAY. — Sogudal.

860. Struggle for Self-government. — In 1814 the Norwegian legislature (Storthing) was chosen on the basis of a low property qualification, and in 1884 manhood suffrage was adopted. The Storthing assembles as one house, but divides itself for most purposes into two chambers. The king of the dual state could not dissolve it, and *a bill became law in spite of his veto, if passed in three successive annual sessions.* In the early part of the century the Storthing succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king.

The chief interest in Norwegian politics in the nineteenth century lay in the agitation for a greater amount of self-government. Except for one period of about thirty years in the middle of the century, the contest was incessant, and after 1872 it grew bitter.

In 1872–1874 the Storthing passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II[1] declared truly that this was an amendment to the constitution, and therefore a change in the compact between the two countries. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. The Storthing impeached the ministers. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded.

861. Independence. — By this success the real executive, for all *internal* affairs, became Norwegian, not Swede. The Storthing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls, separate from the Swedish service. This demand also seemed to the king to involve a change in the constitution, — which put the regulation of *foreign* affairs into his hands, — and the Swedish party exclaimed that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries.

The struggle waxed vehement. In the course of the contest the Norwegians removed the symbol of union from their flag (1886–1888), after passing the bill to that effect each year for three sessions, and both countries at times made preparations for war. Indeed, Norway erected a costly line of fortifications on the frontier toward Sweden.

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[1] Oscar II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, just before the Norwegian national movement became violent; and his moderation and fairness had much to do with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century. Foreign nations paid a deserved tribute to his ability and fairness, by requesting him frequently to act as arbitrator in international disputes. The United States was interested in some of these arbitrations.

In May, 1905, when once more a long negotiation for separate consular service had failed, the Storthing, *by unanimous vote*, provided by its own act for Norwegian consuls. This was virtual secession, and the king refused to recognize it. The Storthing then declared the union dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that his two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor-unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. **In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples, *a peaceful separation* was arranged upon friendly terms.**

Thus Norway became an independent nation. A small party wished the new nation to become a republic; but, in a second referendum, a large majority declared for a monarchy and chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

862. Woman Suffrage. — In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. In 1907 the parliamentary franchise was given to the same class of women. Thus, Norway was the first *sovereign nation* to give the full franchise to women.[1] Women, too, sit in the Storthing. There is a strong demand for the extension of the franchise to *all* women on the same terms as men, — a demand certain to be granted in the near future.

863. Conditions. — Norway has two and a half millions of people; Sweden, more than twice as many.[2] Sweden is also the richer country. The Norwegians, however, have the larger merchant navy, — more than four times as large as Sweden's, and the fourth in size in all Europe. This was one reason why, during the "Union," Norway felt it had a special interest in controlling the consular service. Norwegian authors, like the novelist-statesman Björnson and the poet Ibsen, stand in the front ranks of European literature, and such facts, no doubt, helped to make the people more discontented with their recent political inferiority.

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[1] The student will find in § 903 an enumeration of States and provinces in which woman suffrage prevails; but he will notice that those granting that right before 1907 were not "sovereign" nations.

[2] Each of the three Scandinavian kingdoms (like so many other countries that we have noted) at least doubled in population in the nineteenth century.

Recent progress (apart from equal suffrage) includes two especial matters: —

a. The schools of Norway (despite the necessity for economy in so poor a country) *have become among the best in the world.* Schoolhouses are equipped with fine rooms for physical training and with modern bath rooms, and are supplemented by farm gardens. Industrial training (in various branches of agriculture and in cooking and sewing) is a regular part of the course of study.

b. Norway has discovered a peculiar way to deal with the liquor question. Until after the middle of the nineteenth century, drunkenness was a national vice, alarming in amount. To-day it has practically vanished.

In 1865 the town of Gothenberg (in Sweden) put the sale of all intoxicants within its limits into the hands of one company, which agreed to maintain certain conditions of cleanliness and good order in its shops *and to hand over to the city all profits above 5 per cent.* In 1871 this "Gothenberg system" was adopted by the Norwegian Storthing as the only legal way in which liquor can be sold anywhere in the country. Some twenty years later (1895), "local option" was established between this plan and prohibition.

To-day, prohibition prevails in the country districts, on the whole, and the Gothenberg method in the large towns. But

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This rapid growth of population is one of the striking phenomena of modern times. It has been made possible, of course, by the improved economic conditions and the growth of great cities with new kinds of employment.

between 1871 and 1895 (while that system held the whole field), *the amount of liquor consumed in Norway, per head, decreased almost one-half* — whereas, during the same period it was doubling in many other countries, including our own. The various advantages of the Gothenberg plan all come from the central fact that *it does away with private profits*, and so with all temptation to try to increase the sale of intoxicants. Prohibitionists sometimes condemn it because it seems to give the trade the sanction of the state; but experience in Norway seems to indicate that it is a very practical step toward prohibition.

VIII. SWEDEN

864. Until after 1580 the Swedish Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of *four estates* — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. Such a body was only a slight check upon royal power. The king could play off one class against the other. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two houses, but for nearly half a century more the fanchise excluded a large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men *and women*.

PART XII

SLAV EUROPE

CHAPTER LXII

RUSSIA

865. Growth. — Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, changed the fate of Europe and revealed her own tremendous power. The growth of this vast, aggressive, semi-Oriental state upon the edge of Western Europe created new problems for all "Western" peoples.

In the fifteenth century (§ 481), the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war.

a. Until the time of Peter the Great, the advance was made almost wholly by the ceaseless movement of pioneers into the savage wilderness north and east. Like swarming hives, Russian villages along the frontier sent forward bands of people, each band to advance a little way and form a new village, driving out or absorbing the Tartar barbarians. On the east much of the advance was made by another kind of frontiersmen, called Cossacks. The Cossacks lived partly by agriculture, partly by grazing, and often they waged war on their own account against Turks and Tartars, somewhat as our early American frontiersmen won Kentucky from the Indians and Texas from Mexico. As early as the time of Ivan the Terrible (§ 481) a Cossack horde seized part of Siberia.

b. The most important additions by war come under five heads: —

(1) The Baltic Provinces from Sweden, by Peter the Great, about 1700 (§ 484).
(2) Poland, by Catherine II, 1772–1793 (§ 500).
(3) Finland from Sweden, in 1743 and 1814 (§§ 485, 626).
(4) The provinces along the Black Sea from Azof to the Danube, in a century of war against the Turks, — from 1772 to 1878.
(5) In Asia: (*a*) the occupation of Siberia at the expense of savage Tartar tribes (completed to the Pacific in the seventeenth century), and of Kamchatka in 1707; (*b*) a district of Asia Minor from the Caucasus to the Caspian, and the Trans-Caspian region — between the Caspian Sea and Persia — at the expense of Mohammedan principalities and of Turkey; and (*c*) recently, northwestern China, until checked by Japan.

Naturally Russia has sought outlets to the sea. She reached the frozen ocean of the north early. Peter the Great reached the Baltic. In war, however, the narrow outlets from that sea are easily closed by a hostile power, and hence Russia has been suspected of looking covetously towards the Atlantic ports of Sweden and Norway. Peter began a struggle also for the Black Sea, and Catherine II won those waters; but Constantinople closes the exit from them to the outer world. Russian ambition therefore has aimed, for over half a century, at that ancient city, the former capital of the Greek faith. Until the present war (1915), England steadily opposed Russian advance in this direction. Now she has withdrawn that opposition.

In Asia, until recently, Russian advance has been steady and terrifying. In that continent Russia aimed at the Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south (besides the rich realms of central Asia and India). Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century she came into conflict with China on the extreme northwest. In 1858 she advanced to the Amur (seizing northern Manchuria). Two years later she secured Vladivostock, and so obtained a Pacific port ice-free for most of the year. In 1895 the great Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 the vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostock. This road is more than 5000 miles long, — nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in the advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez or Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (§ 891) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance toward India. In swift succession, heedless of England's threats, she secured Bokhara (1868), Khiva (1873), and Merv (1884), despite explicit pledges to England three years before.[1] In 1893 she reached the "roof of the world," the great Pamir plateau, and soon extended her military railroad to within seventy-five miles of Herat, the "key to India." Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in

Cathedral of the Archangel — Moscow. With the Tower of Ivan the Great and the Great Bell.

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[1] These Trans-Caspian districts are in the main rich and fertile, with valuable mines, and with a teeming, industrious population.

Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme east (below).

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. She was still in a primitive stage industrially, and these useful projects were carried on largely by foreign workmen and foreign capital. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. The story of this struggle is told in another place (§ 892). To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria.

866. Area and Population. — Including her Asiatic territory, Russia covers eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one-seventh the area of the habitable earth. In 1910 she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions,[1] of which all but about thirty millions live in Europe. The population is made up of some seventy different nationalities, but the great central core, comprising over two-thirds the whole, is composed of Russian Slavs.

The subject races form only a fringe about the center, and are rapidly being Russianized (§ 872). The largest of the subject nationalities are the Poles (twelve millions) and the Finns (something over three and a half millions). There are also about five million Jews dispersed throughout the larger cities of the empire, especially at the seaports, and more than thirteen million Tartars; but both these peoples are widely scattered and have never formed governments of their own as the Finns and Poles each have done.

In 1815 nearly one-half all the Jews in the world were in Russia. During the Middle Ages they had been persecuted in Christian lands in

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[1] This population is just about equal to the whole group of English-speaking peoples in the United States and the British Empire.

Europe and had fled to Turkey, settling in provinces about the Black Sea which afterward passed under Russian control. In the last century and in recent years they have been subjected to persecuting laws and to massacres, much as they were in England and France six hundred years ago. As a result, great numbers of them have been coming to the United States.

867. The government is an absolute despotism. Moreover, it is highly centralized. Not a scholarship in a school, or a bed in a hospital, can be established without the solemn approval of the tsar. Until 1855 no village church or school could be built until the plan had been sent to St. Petersburg for approval. Under Nicholas I (1825–1855), even a private house with as many as five windows required a special royal permit.

868. Emancipation of the Serfs, 1861. — The greatest event in Russian history between the reforms of Peter the Great and the present constitutional movement is the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II. The serfs numbered over 47 millions (nearly twelve times as many as the slaves who were freed in the United States at nearly the same time), and they made four-fifths the population of European Russia.

Not only were they freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from obligation to serve them; they were also given land. They had always dwelt in little village-communities; in 1861 each village, or *mir*, was left to manage its own local matters and was given land for its support. The land, like the serf labor, was taken from the noble, but it was not confiscated: each mir was to pay an annual rent (fixed by the tsar's commissioners) or to buy the land outright, as it chose. If the mir wished to buy, the tsar paid the landlord, and the mir undertook to repay the tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Most mirs adopted the purchase plan.

869. The Peasantry. — Alexander and other Liberals hoped that marvelous improvement would follow the emancipation; but such hopes have not been realized in the two generations that have elapsed. The great body of the peasantry remain constantly near the starving point. This unfortunate condition has been due in great measure to the fact that *the peasantry did not get land enough.*

The tsar intended each village to receive at least as much land as its inhabitants had cultivated for their own support while they had been serfs. But the nobles, who carried out the details of the arrangement, managed to cut down the amount, desiring, indeed, that the peasants should be forced to eke out their income by tilling the land of the larger proprietors about them. Moreover, the taxes are excessive, so that much more than half the peasant's labor goes to the tax collector. Nearly one-third the entire peasant body, indeed, have been so reduced that they have pledged their labor for one or more years in advance to neighboring landlords, and so have been forced back into a kind of temporary serfdom.

In addition, the government, until 1907, held the mir responsible *as a unit* for the annual rent or annual installment of the purchase price of the land, and for other taxes.[1] In consequence, farming methods were poor, and labor brought small returns. The artisan was not allowed to leave his village to seek opportunity in the cities, except under hampering restrictions; and, as a rule, agriculture was carried on carelessly and uneconomically, by a communal system. The mir assembly, each year or two, redistributed its land in strips among its families, and the cultivation was by the primitive three-field arrangement (§ 134).

870. A recent attempt has been made to remedy these evil conditions. In October, 1906, after a year of terrible disorder and anarchy (§ 876), the tsar by edict declared the communal system no longer binding. Freedom of movement was granted; some taxes were abolished, and vast amounts of state land were offered to the peasantry, to be paid for on low terms in fifty annual payments.

It is too early, as yet, to see how far these reforms may improve the material situation of the rural workers. The peasantry are unaffected by Western civilization, and live in a world wholly different from that of the small class of educated

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[1] Cf. the French land tax before 1789 (§ 513).

Russians. Nowhere else in the civilized world is the gap between the upper and lower classes so complete (§ 483). The peasants are filthy, ignorant, and wretched. The death rate is a half higher than in the countries of Western Europe, and *higher in the country than in the cities.* One-half the children die before they reach the age of five, and every now and then large districts are desolated by famine, while vast tracts of fertile land lie uncultivated. On the other hand, the peasants have sometimes shown themselves capable of sublime self-sacrifice and of lofty religious enthusiasm.

871. The Higher Classes: Slavophil Sentiment. — Besides the peasants, the rural population comprises a numerous nobility and other landed proprietors; and in the cities there are small professional and mercantile classes.

For two hundred years (since Peter the Great), these upper classes have had a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century, their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books, customs, fashions, and ideas were imported from Paris. A little before the middle of the century, however, a reaction began in favor of native ideas and customs. This is the *Slavophil movement.*

Notwithstanding their recent humiliation by Japan, the Russians believe zealously in themselves as the future leaders of civilization. They look forward to a Pan-Slavic empire which shall include the Slav states of Bohemia and of Southeastern Europe, and which shall, both in power and in the character of its culture, surpass the Western civilization which now sways the world.

872. Russianizing the Favored Provinces. — The western provinces of Russia — Finland and the Baltic provinces — had drawn their civilization from Sweden and Germany. Indeed, in the Baltic provinces, the upper classes are still mainly German in blood. In both regions until recently the leading religion has been Lutheran. The Poles, too, have been marked off from the Russian Slavs by the greater German influence in their customs and by their adherence to the Catholic church. Finland, Poland, and the Baltic Provinces all excel Russia proper in civilization; and each at its acquisition was solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own language, religion, customs, and laws.

Despite such pledges, the Slavophils determined to Russianize these districts.[1] Such a policy is a blessing to the barbarous regions on the east, but it has been bitterly hard upon the progressive western districts. Since 1881, in the Baltic provinces, the German language has been forbidden in schools and churches and in all public matters (sign boards, for instance). In Poland a like policy had been begun earlier, after the insurrection of 1863.

873. **Finland** was connected with Russia only through a "personal union": the tsar was also grand-duke of Finland, but the duchy had its own constitution, its own representative Diet, and its free institutions, all guaranteed in the most solemn manner by each grand-duke at his accession. Moreover, the Finns were industrious, peaceful, and prosperous, and gave no handle for interference. Still, the Slavophils finally got their way. In 1900 the process of making Finland a mere province of despotic and Slav Russia began; and, despite the sympathies of the Western world for Finland, it was carried on rapidly, until in 1902 the last vestiges of the ancient liberties of this little northern land had been swept away.

The revolutionary disorders of 1905–1906 (§ 876), however, afforded the Finns an opportunity which they were quick to seize. In the helplessness of the Russian state, the tsar was forced to restore their ancient privileges. A Diet, elected by manhood suffrage, adopted a new constitution for Finland, which received the tsar's approval in September, 1906. This constitution provides a single-House legislature elected by *universal* suffrage. Nineteen women sat in the Diet of 1907.

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[1] The desire is natural enough, if it can be honorably secured. At the bottom, it is the same sense of nationality which has helped to make Germany, Italy, and Belgium, and which leads the German empire now to try to Germanize its Polish and Danish subjects, or which makes us desire to Americanize the foreigners who come to live among us. The difference, however, between the American method, on the one hand, and that of Germany or Russia, on the other, is easily appreciated.

874. The government of Russia has varied with the tsars. *Alexander I* (1801–1825) has been mentioned several times in connection with the period of Napoleon and Metternich. He had been educated by a liberal French tutor, and, in a weak and indecisive way, he favored a liberal policy in the management of Russia and Poland. His brother, *Nicholas I* (1825–1855), was wholly Russian in feeling, and this reign marks the beginning of the Slavophil movement. Nicholas despised Western ideas and Western civilization, and he believed in Russia with all his heart. He abandoned all of Alexander's reforms and returned openly to the policy of despotic autocracy.

In the last years of Nicholas' reign, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War revealed a weakness in the despotic bureaucratic system when pitted against Western civilization; and *Alexander II* (1855–1881), the son of Nicholas, turned again to a liberal policy. He emancipated the serfs, against the almost unanimous opposition of the nobles, and he introduced local representative assemblies in the provinces, though the people cared so little for such institutions that many times the mirs and towns petitioned to be relieved from the burden of sending representatives. Jury trial was introduced; the press was left more unshackled; the universities were allowed a freedom never before permitted; and attempts were made to secure just treatment for the Jews.

But Alexander soon found himself threatened with a movement by liberal agitators altogether too radical for his taste. In the years 1860–1870 many educated Russians, especially the younger men and women, were carried away by vague but enthusiastic speculations regarding some regeneration of society, and in the years 1870–1878 ardent disciples of these new theories began to spread them among the peasantry. To

Alexander this seemed full of danger; and in 1877–1878 the police put down the movement with barbarous cruelty.

Then the Radicals fell back upon a policy of terrorism. They organized a secret society of *Nihilists*, and, by assassination after assassination, tried to avenge the persecution of their friends and to terrify the tsar into granting a constitution and full representative government.

Alexander finally decided to grant part of these demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a national Assembly. Unhappily, the day before the project was to be published, the Nihilists succeeded in murdering him with a dynamite bomb.

Alexander III (1881–1894) returned to the policy of his grandfather Nicholas. Many of the liberal reforms of Alexander II were undone. In nearly half of European Russia the local assemblies were abolished. The press was again subjected to stern censorship. The teachers in the universities were muzzled, and the royal officers and police were given great authority to interfere in the self-government of the mirs. Merely by decree, without trial, suspected liberals were imprisoned in secret dungeons, or sent to suffer in Siberia.

This policy, both as to despotism and to Slavophilism, was continued by *Nicholas II*, who became tsar in 1894. Teachers in the universities were ordered not to touch upon matters of government in their lectures; and books like Green's *English People* and Bryce's *American Commonwealth* were added to the long list whose circulation was forbidden.

875. "Underground Russia." — For a time the police seemed to have crushed all reform agitation and all open criticism of the government. But, below the surface, modern ideas were working silently. Many liberals were growing up among lawyers, physicians, professors, merchants, and, sometimes, among the nobles. When opportunity came, these men would speak out. Most of them, it is true, dreamed only of very slight reforms, and they were thoroughly loyal to the tsar.

More important was the fact that about 1890 Russia began to be touched by the industrial revolution which had transformed England a century earlier. Moscow had been a "sacred city" of churches, marked by spires and minarets. It was becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys. In such cities Socialism was making converts among the new working class.

There are two distinct bodies of Russian Socialists. The larger body looks forward only to peaceful reform, like the Social Democratic party in other lands. The other is made up of Socialist-Revolutionists. This is a secret society, perfectly organized, which has absorbed the old Nihilists. It holds that violence is necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which chokes and crushes all attempts at peaceful reform. In this day of perfectly disciplined standing armies, with modern guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the Revolutionists work by the dagger and the dynamite bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The society selects its intended victims with careful deliberation; and, when one has been killed, secretly posted placards proclaim to the world the list of "crimes" for which he has been "executed." Spite of every precaution, the Revolutionists, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated of the tsar's tools.

876. The Beginnings of Progress, 1904–1906. — The opportunity of these reform forces seemed to have come in 1904. The failure of Russia in the Japanese War showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself, other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the suffering of the wounded. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry were woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment or lost wages, in the general stagnation of industry. Early in 1905, while the war was still running its disastrous course, Russia was convulsed, as never before, by strikes, peasant risings, and mutiny in army and navy.

For a while longer the government thought to stifle such popular manifestations in blood. One instance, famous because so near the royal palace and the homes of foreign ambassadors, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. A great number of loyal citizens in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had sent a petition to the tsar, asking him to hear them in person when, on the following Sunday, they should march to the palace to present their grievances — since they had lost faith in his officers. Then Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, dense masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, filled the streets leading to the royal palace. The Cossack cavalry charged these helpless throngs, and the palace troops mowed them down with quick-firing guns.[1] This was "Red Sunday."

Now, for once, the educated classes spoke out forcefully. The day after Red Sunday, leading citizens of the capital joined in a public declaration that "the government has declared war on the Russian people," and in an appeal to all good citizens to support the cause of reform. For a time the tsar and his advisers felt compelled to yield. In March a representative assembly was promised, and, soon after, the tsar issued a decree guaranteeing complete freedom of speech.

Nicholas stated, however, that the Duma (assembly) should have power only to *advise* him, and he excluded workingmen and professional classes from the right of voting in the election. Then followed a general strike. In October the railways were idle. In the cities, stores were closed. Power houses shut down, and electric lights went out. This finally brought the government to yield. New rules were issued for the election, and the assembly was promised some slight power.

In May, 1906, amid gathering anarchy, the promised *Duma* was at last brought together — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively at the polls against radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. A great majority of the members were liberals, and called themselves *Constitutional Democrats.* Among them were many leaders of wise and moderate statesmanship, and the world was amazed at the political ability in this first, inexperienced Russian Assembly.

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[1] Robinson and Beard's Readings, II, 373 ff. gives a contemporary account.

By unanimous vote the Duma asked for four great political reforms, — universal suffrage, a "responsible" ministry, the abolition of martial law, and amnesty for all political offenders then in prison or in exile, — and for a long program of social reform, including the turning over of state lands to the suffering peasantry. All these demands were refused. After proper persistence, the Duma wisely withdrew all but the agrarian demand. Reactionary councils, however, were gaining ground with the tsar. He announced that he was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted upon meddling with matters that did not pertain to it; and July 21 he dissolved it, announcing that he himself would care for the needed reforms.

Accordingly, in October, 1906, an imperial edict decreed the land reforms mentioned in § 870, and also abolished the special privileges of the nobles, making all Russians equal before the law and equally eligible to public employment. Another Duma was promised, also, for March, 1907.

877. Later Politics. — The dissolution was followed by months of anarchy. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, *to suppress not only disorder, but also political agitation.* The extreme revolutionists resorted to a new campaign of systematic political assassination. Meantime the unhappy land was again distracted by peasant risings and by strikes, which were put down brutally by Cossack "punitive expeditions" in which thousands of *unoffending* people perished; while a new famine desolated many provinces.

Fifty officials were assassinated in one week in August, just after the dissolution of the Duma, the victims ranging from ministers of state to petty police officers. Many others were wounded. During the following four months, 1629 riots occurred and 244 bombs were thrown at officials. On the other hand, more than a thousand political offenders were executed, and fifty thousand were sent to Siberia or to prison, while the Revolutionists count up 24,239 others slain by the soldiery in putting down or punishing riots.

The extremists who engage in the desperate policy of assassinating government agents expect death on the scaffold or by torture in prison. But the government virtually proscribed also the Constitutional Democratic party, to prevent its further political activity. In November, 1906, of the leaders of that party in the dissolved Duma, one (a learned professor) had been murdered; two had been cruelly beaten in prison, and another had been driven insane by treatment there; ten were in hiding; five had been exiled; twenty-four were imprisoned; and 182 others were under 'indictment for treason (the president and vice-president of the Duma among them). During the year, 700 editors were prosecuted by the government for sedition.

The second Duma met March 5, 1907. The liberal members of the former assembly, so far as they were not already in exile or in the grave, had been made ineligible for election. But a new body of Socialist deputies appeared, and there was a large majority opposed to the government. In June the tsar ordered the Duma to expel some sixty members on the ground of treason. The Duma appointed a committee to investigate the charge. The tsar at once dissolved it for this delay, and the police seized the accused delegates.

Then, contrary to plain promises in 1906, the tsar changed once more the plan of elections, so as to give power very largely to the great landowners. The third Duma, elected on this new basis, met in November, 1907, and proved submissive to the tsar's will. On the expiration of its term (in 1912), like methods secured a fourth Duma equally satisfactory to despotism.

The Revolutionists, however, continued their campaigns of assassination until the outbreak of the great European war of 1914. A striking feature of the opening of that struggle was the way in which the government turned for help to the men whom it had been hunting down, and the loyal way in which the Revolutionists gave their whole support to the government they had been fighting. How this new condition will affect Russia *after* the war cannot now (1915) be foreseen.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, 645–718, or Seignobos, 578–608 (does not cover recent years). Somewhat longer treatments are given in Skrine's *Expansion of Russia* and Nevison's *The Dawn in Russia.*

CHAPTER LXIII

THE BALKAN STATES

878. **In 1815** all Southeastern Europe beyond Austria-Hungary and Russia was part of Turkey. The Turk, however, was merely an invader, and had no part in European civilization. *The modern history of Southeastern Europe began only as the native races regained their freedom.*

The Turks made a small part of the population, and the bulk of the people had kept their Christian (Greek) Faith. In the old Hellenic peninsula dwelt the *Greeks.* North of the Danube, in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, dwelt the Latin *Roumanians*, claiming descent from ancient Roman colonists in Dacia.[1] Between the Greek and Latin peoples lay two Slav nations, — the *Bulgarians* in the east, from the Ægean to the Danube, and the *Servians* on the west. On the Adriatic were the *Albanians*, wild herdsmen, who had abandoned Christianity for Mohammedanism.

The lines between these peoples and their kinsmen in Austria and in southern Russia were drawn merely by the accidents of war. A fourth of the Roumanian race were in the province of Bessarabia, which Russia had seized from the Turks in 1812. Another fourth were in Transylvania, which the Hungarians had reconquered from Turkey in the eighteenth century. The Croats and Serbs, in southern Hungary, were merely part of the Servian race living in lands which Hungary reconquered from Turkey in the seventeenth century. In the fastnesses of Montenegro (*Black Mountain*) dwell two hundred thousand half-savage Servians who never yielded to the Turks, but kept their freedom at the cost of five hundred years of "ferocious heroism."

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[1] *Ancient World*, § 606.

879. Three Subject Races win Freedom, 1829. — The Roumanians, beyond the Danube, and the Servians, in their rugged country, had risen in various rebellions early in the nineteenth century; but the first *successful* revolt of a subject people was the Greek rising of 1821–1828 (§ 644). In connection with the final settlement (1829), the Roumanian provinces and Servia were granted a large measure of internal self-government under rulers of their own. They remained *tributary*, however, to the Turkish Empire.

880. The First Eastern Question. — About the middle of the century, the Tsar Nicholas suggested to England that it was time to decide what was to be done with the possessions of the Turks as Turkish rule decayed. This was the "Eastern Question," as that question was long to be understood.[1] England received this suggestion for the partition of Turkey very coolly. She preferred to bolster up the Ottoman power as a barrier to Russian advance. England and France and Russia had acted in concert twenty-five years before, in freeing the Greeks; but in 1854 the two western states fought Russia to prevent any further breaking up of Turkey (§ 703).

881. Russian-Turkish War of 1877–78. — In return, the Sultan promised reforms for his Christian subjects; but the next twenty years saw no serious attempt to carry out the pledge. Then, in 1875–1876, the Serbs in Herzegovina and the Bulgarians rose for independence. The Herzegovinian herdsmen in their distant mountains were able to carry on a guerrilla warfare for some time, but the Bulgarians in their easily accessible country felt the full force of Turkish vengeance. There followed the horrible events known as the "*Bulgarian Atrocities.*" Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred villages, with every form of torture and cruelty, and massacred thirty thousand people, carrying off also thousands of Christian women into terrible slavery.

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[1] "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man," said Nicholas to the English ambassador; "it would be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away before the proper arrangements have been made." This is the origin of the phrase, "the Sick Man of Europe."

The Servians then sprang to arms; and in 1877 Alexander II of Russia, in sympathy with the unanimous demands of his people, declared war on Turkey. The universal horror in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turks prevented for a time any interference with Russia, and in ten months her armies held the Turks at their mercy.[1] The *Peace of San Stefano* (1878) arranged for a group of free Slav states in the peninsula, and the withdrawal of the Turk from Europe except for the city of Constantinople itself.

882. But now Europe interfered. The *Congress of Berlin*, dominated by Disraeli (§ 769), shamefully returned part of the freed Christian populations to their old slavery, and cut down the liberties of the rest.

a. Roumania and Servia, virtually independent since 1829, became sovereign kingdoms, and Servia kept a small part of the new territory she had recovered from the Turk in the war.

b. "Bulgaria," as San Stefano had left it, was divided into three parts. The northern part, between the Danube and the Balkans, received the same kind of independence which Roumania and Servia had possessed before the war. The middle part (Roumelia) was returned to the Turk, who, however, was compelled to promise that its governors should be Christians, supervised by the Powers of Europe. The southern third ("Macedonia") was given back absolutely to the Turk.

c. Greece, at a staggering cost, had built up an army, and in 1877 she wished to join in the attack upon Turkey, so as to recover her ancient territories, Thessaly and Epirus. The Western Powers forbade such action, promising Greece that she should gain her end by keeping quiet. Accordingly, soon after the Berlin Congress (1881) she was given most of these districts.

883. The miserable and selfish interference by the Great Powers put back the development of the Balkan States for a third of a century. During much of that time, "Macedonia" in

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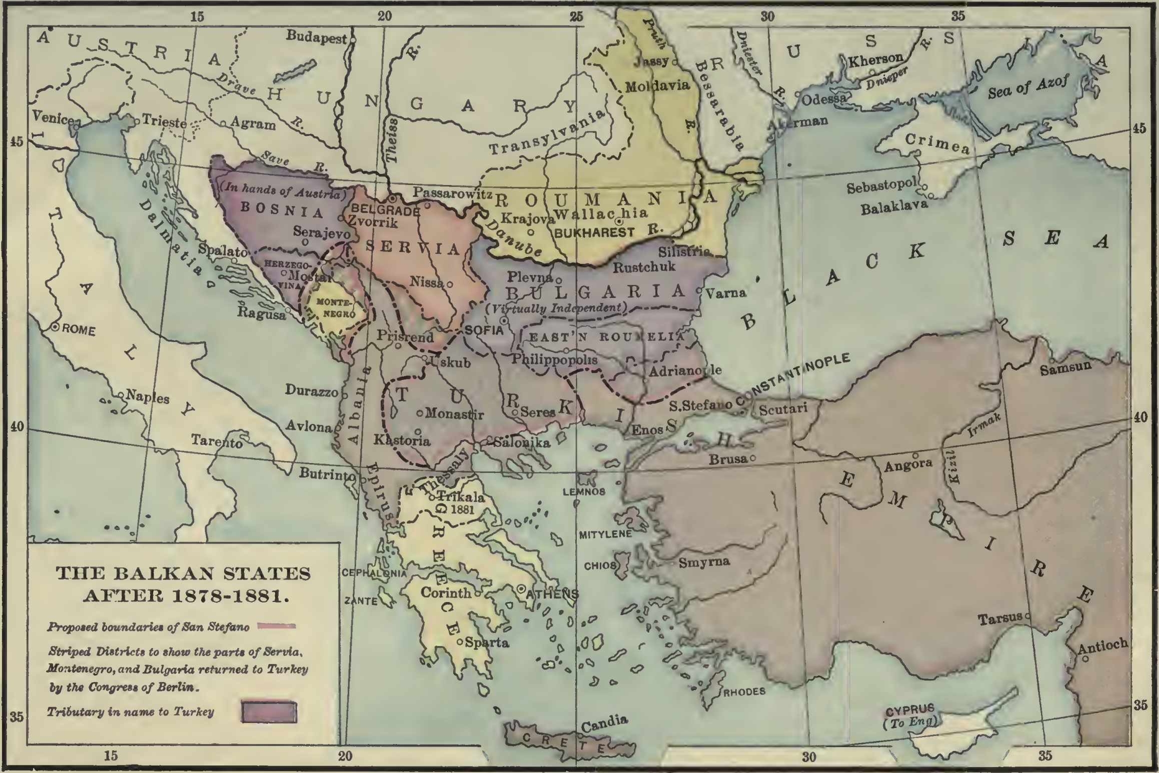
[1] The Turks fought with their ancient gallantry, and made a stouter resistance than had been thought possible. Special report: the defense of Plevna.



THE BALKAN STATES AFTER 1878-1881.

Proposed boundaries of San Stefano
Striped Districts to show the parts of Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria returned to Turkey by the Congress of Berlin.
Tributary in name to Turkey
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Budapest
Drave R.
Agram
Venice
Trieste
Save R.
Theiss
R.
Transylvania
ROUMANIA
Moldavia
Jassy
Pruth
R.
Wallachia
BUKHAREST
Krajova
Danube
R.
Passarowitz
BELGRADE
Zvorrik
SERVIA
Nissa
(In hands of Austria)
BOSNIA
Serajevo
HERZEGOVINA
Mostar
MONTENEGRO
Spalato
Dalmatia
Ragusa
Prisrend
Uskub
SOFIA
Plevna
BULGARIA
(Virtually Independent)
Silistria
Rustchuk
Varna
EAST'N ROUMELIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
TURKEY
Monastir
Kastoria
Seres
Salonika
Albania
Durazzo
Avlona
Butrinto
Epirus
Thessaly
Trikala
1881
GREECE
Corinth
ATHENS
Sparta
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
LEMNOS
MITYLENE
CHIOS
RHODES
CRETE
Candia
ITALY
ROME
Naples
Tarento
RUSSIA
Bessarabia
Dniester
R.
Odessa
Akerman
Kherson
Dnieper
R.
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Sebastopol
Balaklava
BLACK SEA
CONSTANTINOPLE
S.Stefano
Scutari
Enos
Brusa
Samsun
Irmak
Kizil
Angora
EMPIRE
Smyrna
Tarsus
Antioch
CYPRUS
(To Eng.)
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

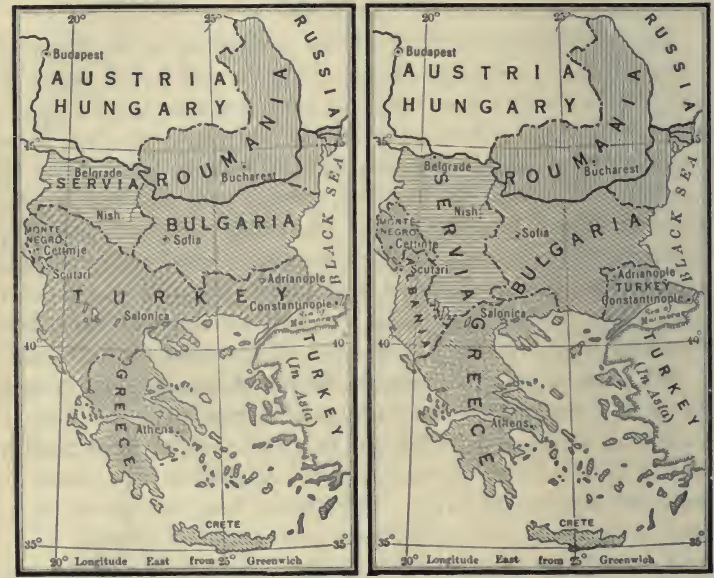
particular was in a state of anarchy. Insurrectionary committees, operating from Bulgaria, fomented revolts; and the Turks put them down with cruelties like those of 1876, while jealousies between the Great Powers prevented intervention. Then, in *1896, Crete rebelled against Turkey;* but the Powers interfered, to prevent her union with Greece, and confusions and massacres followed for many months.

The next spring, in spite of the opposition of the Powers, *Greece declared war upon Turkey.* The Greeks hoped that the Bulgarians would rise at the same time, and that the European Powers would then feel compelled to intervene. In fact, however, Bulgaria remained quiet, and the Powers left Greece to her fate. The German emperor, indeed, had sent the Sultan German officers to organize and command the Turkish army, and that force showed a military excellence wholly unexpected. Greece was quickly defeated, and forced to pay a war indemnity, while Turkey took small strips of territory all along her northern frontier, so as to command all the passes into Greece.

884. **Finally, in 1912, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece joined in a war to drive the Turk out of Europe.** The allies won swift and amazing victories, and in a few months were almost at the walls of Constantinople. But Austria now proposed to seize the best of the prey. The Powers kept her quiet (since such a move by her would have precipitated a general war), and forced the allies to make peace. Turkey, it was agreed, should give up all her territory in Europe, *except* Constantinople and a small strip of land near it.

But now the allies fell out over the booty. Bulgaria claimed most of the conquered territory — as part of her ancient domain and in accordance with her understanding of the treaty of alliance. This would have made her the dominant state in the peninsula. Servia, Greece, and Roumania joined in war against Bulgaria (June, 1913). After bloody defeats, Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace. Meantime the Turks reoccupied Adrianople and doubled their hold upon Europe. The peace once more left burning questions. Austrian jealousy kept

Servia from getting a port on the Ægean, and interposed a new petty kingdom, Albania. Bulgaria was cheated of her hopes. Greece added parts of Thrace, along the northern Ægean. The Turk, backed by Germany and Austria, remained not only in Constantinople but in Adrianople.


20°
25°
Budapest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
SERVIA
Nish
BULGARIA
Sofia
MONTENEGRO
Cettinje
Scutari
TURKEY
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Salonica
BLACK SEA
45°
40°
TURKEY (In Asia)
GREECE
Athens
CRETE
35°
20° Longitude East from 25° Greenwich
Budapest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
SERVIA
Nish
BULGARIA
Sofia
MONTENEGRO
Cettinje
Scutari
ALBANIA
Adrianople
TURKEY
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Salonica
BLACK SEA
GREECE
Athens
TURKEY (In Asia)
CRETE
35°
20° Longitude East from 25° Greenwich

1912 1913

THE BALKAN STATES.

885. The Balkan States are all constitutional monarchies, in form, and Bulgaria, Greece, and Roumania have much real constitutional life. In Servia, changes in government are still brought about by *coups d'état* and assassination. Montenegro and Albania, practically, are absolutisms. The national assembly in each country, except in Roumania, has only one House; and manhood suffrage prevails everywhere. Illiteracy is as serious as in the Iberian peninsula, though Roumania, Greece, and Bulgaria are making some progress in education. The total population is something over twenty millions. If the six states could unite in some kind of federation, they would be able to command their own fate. Hatreds and race jealousies seem to make this impossible at present; and so the whole region is gazed upon hungrily from opposite sides by Austria and by Russia, both of whom intermeddle shamelessly and destructively with the politics of the various states.

Constantinople. — General view from across the Golden Horn.

For Further Reading. — Of the general histories of modern times, Hazen and Seignobos give the best treatments of the Balkan states.

Exercise. — Review of certain general topics for the Europe of to-day: (1) Education and illiteracy; (2) the kulturkampf; (3) the army system; (4) financial conditions of the governments in the small states; (5) the state of the franchise, with dates for progress toward democracy.

PART XIII

THE NEW AGE

CHAPTER LXIV

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO AFRICA AND ASIA

886. **Toward the year 1900, European politics were suddenly merged in world politics.** Rhenish and Danubian questions, for a time, gave way to African or Asiatic. The possession of petty counties on a little European river ceased to interest peoples who had fixed their eyes on vast continents.

Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. *Africa*, however, was largely unappropriated, and in *Asia* the stationary and apparently helpless empires of China, Turkey, and Persia invited attack.

887. **There followed a swift and peaceful division of the vast African continent.** In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 the continent was mapped out between European claimants.[1]

For half a century, France had been extending her sway over Algeria on the north. For nearly double that time England had held Cape Colony on the south; and the events of 1881 (§ 781) put the Nile valley into English control. A

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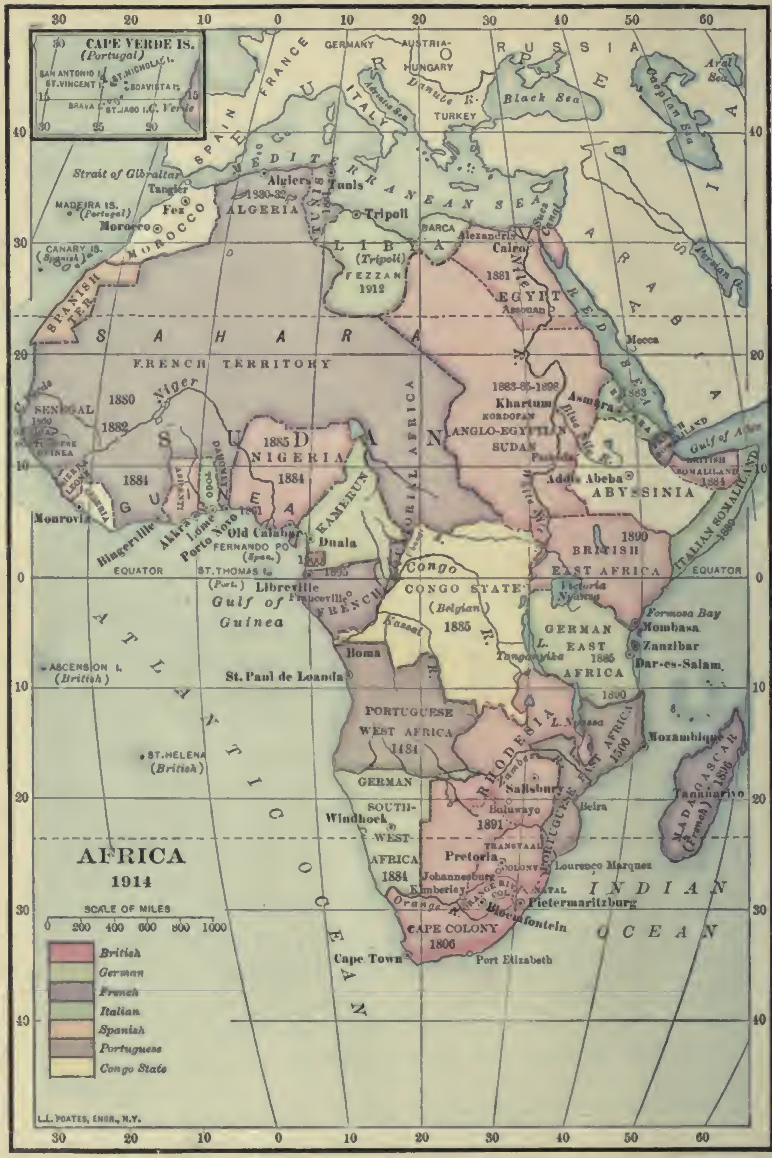
[1] Caldecott's *English Colonization*, 112, has a good map illustrating the transformation of this decade of years. Note also the dates on the map in this volume, facing page 721.


AFRICA
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
British
German
French
Italian
Spanish
Portuguese
Congo State
CAPE VERDE IS.
(Portugal)
SAN ANTONIO I.
ST. VINCENT I.
ST. NICHOLAS I.
BOAVISTA I.
BRAVA I.
ST. JAGO I.
C. Verde
EUROPE
RUSSIA
SPAIN
FRANCE
GERMANY
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ITALY
TURKEY
Adriatic Sea
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
ASIA
ARABIA
Persian G.
Strait of Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
MOROCCO
MADEIRA IS. (Portugal)
CANARY IS. (Spanish)
SPANISH TER.
Algiers
1830-32
ALGERIA
Tunis
TUNIS
Tripoli
LIBYA (Tripoli)
FEZZAN 1912
BARCA
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez Canal
1881
EGYPT
Assouan
Nile R.
RED SEA
Mecca
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
SENEGAL
1880
1882
Niger
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
Monrovia
SUDAN
GUINEA
1884
ASHANTI
TOGO
DAHOMEY
1885
NIGERIA
1884
1861
Bingerville
Akkra
Lome
Porto Novo
Old Calabar
KAMERUN
Duala
FERNANDO PO (Span.)
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
EQUATOR
Libreville
Franceville
FRENCH
1885
EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Gulf of Guinea
1883-85-1898
Khartum
KORDOFAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
Blue Nile
White Nile
Asmara
1883
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Gulf of Aden
BRITISH SOMALILAND
1884
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
1889
1890
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza
Congo
CONGO STATE
(Belgian)
1885
Kassai R.
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salam
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
1885
L. Tanganyika
Boma
St. Paul de Loanda
ASCENSION I. (British)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
1484
RHODESIA
L. Nyassa
1890
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
1500
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR (French)
1896
Tananarivo
ST. HELENA (British)
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
1884
Windhoek
Zambezi R.
Salisbury
Buluwayo
1891
Beira
TRANSVAAL COLONY
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
ORANGE RIVER COL.
NATAL
Lourenço Marquez
Pietermaritzburg
Bloemfontein
Orange R.
CAPE COLONY
1806
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
INDIAN OCEAN
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

little earlier the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley had awakened interest in the heart of the "Dark Continent."

In the early seventies Stanley had proved that the upper Congo extended far into the interior, and that the immense region in the center of Africa was a rich and accessible country. In 1876, at the suggestion of King Leopold of Belgium, the *Congo International Association* was organized to explore Central Africa and to stop the horrible slave trade carried on by the Arabs; and in 1879 Stanley, in the service of Leopold and the Association, returned to the upper Congo and made the beginnings of a European state there.

In 1884 Bismarck called an international Congress at Berlin to consider conditions in Africa. As a result, the "Congo Free State" was formed, with a territory of 1,000,000 square miles, and with some thirty million inhabitants. It was placed under the administration of Belgium; and, of the three or four thousand Europeans in the country, about half are Belgians. The state is pledged, however, to neutrality and to free trade with all nations.

The establishment of the Congo State, and the Berlin Conference, were followed by the raising of the German flag in Africa (§ 821); and then began a wild scramble for territory, which quickly left all the continent European, except Abyssinia and Liberia. The three leading European Powers in Africa are *England, France, and Germany.* Of these, England is far in the lead. Aside from small territories at other parts on the coast, her sway extends over the whole Nile valley (the richest part of the continent) and over extensive territories in the south. Her ambition has been to unite her possessions north and south; but the Congo State and German East Africa were thrust between too soon. However, in the near future, an English railway, already far advanced, will join Cairo and Cape Town (through the neutral Congo State) and open Africa to English civilization.

France would have liked to join her realms on the east and on the west of the continent; but she found English territory thrust in between. German ambition was thwarted in like manner. The three Powers checked one another's efforts to dominate Africa; but the present European war (1915) will probably result in rearrangements.

888. The occupation of Asia by European states has proceeded more slowly than that of Africa, but it has moved with increasing rapidity in recent years. Central and Northern Asia is Russian. The great, densely populated peninsula of Hindostan, with adjoining Burma, is English. The southeastern peninsula, since 1896, is mainly French. The only independent states left in this greatest of the continents are Asia Minor (Turkey), Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and China.

Of these, Afghanistan and Siam are mere remnants of "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other. Of recent years England has sought to preserve them as barriers to her rivals. Persia, too, is virtually a dependency either of England or Russia, according to the varying fortune of those countries; and in the closing years of the nineteenth century it seemed that even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces. In those same years **two new actors appeared upon the stage of world politics.** A war between Japan and China and the Spanish-American War added the United States and Japan to the group of World Powers interested in China.

889. Until the year 1900 **the United States** found scope for its energies in peopling its great territories and in developing resources at home. Content with primacy on the American continents, it resolutely kept out of European complications. But the Spanish-American War left it in possession of the Philippines; and during the war it annexed Hawaii. Thus it held the mastery of the Pacific and was brought to the door of Asia. In particular, the United States is desirous of securing a fair show for its trade in China, one of its important customers.

The similarity of English and American views regarding China and the likeness of the English and Americans in politics and culture inclined the two peoples to act together in the East, in opposition to Russia and Germany. Both those countries had always treated their dependencies as estates to be managed for the benefit of the peoples possessing them. This low standard had long since been rejected by the English-speaking nations. Thus a broad human interest was given to the question as to which group of powers should impose its civilization upon the industrious but passive millions of China. But the victory of Japan over Russia (§ 892) introduced still another factor into the problem.

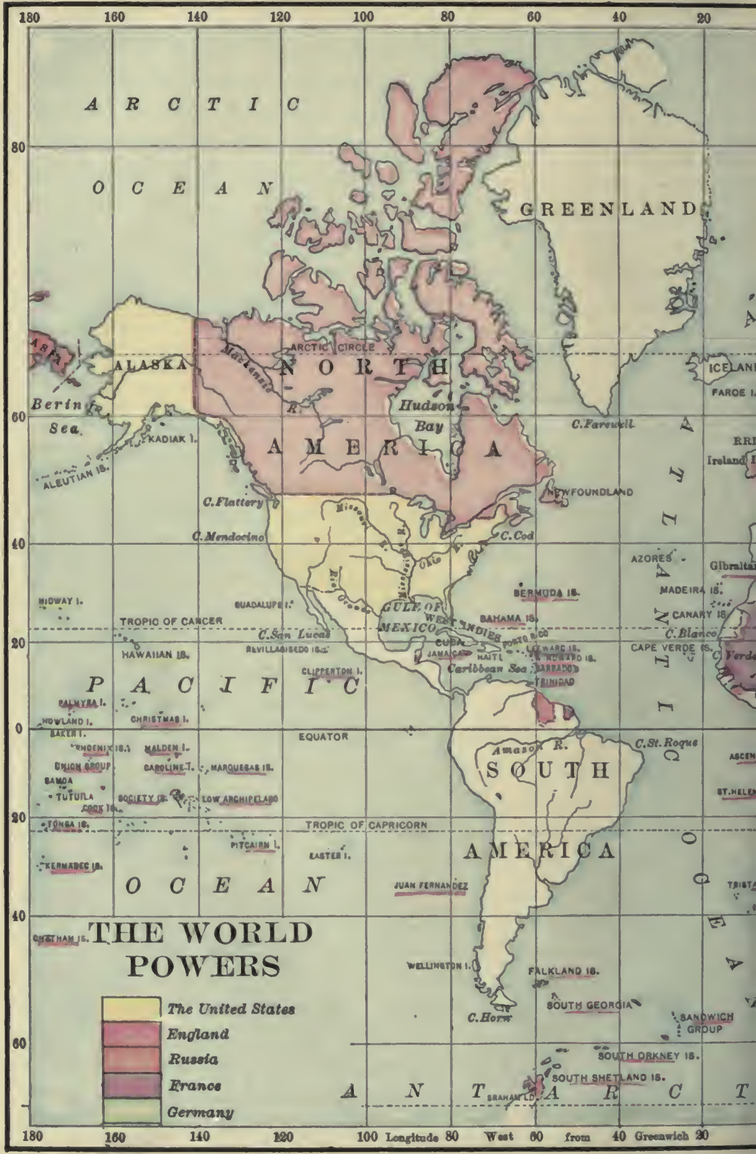
890. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, **Japan** had kept herself sealed to the outer world. For more than two centuries, indeed, to hold communication with foreigners had been a capital crime. But in 1853, Commodore Perry, under orders from the United States Government, by a show of force secured the admission of American trade to certain Japanese ports; and Japan began swiftly to exchange her Oriental civilization for Western culture. Before the close of the century this transformation had been carried to a marvelous completeness. Army and navy, schools and industry, took on modern character; and in 1889 the liberal Mikado (emperor) proclaimed a constitution which created a limited monarchy, with a parliament of two houses and a responsible ministry.

In 1894–1895 Japan and China engaged in war over Korea. With amazing rapidity little Japan overcame her huge antagonist on land and sea. China agreed to cede the island of Formosa, Port Arthur, and the kingdom of Korea. Russia, however, was already longing for these districts, and, backed by France, she forced Japan to renounce her gains upon the mainland. Japan was unprepared for war with these powers, and was wise enough to yield, but she began at once to make ready, patiently and skillfully, for the struggle with Russia which was to come ten years later (§ 892).

891. The Opening of China. — In return for her interference against Japan, Russia secured from China the right to extend her Trans-Siberian railroad through Manchuria (§ 865). Then in 1898 she secured Port Arthur, the strongest naval fortress that China possessed. Roused by this advance of her rival, England at once demanded and obtained Wai-hei-wai, on the opposite shore of the Gulf, to enable her to check Russian movements. Somewhat earlier (§ 821), on a curious pretext, Germany had seized Kiau Chau, with the surrounding district; and now France seized the port of Kwang-Chau-Wau. Still earlier, France had begun to occupy the far southeast, and England had held the island of Hong Kong ever since 1842; but the recent seizures commanded Pekin itself, and it began to look as if China were doomed to partition.

In 1900 the Chinese resentment at this prospect culminated in popular patriotic and fanatical uprisings which sought to exterminate the "Western barbarians." The movement was organized by a secret society known as the *Boxers.* Missionaries and scattered Europeans were massacred and the foreign embassies themselves were besieged at Pekin. The Powers (the United States and Japan included) sent joint forces to relieve their beleaguered representatives. After horrible and almost incredible barbarities by the invading armies, especially by the Russians, Pekin was taken and sacked and the European residents were rescued.

892. The Russian-Japanese War. — Largely through the insistence of the United States, no territorial indemnities were taken from China. During the campaign, however, Russia occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity (in Korea), but her independence as a nation; and after months of futile negotiations, and a pressing ultimatum for Russian withdrawal, she resorted to war.



THE WORLD POWERS

The United States
England
Russia
France
Germany
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Bering Sea
KADIAK I.
ALEUTIAN IS.
NORTH AMERICA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Mackenzie R.
Hudson Bay
NEWFOUNDLAND
C. Farewell
ICELAND
FAROE I.
Ireland
C. Flattery
C. Mendocino
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Rio Grande
C. Cod
AZORES
Gibraltar
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
C. Blanco
CAPE VERDE IS.
C. Verde
BERMUDA IS.
BAHAMA IS.
GULF OF MEXICO
WEST INDIES
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
PORTO RICO
LEEWARD IS.
WINDWARD IS.
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
Caribbean Sea
GUADALUPE I.
C. San Lucas
REVILLAGIGEDO IS.
CLIPPERTON I.
MIDWAY I.
TROPIC OF CANCER
HAWAIIAN IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
PALMYRA I.
HOWLAND I.
BAKER I.
CHRISTMAS I.
PHOENIX IS.
MALDEN I.
UNION GROUP
CAROLINE I.
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA
TUTUILA
COOK IS.
SOCIETY IS.
LOW ARCHIPELAGO
TONGA IS.
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
PITCAIRN I.
EASTER I.
KERMADEC IS.
CHATHAM IS.
EQUATOR
Amazon R.
SOUTH AMERICA
C. St. Roque
JUAN FERNANDEZ
WELLINGTON I.
FALKLAND IS.
C. Horn
SOUTH GEORGIA
SANDWICH GROUP
SOUTH ORKNEY IS.
SOUTH SHETLAND IS.
GRAHAM LD.
ANTARCT
ATLANTIC OCEA
ASCEN
ST. HELEN
TRISTA
180
160
140
120
100
80
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40
20
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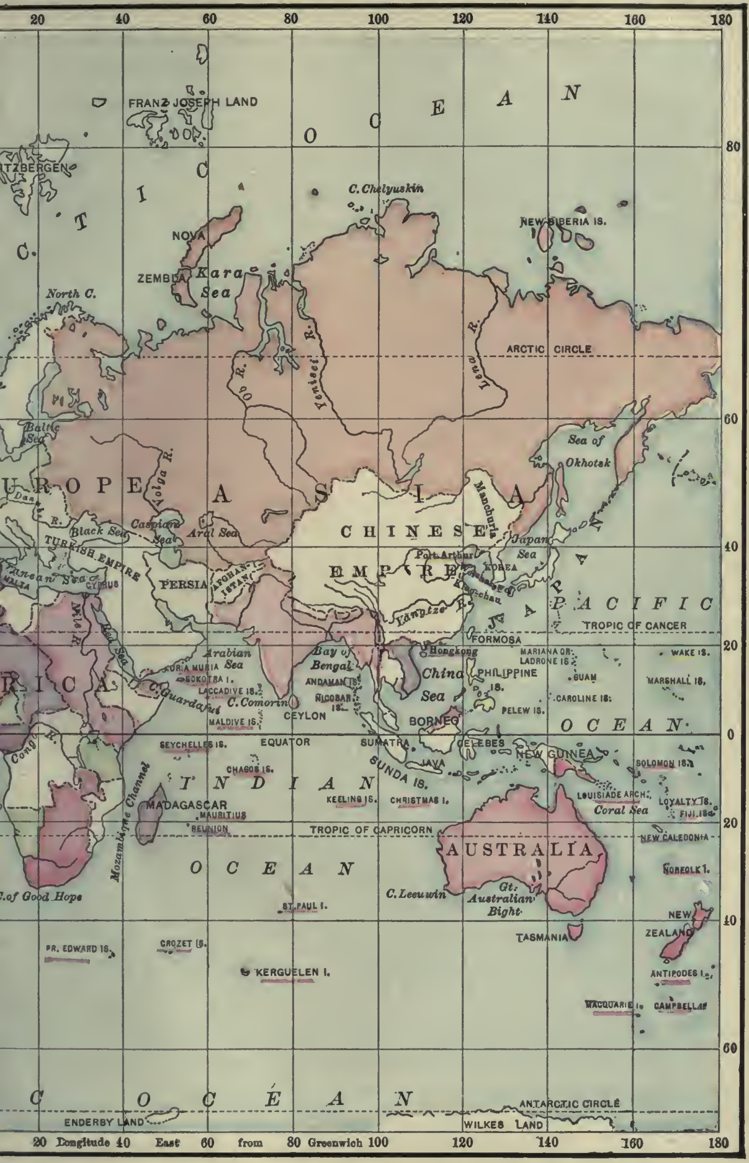
100 Longitude 80 West 60 from 40 Greenwich 20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160
180
FRANZ JOSEPH LAND
O C E A N
C T I C
TZBERGEN
C. Chelyuskin
NEW SIBERIA IS.
NOVA ZEMBLA
Kara Sea
North C.
Ob R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
80
60
Baltic Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Volga R.
U R O P E
A S I A
Dan. R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
CHINESE EMPIRE
Manchuria
Port Arthur
KOREA
Japan Sea
JAPAN
TURKISH EMPIRE
CYPRUS
MALTA
ranean Sea
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
Kiaochau
Yangtze R.
P A C I F I C
TROPIC OF CANCER
40
Nile R.
Red Sea
Arabian Sea
KURIA MURIA
SOKOTRA I.
LACCADIVE IS.
C. Guardafui
C. Comorin
MALDIVE IS.
CEYLON
Bay of Bengal
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
Hongkong
FORMOSA
China Sea
PHILIPPINE IS.
MARIANA OR LADRONE IS.
GUAM
WAKE IS.
MARSHALL IS.
CAROLINE IS.
PELEW IS.
BORNEO
O C E A N
R I C A
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0
Congo R.
SEYCHELLES IS.
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
CELEBES
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS.
JAVA
SUNDA IS.
CHAGOS IS.
I N D I A N
KEELING IS.
CHRISTMAS I.
LOUISIADE ARCH.
Coral Sea
LOYALTY IS.
FIJI IS.
Mozambique Channel
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS
REUNION
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
NEW CALEDONIA
AUSTRALIA
O C E A N
NORFOLK I.
C. of Good Hope
ST. PAUL I.
C. Leeuwin
Gt. Australian Bight
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
PR. EDWARD IS.
CROZET IS.
KERGUELEN I.
ANTIPODES I.
MACQUARIE I.
CAMPBELL I.
20
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C O C É A N
ANTARCTIC CIRCLE
ENDERBY LAND
WILKES LAND
20 Longitude 40 East 60 from 80 Greenwich 100 120 140 160 180

Diplomacy had assured Japan that she would have only Russia to fight. England and Japan, in 1902, in a treaty designed to preserve the integrity of China, had agreed to aid each other in war if either were attacked by more than one power. Still the case for Japan looked dark. To most of the world, Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the little island-state was thought doomed to defeat.

But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. Congestion of traffic and long delays at critical moments were the inevitable results. To be sure, it was supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials had made way with the larger part of the money and that neither army nor navy was properly equipped. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence and silly contempt for the foe. These drawbacks could not be counterbalanced by Russia's immense but unavailable resources nor by the desperate bravery and heroic endurance of her poorly led soldiery.

Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (*February 8, 1904*) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers.

The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Korea was swiftly overrun, and, on February 23, its government recognized a Japanese protectorate. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and *Port Arthur* was invested (May 28) by land as well as by sea. Seven months later (January, 1905), that fortress, which had been boastfully declared invulnerable, capitulated, after terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice of life on both sides. Meantime, in September, the Japanese army won a remarkable victory at *Liaou Yang*, and, soon afterward, repulsed a desperate attack, driving the Russians back on Mukden.

The severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battle front extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed. They lost more than a hundred thousand men, and were driven back on Harbin in disorder. It seemed that Russia would be unable, for that summer at least, to gather another army in the East able to take the field.

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, an attempt had been begun. A huge fleet, far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a breach of strict neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, N.H.), at which the *Treaty of Portsmouth* was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize the Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

893. The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the collapse of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a great revolution in society and politics (§ 876). The appearance of Japan, on the other hand, as one of the foremost "world powers," went far to check the European greed for Asiatic territory. It seems probable that Asia will hereafter be left to the Asiatics. During the great European war of 1914, Japan took Kiau Chau from Germany.

CHAPTER LXV

REFORM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

I. "WAR UPON POVERTY": ENGLAND

I hope that great advance will be made during this generation toward the time when poverty, with its wretchedness and squalor, will be as remote from the people of this country as are the wolves which once infested its forests. — Lloyd George.

894. Twentieth century social reform can be studied best, so far, in England. Before the election of 1892, the Liberals adopted a platform calling for Irish Home Rule, for the disestablishment of the Episcopal church in Wales (where nine-tenths of the people are dissenters), for a greater degree of local self-government, for sweeping reform in taxation, for old-age pensions, and — as a necessary step toward these things — for the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords. Twenty years carried this program into operation.

How the Lords thwarted Gladstone's ministry of '92–'95 on the Home Rule matter has been told (§779). That ministry did pass the great Parish Councils act (§ 762), making England a complete democracy in local government. Gladstone's last speech in parliament was in defense of that bill against attempted interference by the Lords. If health had let the "Grand Old Man" continue his leadership, that House would have had to meet then the attack upon its veto which came finally in 1911.

895. The Parish Councils Act helped along another vital reform. For many years the Liberal party had declared for making the peasantry once more the owners of farm lands, and the Conservatives had finally come to favor the measure. In 1890, 1200 men (out of a population of 32,000,000) owned a fourth of the soil of England, *and only one twenty-fourth of the population owned any land at all.* A series of Allotment acts (1883, 1887, 1892) had tried to remedy this great evil, but with little success. Since 1894, however, the democratic Parish Councils have been buying land (and even condemning it and taking it at a forced sale), and then turning it over in small holdings to farm laborers, either on long leases or for purchase on easy terms. Slowly but surely *the English people are again becoming the owners of England.*

896. After Gladstone's retirement, the Conservatives held power for ten years (1896–1906). They carried forward some social reforms which they had once bitterly opposed — such as factory reform and Irish-land reform — but they also placed the English Board schools under the control of the established church. These schools are attended mainly by the children of the working people. These are almost wholly dissenters. When the Liberals returned to power they gave their first efforts to repeal this law.

H. H. Asquith. — Prime Minister of England.

897. And by 1906 the Liberals had found a group of new leaders, who still (1915) remain the great figures in English public life, — *Mr. Asquith*, prime minister since 1908; *Mr. Lloyd George*, his leading finance minister and a radical reformer in taxation; and *Mr. Winston Churchill.* The ministry which contained these men was supported by the largest parliamentary majority which had been seen since the First Reform Bill in 1832. *The same election sent fifty Labor representatives to parliament*, several of them avowed socialists.

The new ministry completed earlier legislation by a comprehensive Workingman's Compensation act (§ 765); but the first attempt to take the schools from the control of the church was successful only in part — owing to the veto of the Lords. That House, too, ventured to challenge conflict by vetoing a bill that tried to take away the "plural votes" of rich men.[1]

The ministry wisely refused the challenge of the Lords to dissolve and appeal to the country on any *one* of these issues. Instead, they let the hereditary House pile up the account against it, until Englishmen should be ready to strike decisively. The final clash came in 1909 over the budget.

898. Radical Tax Reform. — Each year the ministry presents a statement of the expenses it intends to incur, and of the taxes it proposes to lay wherewith to meet those expenses. This statement is the budget. In April of 1909 Lloyd George presented a budget which honestly horrified Conservatives, and which was the most socialistic step ever taken by a great government. Leading provisions were as follows: —

Automobiles (as articles of luxury) paid a heavy tax.

A *graduated* income tax took a large part of all incomes over $25,000, and *bore more heavily on unearned incomes than on those that are earned.*

A graduated inheritance tax took larger proportions than formerly of inheritances, — fifteen per cent of bequests over £1,000,000.

A much higher tax was placed on land that paid rents and royalties to landlords than on land worked by its owners.

Finally, and most important of all, there was a provision that when any man sold land for more than it had cost, he must pay one-fifth the gain into the national treasury. This is known as a tax on the "unearned increment," and is a move toward the doctrine of the Single taxers, who wish the community to take *all* such unearned increment.

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[1] The English law permitted a man to vote in as many counties as he held landed property. One clause in the Liberal platform of 1892 had been, "One man, one vote"; and, in like manner, the defense of this ancient privilege of property had become a matter of intense feeling with the English Conservatives.

The Conservatives attacked the budget violently as revolutionary. Especially they denounced the distinction as to unearned incomes as an invidious assault on the rights of property. Moreover, they claimed that the treasury did not need such vast income as was proposed. As to this last point, Lloyd George had declared that he was proposing a "war-budget,"—for "waging implacable war against poverty." (See also the theme sentence at the head of this chapter.) The other accusations were answered forcibly and directly by Mr. Winston Churchill, who frankly declared a man's right to property dependent upon the way in which he obtained it: "Formerly," said he, "the only question of the tax-gatherer was 'How much have you got?' . . . To-day, we do not ask only, 'How much have you got?' We ask also, '*How did you get it?* Did you earn it, or has it been left you by others? Was it gained by processes which are beneficial to the community, or by processes which have done no good to any one, but only harm? . . . Was it derived by active reproductive processes, or merely by squatting on a piece of land till enterprise and labor had to buy you out? . . . How did you get it?' That is the new question which is vibrating through the land."

Winston Spenser Churchill.

899. Final Struggle with the Lords. — The Commons passed the budget, but the Lords quickly threw it out by a vote of five to one. For many centuries the upper House had not dared to interfere with a "money-bill" (§ 298). Now was the time for the reformers to strike. In the Commons Mr. Asquith promptly moved a resolution "That the action of the Lords is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons." This resolution passed by a vote of three to one.

Then the ministry dissolved, and appealed to the country for approval in the avowed policy of restricting the power of the Lords. The election (January, 1910) gave the Liberals again a good working majority. The ministry announced at once that the budget would be again presented, and, after it, some proposal for change of the House of Lords. If the Lords stopped either measure, the ministry would again dissolve, and appeal to the nation.

The Lords now allowed the revolutionary budget to become law. The Liberals, however, pressed their attack on the veto power of the Lords. The death of King Edward (May, 1910) caused some delay; but in November the matter came again to a head. The Lords threw out the Commons' bill against them. Again, as they had promised, the ministry dissolved. The new election (the second referendum within twelve months) gave them slight gains; and the new House of Commons enthusiastically passed a second bill to take away the Lords' veto. When the bill was sent to the other House, Mr. Asquith announced that the king (George V) would create five hundred new peers, if necessary, to secure its passage.

900. Then the helpless Lords passed the law which reduced their House to a nonentity. Under this new law (August, 1911) any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not; and the Speaker of the Commons decides whether a bill is or is not a money bill. Any other bill passed by the Commons *at three successive sessions* becomes law, in spite of a veto by the Lords. That is, the Lords' former veto is taken away *wholly* for a large and important class of bills, and is made *only a suspensive veto,* good for two years, for all other legislation. At last, *the hereditary part of parliament is made strictly subordinate to the representative branch.*

901. The Liberals hastened to push through their program of social reform. In 1908 they had already passed an Old-age Pensions act giving $1.25 a week to every person over seventy years old with a yearly income of less than £150. A more important move in the "war against poverty" was now made, in the National Insurance act of 1911. This act compels every worker with a yearly income of less than $800 to insure against sickness, and offers tempting inducements for such insurance to workers with higher incomes. More radical still was a provision insuring workers in certain trades against unemployment. Half the cost of all this insurance is taken from the wages of the workers; the other half is divided between the employers and the national treasury.

Thus England's social legislation includes comprehensive factory acts, workingmen's compensation for injuries received in their work, insurance against sickness and against loss of time, and old-age pensions. By a radical system of taxation, the money to wage this war against poverty comes especially from the wealthy, *and particularly from that class of wealthy men who receive their incomes without rendering service to society in return.* **Nearly all civilized countries are now moving along these same lines; but no other (1915) has gone quite so far.**

902. Political reform, too, was pushed forward. In 1911 the maximum duration of parliaments was limited to five years, instead of seven, and salaries ($2000 a year) were provided for members of parliament.[1] "Welsh disestablishment" and Home Rule for Ireland have been at last secured. The Lords vetoed both bills in the sessions of 1912 and 1913, but in 1914 both became law over their veto.[2]

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[1] This makes it more possible for poor men to sit in parliament. For some years, labor unions had been in the practice of paying salaries to Labor representatives in the Commons; but the English courts had just declared that the unions had no right to use money for that purpose. The new law destroyed the Tory force of this judicial decision, and established one more of the "points" of the old Chartists (§ 756).

[2] The Conservatives threatened for a time to stir up rebellion in Protestant and English Ulster, when the new law should be put into effect; but the

This final act of justice completes Irish reform so far as English control is concerned. Previous laws had abolished the establishment of a foreign church, and had attempted to undo the injustice of centuries of foreign landlordism by making the Irish peasantry again the owners of their own lands. Since the establishment of Home Rule, further reform legislation rests in Irish hands.

903. Woman Suffrage. — In 1912 the ministry introduced a "Fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill," extending the suffrage to all grown men and establishing the principle "one man, one vote." This bill was withdrawn, later, because of complications with the "equal suffrage" movement, which demands some mention here.

Until 1870, women in England (and in most European lands) had fewer rights than in America. To the law, a married woman was a minor. Her husband was her guardian, — almost her master. He might even beat her if she disobeyed him.

Property rights have gradually been granted women, though not so fully as in progressive American States. In 1870, when the English "Board schools" (§ 768) were created, women were given the right to vote for the Boards, and to serve upon them. In 1888 and 1894 they were given the franchise for the County Councils and Parish Councils (§ 762), subject to the same tax-paying restrictions that applied to men. In 1893 the colony of New Zealand gave women full political rights, and in 1894 South Australia did so. Then (1901) the new federal Australian Commonwealth granted women the franchise for the federal parliament. This was quickly followed by like action in the remaining states of the federation.

The action of these progressive English-speaking colonies[1]

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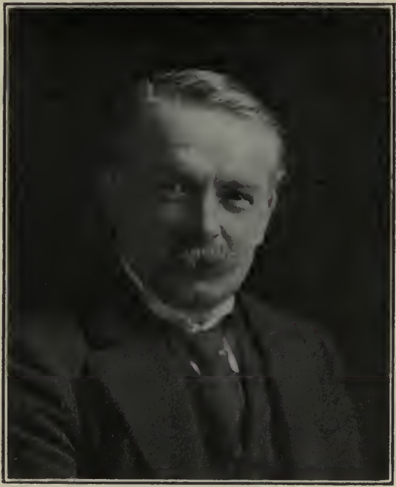
leaders of this extreme program of violence abandoned their program, in order not to weaken their country, when the war of 1914 began. In return, the ministry secured an act postponing for a year the date when Home Rule (and Welsh disestablishment) should go into operation.

[1] And also the progress of equal suffrage in the United States, and in other European countries. See (§§ 862, 873). The state of Wyoming established woman suffrage in 1869, earlier, indeed, than any of the provinces or countries named above. In 1893 Wyoming was joined by Colorado, and in 1896 by

reacted upon Old England; and there the question was taking on a new character. In 1905 numbers of English women exchanged peaceful agitation for violence, in the campaign for the ballot. They made noisy and threatening demonstrations before the homes of members of the ministry; they broke windows; they invaded the House of Commons in its sittings; and at last they began even to destroy mail boxes and burn buildings.

The leaders in this movement were *Mrs. Sylvia Pankhurst* and her daughter *Christobel.* The purpose was to center attention on the demand "Votes for women," since, the leaders believed, the demand was sure to be granted if only people could be kept thinking about it. When members of this party of violence were sent to jail for their outbreaks, they resorted to a "starvation strike," refusing all food until the government felt compelled to release them.



David Lloyd George.

Lloyd George is an open advocate of equal suffrage; but the ministry as a whole was unwilling to put its other reform program in peril by making woman suffrage "a government measure." When (1912) Mr. Asquith introduced the proposed parliamentary reforms, he promised that the ministry would

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Utah and Idaho. These four, however, were all Western States with small populations. But in 1912–1913, at a leap, the number of States in the Union with woman suffrage rose to ten, — among them the great commonwealths of California and Illinois, — and in 1914 the number was twelve.

accept an amendment for woman suffrage if the House should pass one. This did not content the women agitators. Violence increased; and the sympathies of the Liberals were so divided that the government finally withdrew the bill altogether, as it did another in 1914. When the great war began, in the fall of that year, Mrs. Pankhurst called upon her followers to drop all violence while the country was in peril.

II. DESPOTISM VANISHING

904. As late as 1830, we have seen, England, Switzerland, and Norway were the only Old-World countries which were not absolute despotisms; and these countries were far from being the democracies they are now. During the remaining two-thirds of the nineteenth century, constitutional government spread eastward from England through Europe, and west, from the United States to Japan. In 1900 Russia and little Montenegro (with the possessions of Turkey) were the only European states still unaffected by the movement. The remaining independent states of Asia, — Turkey, Persia, China, and Siam, — were still despotic. But in 1913 Siam was the only sovereign state on this earth without a representative assembly and some degree of constitutional government.

The revolution in Russia has been described. The swift revolutions which, soon after 1900, set up constitutions in the other despotisms have been peculiar in their freedom from great bloodshed.

905. **A "Young Turk" party** appeared in the more civilized parts of the Turkish empire soon after 1900. This group of intelligent and progressive men agitated for a parliament. Early in 1908 its leaders organized an executive committee with headquarters at Salonika. In July the Salonika committee published a constitution and demanded that the Sultan accept it.

The army officers were largely "Young Turks," and the Sultan felt constrained to yield. In December of the same year the first Turkish parliament met, with magnificent ceremony. Foreign countries, however, embarrassed the movement seriously. Bulgaria seized this moment to turn her nominal dependence into absolute independence, and Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Conservative Turks accused the Young Turks of carelessly permitting this dismemberment of the empire. A reactionary revolution broke out; but the army remained loyal to the constitution, and suppressed the revolt with little bloodshed. The aged Sultan (Abdul Hamid) had sympathized with the attempt at reaction, if indeed he did not instigate it; and in 1909 the parliament deposed him, placing on the throne his brother, as Mohammed V.

The advance of the new era has been threatened by revolts and by foreign wars (§ 884). The empire is a conglomerate of hostile provinces, held together for centuries by the bayonet. The government, too, is threatened with bankruptcy, due to a long course of preceding mismanagement and inefficiency. Still it is fairly certain that despotism will not again be firmly established.

906. In Persia, in 1906, the enlightened portion of the people were demanding a parliament so loudly that the monarch (shah) called one, and issued a constitution. On his death, however, in 1907, his son bombarded the parliament house and arrested the liberal leaders. The provinces broke into revolt; and, in May of 1909, the shah felt compelled to restore the constitution. The revolutionists, however, proceeded to depose him, seating on the throne his son, a boy of thirteen. The country has so far remained distracted by revolts and disorder.

907. Most amazing of all is the revolution which swiftly changed vast "changeless China" into a republic. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, Western ideas began to spread among a small educated class in the empire; but the ruling dynasty (the Manchus) and the mass of the people were still hostile to reform. The dynasty, however, became hated as a result of national humiliations in the war with Japan and the Boxer war and in the seizure of territory by European nations; and then the marvelous victory of Westernized Japan over Russia reinforced the advocates of Western civilization for China. In 1909 the regent (Empress Dowager, whose Emperor-son was still a babe) promised a constitution "in the near future." The agitation of the Liberals forced her to fix the date first for 1915, and then for 1913. But this was not soon enough. In 1911 Central China rose in revolution, to make the many provinces of the empire into a Federal Republic.

The movement spread with marvelous rapidity, and in a few weeks the Republicans were in possession of the richest and most populous parts of the empire. They then set up a provisional republican government, at Nanking, under the presidency of an enlightened patriot, *Dr. Sun Yat Sen.* In an attempt to save the monarchy, the Empress then issued a constitution, and called to power a moderate reformer, *Yuan Shih Kai* (yoo-an she ki). When it quickly appeared that this was not enough, the Manchus abdicated. Yuan Shih Kai established a provisional republican government at Peking, and opened negotiations with the Nanking government. To remove all hindrance to union, the noble Sun Yat Sen resigned. Then the two provisional governments elected Yuan Shih Kai president of the "Republic of China."

In April, 1913, the first Chinese parliament assembled, representing 400,000,000 people, or a fourth of the human race. The president, however, proved self-seeking and reactionary. Leading Liberals in the army and in politics were assassinated, supposedly by his orders, and he seems to have made himself a military dictator. A vast population like that of China cannot leap into civilization and true freedom in a day.

III. MORAL AND SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENTS

908. The *rate* of human progress is accelerating tremendously. Our day is further removed from Napoleon's than his was from Charlemagne's. The last century has made more progress than the thousand years preceding it.

In this recent transformation of the world, the three mighty agents have been *democracy, humane sentiment, and scientific invention.* The growth of democracy has been a special theme of this book. We have seen, too, in part at least, how the gentler spirit of this age has abolished slavery and serfdom, ameliorated laws, and created a "war upon poverty," with zealous efforts to lessen suffering and misery. But the most marvelous phase of all is the scientific advance. A. R. Wallace, in his *Wonderful Century,* counts up the epoch-making inventions from earliest times to the year 1800, making them *eighteen* in number; and then names *twenty-four* of equal or greater rank for the nineteenth century. Ancient science was a plaything of philosophers; to-day science is the servant of mankind.

909. Science and Human Life. — In the eighties a noble French scientist, *Pasteur*, proved true the germ theory of disease, and invented methods of inoculation against some dreaded forms, such as hydrophobia. Devoted students followed in his footsteps. Major Walter Reed, during the American occupation of Cuba after the Spanish-American war, proved that the deadly Yellow Fever, and ordinary malaria as well, were spread by the bite of mosquitoes. In like manner it has been shown that certain fleas, living on rats, spread the terrible bubonic plague. In 1903 Dr. Charles W. Stiles proved that the inefficiency and low vitality of the listless "poor Whites" in our own South was due largely to the hookworm, a parasite which, he showed, enters the body through the bare feet common in that region. The special causes of typhoid and of tuberculosis have become well known.

Each such discovery has enabled men to fight disease more successfully. It is not improbable that in the not distant future all deadly contagious disease may be practically banished from the earth. Already, since 1850, the average human life has been lengthened by a fourth, and the population of the civilized world has been trebled.

910. This larger amount of life, too, has been lifted to a higher plane. There is *more* life and *better* life, than formerly. Wealth is more abundant; and the workers, though still getting far too little of it, get far more than in 1800. A day's work buys more comfort than in 1800 or in 1850. Owing to this increased wealth and to the new conveniences of modern life, the people of the world have undergone a marvelous change in their daily habits. It is probably true that the life of an industrious, healthy artisan of to-day is more enjoyable than was that of a great noble a century ago.

911. The age of electricity has supplanted the age of steam. Gasoline engines and electric engines furnish new power for locomotion and for work. With electricity to aid him, man has at last learned to explore the depths of the sea in submarines and to conquer the air in airships. Automobiles make for clean city streets and good country roads. Electric lights banish crime along with darkness.

ELECTRIC ENGINE. — The 20th Century Limited from New York to Chicago.

912. Human Solidarity. — This larger and better life has been spreading over the globe; *steam and electricity bind the most scattered portions together more closely than adjacent villages were joined in the near past.* The world is more and more compact. The ox-cart and the pack-horse of 1800 are replaced as carriers by long trains of cars, swiftly carrying their hundreds of tons of all kinds of freight across continents. New methods of banking make it possible to transfer credit and to do business with magical quickness between distant portions of the earth. To say nothing of the telegraph, lines of communication are so organized that it costs no more to send a letter around the globe than to send it around the corner. The Minnesota farmer's market is not Minneapolis, or Chicago, or London, but the world. The sheep raiser in Australia, the Kansas farmer, the New York merchant, the London banker, are parts of one industrial organism, and whatever touches one of them affects all the rest. There is a new social unity, or solidarity, among men.

This new unity is not merely one of material interests: it *has its intellectual and its moral side.* Any happening of consequence is known within an hour in London, Petrograd, Peking, New York, and San Francisco, and, within a day or two, in almost every hamlet where civilized men live. News spreads over the entire surface of the globe as fast as gossip used to run down a village street. Hence a closer human interest, and a greater unity of sympathy and opinion. A "world opinion" now takes form and makes itself felt in important human concerns almost as promptly as village opinion could be brought to bear upon an individual citizen's conduct a century ago.

913. The picture of course has its darker side. The crowded populations of the modern world still live and work under conditions of misery and disease and oftentimes of want. Great cities are breeding-places of crime. Sometimes the civilized nations show callous disregard of humane principles, when weaker or barbarous peoples are concerned. And over the civilized peoples themselves broods the danger of annihilating war, more terrible because of the new inventions of this scientific age.

IV. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1871

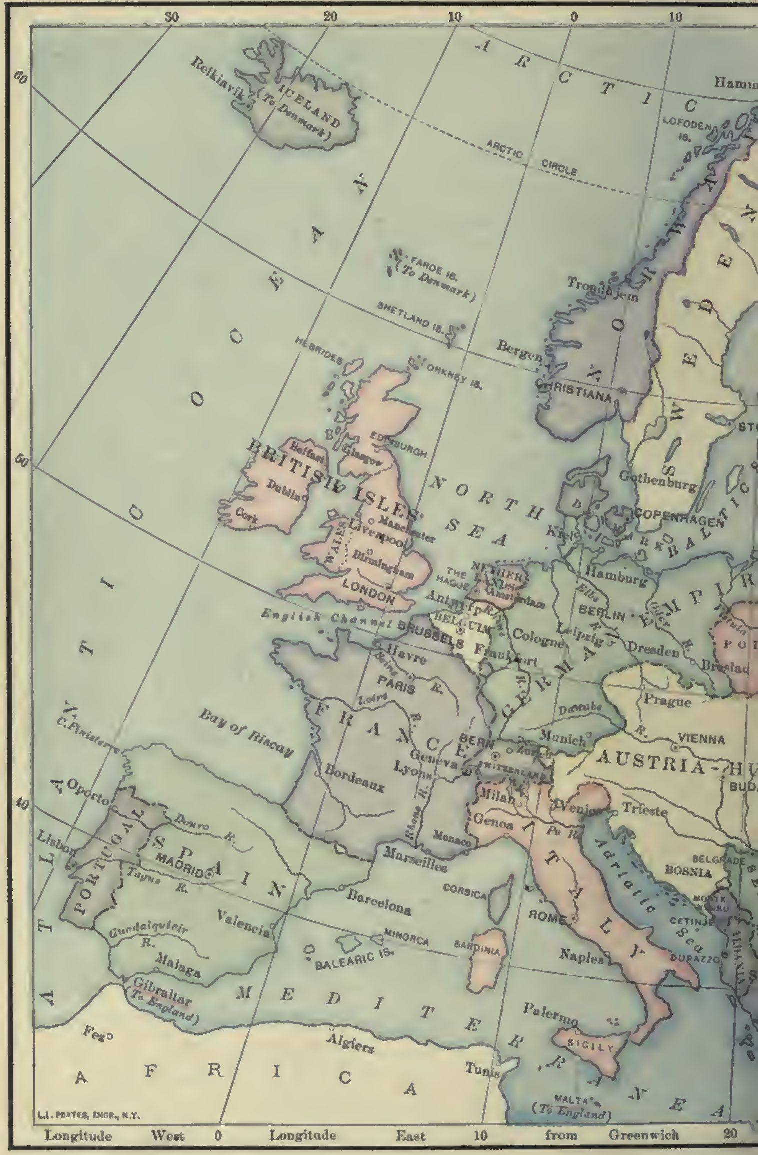
914. Triple and Dual Alliances. — The years 1866–1871 saw a new "Great Power" added to the European circle. The rise of Germany as a strong united nation, in place of the former petty jealous states of Central Europe, compelled a recasting of political alliances; and about the same time other causes contributed to a like result.

(1) France was bent upon revenge for the Franco-Prussian War, and she longed to recover her lost provinces. For twenty years after 1871 the Alsace-Lorraine matter was the burning question in European politics. To strengthen herself for the expected conflict, France cultivated cordial relations with Russia. (2) At the same time, Germany offended Russia by supporting Austria's claims in the Balkans, where lay the other chief storm-center of Europe. (3) In 1880 Italy was angered by the French seizure of Tunis (§ 808), — the first important conflict of interest in recent times outside Europe.

Thus, in curious fashion old enemies were drawn together and old associates divided. In 1881 Germany, Austria, and Italy leagued themselves in a union known as the *Triple Alliance*, and a few years later Russia and France formally adopted a dual alliance. The continent was thrown into two hostile camps, jealously watching each other's slightest move.

915. Recent Changes. — In the early '80's England looked with some jealousy on the swift French advance in North Africa, and Bismarck hoped to draw her into the Triple Alliance. But England soon saw in Germany a rival in Africa and Asia more to be dreaded than France. Germany's new commercial activity, too, threatened England's supremacy in trade. Above all, German militarism was repugnant to English democracy. On the other hand, England and France grew into better and better understanding of each other, and in 1903 an arbitration treaty between them (§ 917) went far to prevent future jealousies.

From that time, England has been regarded as connected with the Dual Alliance, so far at least as *defensive* purposes are concerned. The small states of Western Europe, like Belgium and Portugal, have given their sympathies warmly to this *Triple Entente*, largely because of their friendly relations with England. Holland has done so because of her fear of German attemps to annex her. On the other hand, Turkey



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Dresden
Leipzig
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Oporto
Douro R.
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MADRID
Tagus R.
Guadalquivir R.
Valencia
Barcelona
Malaga
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BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ITALY
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CETINJE
DURAZZO
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has fallen more and more away from English influence and under German influence.

Meantime, while the old Dual Alliance was growing into this Triple Entente, the old Triple Alliance was threatened with the loss of one of its members. Italy's acquisition of Tripoli (§ 825) canceled her grievance against France. Then her ancient grievance against Austria, from Austria's retention of the Italian province of Trentino (§ 825), began to drive her away from Austria and Germany.

916. War. — Each of the two armed camps always professed that its aim was peace. No doubt each did shrink from precipitating a conflict between such enormous forces, under the new conditions of army organization, quick transportation, and deadly explosives. For half a century (1871–1914), except for the minor struggles in the Balkan districts, Europe rested under a costly "armed peace," based upon fear.

The cost mounted steadily, year by year, as each alliance strove to make its armies and navies mightier than the other's. The crushing burden to the small states of Europe has been referred to often in the preceding pages. Finally even the richest and mightiest states began to feel the strain. Still men had come to think that war between the civilized peoples of Western Europe was hardly possible again, when suddenly Europe was plunged into the most terrible war in all history — of which at this writing it is too early to speak further.

917. The Promise of Arbitration. — This "Needless War" is the more disappointing to all lovers of mankind because the world had recently begun to invent new machinery by which to avoid war. The nations have begun to adopt *permanent arbitration treaties* with one another, and to establish *standing international tribunals* to settle disputes peacefully. The present war proves — what many thinkers had foreseen — that these devices are comparatively powerless *unless accompanied by a general disarmament.* Still they contain the greatest promise ever yet seen for the final abolition of the curse of war, the greatest peril to our civilization.

In earlier times an impending war was sometimes averted by diplomacy or by the mediation of a powerful neighbor. But arbitration, in the modern sense, means neither diplomatic negotiation nor mediation. It means adjudication of disputed points by an impartial body of experts resembling a law court, following the forms of a court of justice, hearing evidence and argument in public, and basing its decision on the merits of the case.

THE HAGUE PEACE PALACE.

The first arbitration of this kind in modern times was arranged by one clause[1] of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between England and the United States. For nearly a hundred years this sensible device continued to be used mainly by the two English-speaking nations; but before the close of the nineteenth century it began to spread rapidly to other lands. During that century several hundred disputes between nations were settled honorably, peacefully, and justly, by this process, — many of them critical disputes, which might easily have led to war.[1]

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[1] Regarding the disputed boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia. See West's *American History and Government*, § 232.

But all these cases of arbitration concerned some individual dispute, regarding which a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin. This left much to be desired; and the closing years of the nineteenth century saw agitation for "general arbitration treaties" by which nations might agree *in advance* to submit disputes to a certain court of arbitrators. In 1897 a treaty of this kind between England and the United States failed of adoption because of opposition in the United States Senate, though it had been recommended vigorously first by President Cleveland and afterward by President McKinley. Then leadership in this great movement passed for the time away from the English-speaking peoples.

On August 24, 1898, by order of the Tsar, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the representatives of the different nations in St. Petersburg a written suggestion for a world conference to consider some means for arresting the danger of war and for lessening the burden of the armed peace. Out of this suggestion there grew the *Hague Peace Conference* of 1899.

Twenty-six nations were represented, including Mexico, Siam, Japan, China, and Persia, — practically all the independent states of the world except the South American republics. Never before had any gathering so nearly approached a "parliament of man," and never had an international congress accomplished so great a work. It was not found possible to provide any limitation upon the armament of different nations, because the German representatives refused to consider that matter; but agreements were reached to regulate the methods of war in the interests of greater humanity, and, in spite of German opposition, the Congress provided a permanent International Tribunal for arbitration between nations.

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[1] The student of American history will recall the arbitrations with England regarding the Alabama damages, the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries, the Venezuela territory, the Alaskan boundary, and several other disputes concerning our northern boundary at the eastern and western extremities.

No nation, of course, is compelled to submit its quarrels to this court; but it is of supreme consequence that machinery is ready so that nations can escape war, without loss of dignity, if they desire.

The next step was for groups of nations to pledge themselves to make use of this machinery, or of similar machinery. This pledge is the essence of a "general arbitration treaty." The first such treaty was adopted by two South American countries.

While the Hague Conference was sitting, Chili and Argentina (which had not been invited to the Conference) were on the verge of war over a boundary dispute in the Andes. For the next two years both governments made vigorous preparations, — piling up war taxes, increasing armaments, building and buying ships of war. But at the last moment a popular movement, led by bishops of the Catholic Church in the two countries, brought about arbitration; and soon after, the boundary was adjusted rationally by a commission of geographers and legal experts. So well pleased were the two nations with this individual case of arbitration that they proceeded to adopt a "general treaty" by which they bound themselves, for a period of five years, to submit *all* disputes which might arise between them to a specific tribunal.

This was the first "general arbitration treaty" ever actually adopted (June, 1903). But others were already in preparation in Europe; and, four months later (October, 1903), France and England adopted one, agreeing (with certain reservations) to submit future disputes to the Hague Tribunal. Others followed swiftly, until every civilized state of Europe and America (except Russia) was joined with one or more other states in such agreements.

In 1907 a Second Hague Conference met, at the suggestion of the United States. This time the South American republics were represented. The Conference extended somewhat the work of the first meeting, but again attempts to limit armies and navies failed. England took the lead for such limitation (a step toward disarmament); but, as before, Germany and Austria opposed it; and now they were joined by Russia and Japan, who had just closed their great war.

In spite of this failure, and in spite of the present European War, the Hague Congresses and the standing arbitration treaties make the greatest step yet seen toward the poet's dream of a "federation of the world." When men cease to divide in order to war upon one another, they will be ready to unite in the war upon poverty, ignorance, and suffering.

The student of history will learn not to look upon any such development as impossible. He has seen that "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns." He will not think any present condition unchangeable.

> "Our little systems have their day ;
> They have their day and cease to be.
> They are but broken lights of Thee ;
> And Thou, O God, art more than they."

APPENDIX

A LIST OF BOOKS IN MODERN HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

The following titles are classified in two periods, and, under each period, in two groups. In the judgment of the writer, all high schools should have access to Group I (or an equivalent), while large schools may well have Group II also. Works marked with a * should be present in more than single copies. The prices are listed; but a reduction of from 25 to 33 per cent can usually be secured by schools.

A. TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

GROUP I

Source Material.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Bohn edition). $1.50.

Chronicles of the Crusades (Bohn Library). $1.50.

Davis, W. S., *Readings in Ancient History*, II, $1. Allyn and Bacon.

Einhard, *Charlemagne*, $0.30. Am. Book Co.

English History from Contemporary Writers, edited by F. York Powell. A series of ten small volumes, 40 cents each, published from 1886 to 1894 by Putnams, as follows: **Archer**, *Crusade of Richard I;* **Ashley**, *Edward III and His Wars;* **Barnard**, *Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland;* **Hutton**, *Misrule of Henry III; Simon of Montfort; St. Thomas of Canterbury;* **Jacobs**, *The Jews of Angevin England;* **Powell**, *Alfred and the Danes;* **Smith**, *Troublous Days of Richard II.*

Hill, Mabel, *Liberty Documents.* $2. Longmans.

Joinville, *Memoir of St. Louis.* (Various editions.)

Lanier (editor), *The Boy's Froissart.* $2.50. Scribners.

Lee, *Source Book of English History.* $2. Holt.

Marco Polo, *The Story of*, edited by Noah Brooks. $1. Century Co.

Ogg, F. A., *Source Book of Medieval History.* $1.50. Am. Book Co.

Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints from Original Sources. 7 vols. $1.50 each. University of Pennsylvania.

* **Robinson, J. H.**, *Readings in European History.* 2 vols. $3. Ginn.

Modern Accounts.

* **Adams, G. B.**, *Growth of the French Nation.* $1.25. Macmillan.

* —— *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* $2.50. Scribners.

* **Archer** and **Kingsford**, *The Crusades* ("Nations"). $1.50. Putnams.

Balzani, *Popes and Hohenstaufen.* $0.80. Longmans.

Beard, Charles, *An Introduction to English Historians* (extracts from leading authorities on interesting topics). $1.60. Macmillan.

Beesly, E. S., *Elizabeth* ("English Statesmen"). $0.75. Macmillan.

Boyeson, H. H., *Norway* ("Nations"). $1.50. Putnams.

Bradley, *Wolfe.* $0.75. Macmillan.

Brown, Horatio, *The Venetian Republic* ("Temple Primers"). $0.40. Macmillan.

* **Bryce, James**, *Holy Roman Empire.* $1.50. Macmillan.

* **Cheyney, E. P.**, *Industrial and Social History of England.* $1.40. Macmillan.

Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages* ("Epochs"). $0.75. Longmans.

Clemens (Mark Twain), *Joan of Arc.* $1.50. Harpers.

Cornish, F. W., *Chivalry.* $1.25. Macmillan.

Cox, G. W., *The Crusades* ("Epochs"). $1. Longmans.

Creighton, M., *Age of Elizabeth* ("Epochs"). $1. Longmans.

Cunningham, *Western Civilization* (Vol. II, Medieval and Modern). $1.25. Macmillan.

Cunningham and **McArthur**, *Outlines of English Industrial History.* $1.50. Macmillan.

Davis, H. W. C., *Charlemagne* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

* **Emerton**, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages.* $1.12. Ginn.

—— *Medieval Europe.* $1.50. Ginn.

Firth, *Cromwell* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England.* $3. Longmans.

—— *The Puritan Revolution* ("Epochs"). $1. Longmans.

—— *The Thirty Years' War* ("Epochs"). $1. Longmans.

Gibbins, *Industrial History of England.* $1. Methuen; London.

Gilman, *The Saracens* ("Nations"). $1.50. Putnams.

Gray, *The Children's Crusade.* $1.50. Houghton.

* **Green, J. R.**, *History of the English People.* 4 vols. $3.40. Burt; New York.

Or, in place of this last work,

* **Green, J. R.**, *Short History of the English People.* $1.20. Am. Book Co.

Green, Mrs., *Henry II.* $0.75. Macmillan.

Hughes, Thomas, *Alfred the Great.* $1.50. Macmillan.

Jenks, *Edward Plantagenet* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars.* $1.25. Putnams.

Jiriczek, *Northern Hero Legends.* $0.40. Macmillan.

Johnston, C., and Spencer, C., *Ireland's Story.* $1.40. Houghton.

Lane-Poole, *Saladin* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

Lindsay, T. M., *Luther and the German Reformation.* $1.25. Scribners.

Mabie, H. W., *Norse Stories Retold.* $1. Dodd and Mead.

Masterman, J. H. B., *Dawn of Medieval Europe* ("Six Ages"). $0.90. Macmillan.

Motley, *The Student's Motley*, — the best history of the Dutch Republic in its heroic age; edited by Griffis. $1.50. Harpers.

Mullinger, *University of Cambridge.* $1. Longmans.

Oman, C. W. C., *Byzantine Empire* ("Nations"). $1.50. Putnams.

Pears, E., *Fall of Constantinople.* $2. Harpers.

Perry, F., *St. Louis* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

* **Pollard**, *History of England* ("Home University"). $0.50. Holt.

* **Shepherd, W. R.**, *Historical Atlas.* $2.50. Holt.

Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets* ("Epochs"). $1. Longmans.

Tout, T. F., *Empire and Papacy, 918–1273.* $1.75. Macmillan.

—— *Edward I.* $0.75. Macmillan.

Van Dyke, *History of Painting.* $3. New York.

Walker, W., *The Reformation.* $2. Scribners.

Ward, *The Counter-Reformation.* $0.80. Longmans.

Willert, *Henry of Navarre* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams.

Woodward, W. H., *Expansion of the British Empire, 1500–1902.* $1. Putnams.

Zimmern, H., *The Hansa* ("Nations"). $1.50. Putnams.

GROUP II

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[1] Other fiction is referred to only in footnotes in the text; but this volume, — so vivid a portraiture of the folly and horror of modern war, — deserves a place in this list. It should be read by every student.

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